Kushan Coins and History: A Type Catalogue of Kushan, Kushano-Sasanian and Kidarite Hun Coins Based on the Collection of the British Museum

Volume Two

Joe Cribb and Robert Bracey

Research
Publication
191

Kushan Coins and History: A Type Catalogue of Kushan, Kushano-Sasanian and Kidarite Hun Coins Based on the Collection of the British Museum

Volume Two

Joe Cribb and Robert Bracey

This publication is dedicated to Neil Kreitman in recognition of his immense contribution to Kushan and Gandharan studies at the British Museum

This project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007–2013) (grant no. 609823)

European Research Council
Established by the European Commission

Publishers
The British Museum
Great Russell Street
London WC1B 3DG

Series editor
Sarah Faulks

Kushan Coins and History: A Type Catalogue of Kushan, Kushano-Sasanian and Kidarite Hun Coins Based on the Collection of the British Museum
Joe Cribb and Robert Bracey
With the assistance of Gul Rahim Khan and Pankaj Tandon

ISBN 9780861591916
ISSN 1747 3640
doi: 10.48582/p2a1-p885

The Open Access version of this publication is made available under a CC-BY-NC-SA 4.0 Licence

© 2025 The Trustees of the British Museum
Text © 2025 Joe Cribb and Robert Bracey
All rights reserved. No part of this work may be utilised or reproduced in any way by any electronic, mechanical or other means, including but not limited to photocopying and recording, or in any information storage and retrieval system, or to develop or train any generative machine learning artificial intelligence models or related technologies, without prior permission in writing from the publisher.

Front cover: copper unit of Huvishka's Gandhara copper mint third phase, showing the king seated on a mountain top on the obverse and the Greek god Heracles on the reverse (catalogue number 1851: E.C2-iii 1u (2H/11h) registration number 1981,0322.25)

Printed and bound in the UK by 4edge Ltd, Hockley
Papers used by the British Museum are recyclable products made from wood grown in well-managed forests and other controlled sources. The manufacturing processes conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

All British Museum images illustrated in this book are
© 2025 The Trustees of the British Museum
Further information about the Museum and its collection can be found at britishmuseum.org

Contents

Volume One

Acknowledgements v

1. Introduction 1

2. History of the Kushans and their Successors 20

3. Kushan Coinage 139

4. The British Museum Collection of Kushan, Kushano-Sasanian and Kidarite Hun Coins 272

Appendix 1 Specific Gravity and Gold Purity 297

Appendix 2 Inscriptions on Kushan, Kushano-Sasanian and Kidarite Hun Coins 302

Bibliography 330

Index 349

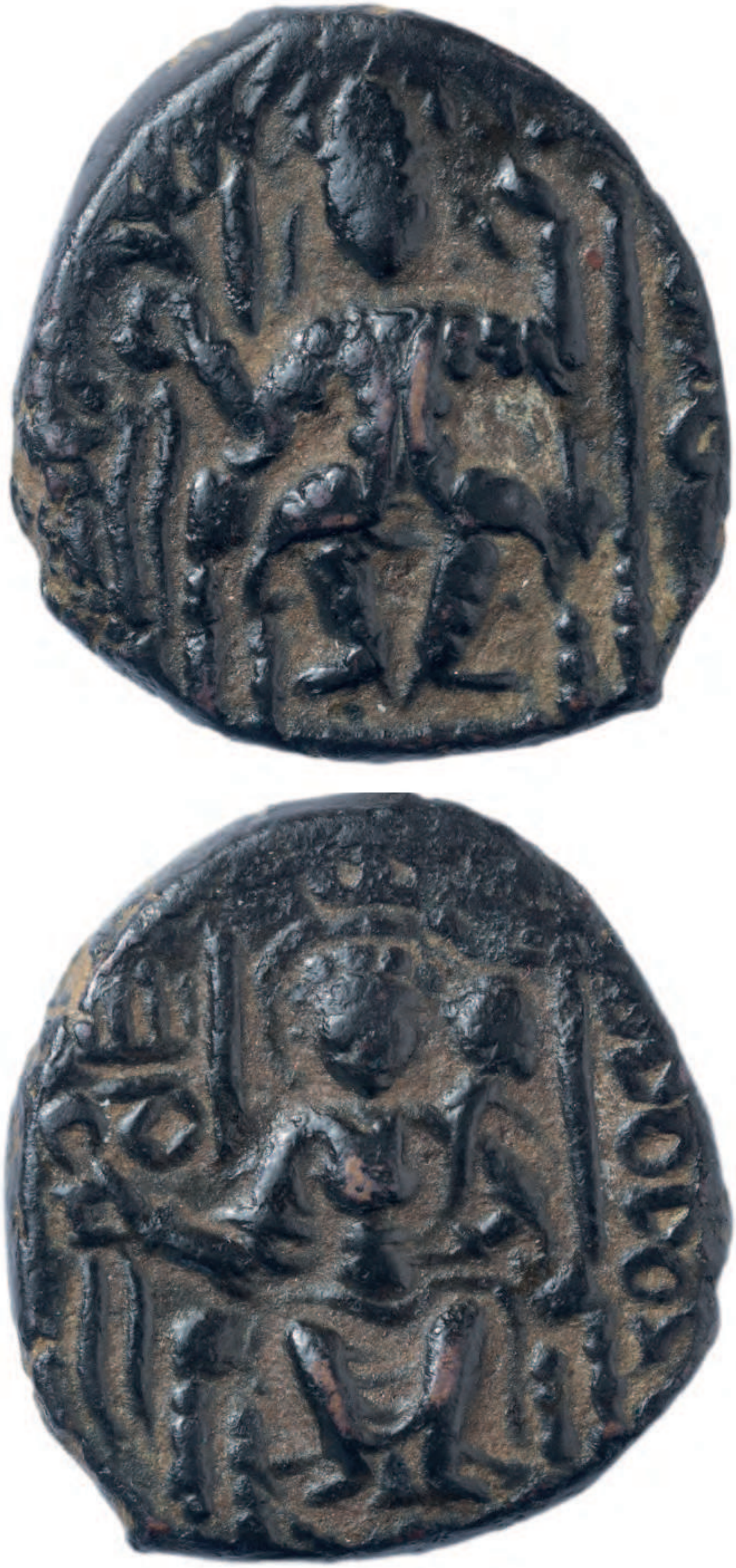
Volume Two

Introduction to the Catalogue and How to Use It 369

Catalogue

Series A: Kujula Kadphises 377
Series B: Wima Takto 411
Series C: Wima Kadphises 435
Series D: Kanishka I 451
Series E: Huvishka 499
Series F: Vasudeva I 605
Series G: Kanishka II 647
Series H: Vasishka 659
Series I: Kanishka III 669
Series J: Vasudeva II 673
Series K: Mahi 685
Series L: Shaka 687
Series M: Kipunadha 695
Series N: Meśra 703
Series O: Kirada and the Early Kidarites 705
Series P: Peroz 709
Series Q: Kidara 715
Series R: Ardashir I 723
Series S: Ardashir II 725
Series T: Peroz I 731
Series U: Hormizd I 747
Series V: Hormizd II 779
Series W: Peroz II 783
Series X: Shapur II 789
Series Y: Varahran 797
Series Z: Kidara and Successors 829

Concordance 859



Copper unit of Vasudeva II's Gandhara mint second, showing the king enthroned on the obverse and the goddess Ardochsho enthroned on the reverse (cat. no. 3361, J.C1-ii 1u (1A), British Museum, 1922,0424.3688, photographed by Alberto Giannese)

Introduction to the Catalogue and How to Use It

Purpose

This volume presents a catalogue of the British Museum's collection of coins of the Kushan, Kushano-Sasanian and Kidarite Hun rulers. It is also intended to serve as a type listing for these series, so coins from other collections, both public and private, and from the coin trade are also listed to supplement the Museum's coverage. The coins are presented in chronological order, with each ruler's coins listed by metal, mint and phase of production, in order to reflect the monetary system within which the coinage was manufactured, issued and used. This catalogue/listing is also accompanied by the chapters in the first volume which set the historical context of these rulers and aim to introduce their coins so that they can be used as a resource by historians, art historians, religious historians, archaeologists, curators, collectors and students.

The coinages of the Kushan kings and of their immediate successors, the Sasanian and Kidarite Hun Kushanshahs, are a key component in our understanding of the history of ancient Afghanistan, Pakistan, northern India, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan during the first four centuries AD. Modern knowledge of each of these kingdoms began with the discovery of their coins, and coins continue to reveal new aspects of the political structure of the states, their geographical extent, the religious system of their rulers and the development of art, scripts and languages in the region.

Range of catalogue

The range of material presented begins with the coinages issued by or associated with the first Kushan ruler Kujula Kadphises, *c.* AD 50–90. Coins can be attributed to all the kings who are known to have succeeded to the rule of the state he established. A list of these rulers has been established on the basis of the names appearing in inscriptions and on the coins issued in succession to Kujula Kadphises' issues. Alongside the coins with royal names inscribed on them there are many copper coins without inscriptions which can be associated with the official issues of the Kushan empire, as they are part of the Kushan monetary system which developed during the first four reigns. These are included under the king during whose reign they are thought to have been issued. The rationale for their attribution will be found at the appropriate places in the introductory essay on coinage (Ch. 3). The catalogue also lists several series of imitations which formed part of the monetary system of the Kushan state, as well as others which were issued for use elsewhere, but were based on the circulation of Kushan coins outside Kushan territory.

At the end of the reign of the sixth Kushan ruler, Vasudeva I, *c.* AD 230, Ardashir I (223–240), the founder of the Sasanian empire of Iran, gained control over part of the Kushan empire and placed Sasanian princes to rule there. These princes, based in northern Afghanistan, called themselves Kushanshah, i.e. king of Kushans or king of the Kushan state, and are accordingly known as Kushano-Sasanians to modern scholarship. Once established, they took control of more Kushan territory and established a state reaching into the territory of modern Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Pakistan. Their coins are included in this catalogue because they retained many aspects of the Kushan monetary system, issuing imitations of Kushan coins and their own adaptations of them.

In the mid-4th century Sasanian control of former Kushan territory was eclipsed by Hun invaders from inner Asia, so that the Sasanian emperor Shapur II (309–79) had to take back control of the central part of the Kushanshah's territory and concede control of the territory north of the Hindu Kush and to the east of the Khyber Pass to the Huns, who also soon adopted the title Kushanshah. The arrival of these Huns, known as Kidarites (after their best-known ruler Kidara), brought an end to the remnant of Kushan rule in Pakistan. The coins issued by the Kidarite Huns in Kushan and Kushano-Sasanian style are included in this catalogue.

The end of Kushan rule further east appears to have coincided with the rise of the Gupta empire. Like the Kushano-Sasanians and Kidarite Huns, the Guptas also issued coins which were adaptations of Kushan issues, but as there is already a catalogue of the British Museum collection (Allan 1914) and a corpus of their coin types (Altekar 1957) they are not included here.

Structure of catalogue

The coins assembled in this volume include both the British Museum collection and coins from elsewhere. The volume serves as a record of the pieces in the British Museum. In Chapter 1 the extent and limitations of such a collection are discussed and in Chapter 4 there is an account of the formation of the collection. The coins from elsewhere, drawn from publications, dealers' lists and websites, from other public institutions and private collections, are included to help create as complete an account of the typology of Kushan coinage as is possible from surviving evidence. The British Museum's Kushan, Kushano-Sasanian and Kidarite Hun coin collection is perhaps the best such collection in public hands and is therefore an excellent core for constructing such an account.

One of the primary resources used in constructing this account has been the work done by Robert Göbl, the Austrian numismatist, as published in his 1984 and 1993a volumes, together with the card index which he made (now in the Institut für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte, Universität Wien). Göbl's intention was similar to that underlying this study, i.e. to create an account of the Kushan monetary system. This volume is not intended to replace Göbl's publications, but to elucidate the system using a different methodology and to present it within a structure which makes it more accessible to scholars and enthusiasts from all disciplines.

Göbl's publications were structured around his understanding of the Kushan mint system using a model borrowed from the mints of the Roman empire. This study proposes a different mint organisation which provides the structure for the catalogue that follows and is justified in Chapter 3. Göbl's model led him to place too much emphasis on the reverse designs used at the Kushan mint, creating a complexity which obscures the sequence of issue. In contrast the present volume is structured according to the designs used on the obverses. A closer attention to metallurgy and metrology has also changed the shape of the presentation of the coins from that deployed by Göbl.

The British Museum

This catalogue is the outcome of a programme of research carried out in the British Museum over the last 40 years, particularly focused on developing chronological frameworks and understanding coin design. Alongside this project the Museum's numismatic team has been conducting research on the coins collected by Charles Masson from the ancient site at Begram under the direction of Dr Elizabeth Errington. It has also been supporting Dr Gul Rahim Khan of the University of Peshawar in his reappraisal of the Kushan coin finds from Taxila. The resources created by these two projects for understanding the issue and circulation of Kushan copper coinage have had a profound impact on the development of the presentation of the Kushan coinage system as set out here. The Begram coins are being made available on the British Museum's Collection online database alongside all the coins in the Museum's collection. Dr Khan has republished most of the Kushan coins from the Taxila excavations, as they survive in the Taxila Museum (Khan 2007a; 2008a; 2009a; 2010a; 2014; Khan and Cribb 2012). The British Museum's scientific laboratory has also been working with the project to re-establish a clearer understanding of the progression of debasement in the gold coinages of the Kushans and their successors (Bracey and Oddy 2010).

Underlying this publication are a series of die studies of Kushan gold which are not yet completed, but sufficiently advanced to underpin the work of sequencing the gold issues and assessing their likely relative volumes. The first of these studies was published in 2009 (Bracey 2009) and the others will follow after the publication of this volume.

Constructing the Kushan monetary system

This volume aims to create an understanding of the Kushan and related monetary systems by assembling and presenting the available evidence. The surviving coins represent a reality, but their presentation in book form and on the web is a departure from that reality. It is not possible to include all known Kushan coins in this volume for reasons of space, which necessitates a presentation of types rather than a corpus. The distinction between a type catalogue and a corpus is discussed in more detail in the introduction (Ch.1 §2.2.3). In order to construct an account of the system, at least one example of each coin variety known to the authors is illustrated. The varieties are divided into 'phases' of production and grouped under a single mint. These are ordered broadly chronologically, with different parts of the monetary system separated into subsections. The gold and copper coinages appear for most of the period to be issued at separate mints and there is little evidence of their circulation together. Göbl chose to list gold and copper separately, but here the coins are presented by reign to show how the gold and copper coins developed in parallel.

In creating this volume there has been a deliberate consciousness of the artificiality of presenting a historical phenomenon, the coinage of the Kushans and their successors, in book form. The coins have been presented according to their production, in order to show how they might have been put into circulation. There is insufficient evidence of how the coins circulated, as so few hoards are known, so that is as far as the evidence can be taken. It is therefore necessary to recognise that documenting the process of production as deduced from the surviving coins is the closest that can be got to understanding the use of coinage in the Kushan and successor states at present. It is also important to acknowledge that the arrangement of the coins by production is also a construct deduced from limited evidence. The surviving coins remain the only tangible evidence of the Kushan mints and of the tools and administrative systems used at them. The location of mints is also a deductive process based on the distribution of coin finds in excavations and as experienced by collectors, with a single name, Balkh, appearing on some Kushano-Sasanian coins as the only recognisable evidence of a mint name.

In spite of these limitations, the coinage of the Kushans and their successors remains a key piece of evidence in our current knowledge of these kingdoms, their structure, chronology, religion and culture. Without the evidence of coin inscriptions and designs we would have no knowledge of more than half the kings who ruled these kingdoms and we would have little knowledge of the iconography of the official gods they acknowledged. The purpose of this volume is to present as much of the numismatic evidence as possible to scholars and enthusiasts. By placing the coins into a system, the evidence is presented within a relative chronology and an approximate geographical distribution. Archaeologists should be able to locate the coins they find in their excavations within that system and therefore within a time frame. In the introductory essays they will also gain some understanding of how long the coins they find would have remained in use. Art historians will be able to make more appropriate use of the designs they encounter on coins, distinguishing the normal from the exceptional, the deliberate from the accidental. Religious and cultural historians will have a better opportunity to assess the contribution of the Kushan state and the Kushan period to the development of religious iconography, costume, language and art.

Using the catalogue

Organisation

The catalogue can be used in several ways. Coins are listed on the inside column of each page and images presented on the outside column. The catalogue can be used as a visual reference: when a picture of the desired coin is found, the entry and description for it will appear nearby and can be quickly located.

If a particular coin is desired the catalogue is organised first by the dynasties and reigns of individual kings, then by metal, mint, phase and denomination; each type of coin is coded to represent its position in the system of the catalogue and therefore of its production (see below).

The coins of each reign are designated as a series in the catalogue and each series of coins is coded alphabetically as follows.

Kushan emperors:

code	*ruler's name*	*AD date*
A	Kujula Kadphises	*c.* 50–90
B	Wima Takto	*c.* 90–113
C	Wima Kadphises	*c.* 113–27
D	Kanishka I	*c.* 127–51
E	Huvishka	*c.* 151–90
F	Vasudeva I	*c.* 190–230
G	Kanishka II	*c.* 230–46
H	Vasishka	*c.* 246–67
I	Kanishka III	*c.* 267–72
J	Vasudeva II	*c.* 267–97
K	Mahi	*c.* 297–302
L	Shaka	*c.* 302–42
M	Kipunadha	*c.* 342–52
N	Meśra (usurper)	*c.* 297–300

The Kidarite Hun rulers:

(issuing Kushan style coins)

O	Kirada and contemporaries	*c.* 345–50
P	Peroz	*c.* 350–5
Q	Kidara	*c.* 355–85

Kushano-Sasanian kings:

R	Ardashir I	*c.* 230–5
S	Ardashir II	*c.* 235–45
T	Peroz I	*c.* 245–70
U	Hormizd I	*c.* 270–300
V	Hormizd II	*c.* 300–3
W	Peroz II	*c.* 303–30
Y	Varahran	*c.* 330–59

Sasanian emperor:

(issuing Kushano-Sasanian style coins)

X	Shapur II in Begram	*c.* 330–79

Kidarite Hun rulers:

(issuing Kushano-Sasanian style coins in the name of Varahran)

Y-O	Kirada and contemporaries	*c.* 345–50
Y-P	Peroz	*c.* 350–5
Y-Q	Kidara	*c.* 355–85

(issuing Kushano-Sasanian style coins in their own names)

Z	Kidara in own name	*c.* 355–85
Z-A	Orōlano	*c.* 385–400
Z-B	Pidoko	*c.* 400–30
Z-C	Tobazino	*c.* 430–5
Z-D	Ōkilano	*c.* 435–50
Z-E	Ōzmano?	*c.* 450–67

Sasanian emperor:

(issuing Kidarite style coins)

Z-F	Peroz in Balkh	*c.* 467–76

Hephthalite rulers:

(issuing Kidarite style coins)

Z-G	Anonymous	*c.* 476–80
Z-H	Mehama	*c.* 480–500
Z-I	Adomano	*c.* 500–20

The chronology adopted here is necessarily arbitrary, but based on the evidence assembled for this catalogue, a rationale for which will be found in Chapter 2 (see also Bracey 2017 and Cribb 2018a).

Each of these rulers, or groups of rulers, has a separate section within the catalogue. Each section has a brief introduction. That introduction contains some guidance as to how the mints are structured in that reign, as well as images of common symbols and control marks.

The section is then subdivided into individual categories. Each category has a code that reflects its position in the minting structure. For example, the code D.G2-i 1d indicates a category in the reign of Kanishka I (D) from the second gold mint (G2), in the first phase of that mint's production (i) and a dinar denomination (1d). The codes are explained in more detail below. In some cases the sequence of phases is not clear, as is indicated in the commentary and Chapter 3.

The entry for each category is in two parts: the description of the designs, followed by a listing of examples. All examples in the British Museum are listed, together with examples from other collections, both public and private, in order to provide as complete a record of the known varieties issued as part of that category.

A general description of the obverse design used in this category is given first followed by variations, then a general description of the reverse design followed by any variations. The main obverse varieties are listed by number 1, 2, 3 etc. and sub-varieties by letter A, B, C etc., likewise the reverse varieties, but with lower case letters a, b, c etc.

The coins are then listed, usually in order of obverse and reverse varieties and then by descending weight. Weight (Wgt) in grams and diameter (Dia.) in millimetres are given followed by specific gravity (SG) where available. Die axis (Ax or Axis), or die identity are only given where these are important for understanding the particular series.

Using the codes

The coding of coin types in this catalogue is intended to enable users to designate coins by their attribution, in addition to their association with specific specimens in the catalogue.

Each coin is assigned a code which will fully describe its type. The code represents the hierarchy of classification, from ruler down to the specific sub-variety. The following example illustrates the use of the codes:

Catalogue no. 249 can be designated by the following code A.C6-ii ¼u (2A/2a). The code represents the following information:

A	Reign	= Kujula Kadphises	This coin was issued in the reign of Kujula Kadphises.
C6	Metal-mint	= Copper mint 6	This coin was issued at the sixth mint for Kujula Kadphises' copper coinage as listed in this catalogue.
ii	Phase	= Phase ii	This coin was struck during the second phase of production at the mint.
¼u	Denomination	= Quarter unit	This coin is a fractional denomination in this phase.
2A	Obverse type	= Variety 2, sub-variety A	The obverse of this coins depicts a bull with Kharoshthi control mark *shamjho*.
2a	Reverse type	= Variety 2, sub-variety a	The reverse of this coins depicts a camel with Kharoshthi control mark *shasu*.

Each series poses its own questions and issues for the cataloguing process, so these various levels cannot be used consistently. Some mints might have many phases, while others have only a few, reflecting variations in mint practice. What exactly constitutes a significant difference in obverse or reverse type necessarily varies from series to series. In some cases even the division of coins into mints is based on a limited level of certainty.

Some additional coding is used throughout the catalogue. Material which does not fit into the reconstruction of a mint's production is coded as 'misc', while unofficial imitations of a mint or phase are coded as 'imit'. These codes can appear at any point in a code, so D-imit.C1-i is the first phase of the first copper mint producing general unofficial imitations of Kanishka I, whereas A.C4-imit are specifically unofficial imitations of the coins of the fourth copper mint of Kujula. Some categories are also marked with 'ref'; this indicates the entry is incomplete and does not list all types or all coins in the British Museum, but is included as an example with a reference to another part of the catalogue or to another publication. Coins illustrated in the catalogue are indicated by an asterisk.

The pantheon of Kanishka and Huvishka

Obverse and reverse types are numbered within each catalogue entry, so the same number may represent different types or different numbers the same type, with the exception of the reverse designs of Kanishka I and Huvishka.

The diverse range of gods employed by the mints of these two kings make it important to trace the continuity of design. So for both kings each god is assigned a particular number (for example, under Kanishka I, 1 always designates a reverse type featuring Athsho). As the pantheons deployed under Kanishka and Huvishka are different, the gods are coded with different numbers on the coins of these two kings (**Tables 5.1–5.2**). Within the reign of one king all of the gold and copper coins depicting the same god will be indicated by the same number, and for all gold the same type will have a unique code, but separate varieties are listed for copper and gold, as the practice at the gold and copper mints is different. So 1c in the gold is always the same iconographic form of Athsho, standing frontally, head to left, holding tongs in his left hand and offering a diadem with his right hand, inscribed ΑΘÞΟ in Bactrian, but in the copper series the same design is coded 1a.

For the purposes of this numbering the gods are divided into two groups. The first group are those gods who appear throughout the reign, the second are those which appear only at certain mints or at particular times. Within these two groups the gods are mostly arranged alphabetically.

Codes	Gods depicted on coins of Kanishka I		
1–6	**Most widely represented gods**		
	Name	**Bactrian**	**Other names or spellings**
1	Athsho	ΑΘÞΟ	Hephaistos [ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ]
2	Mao	ΜΑΟ	Salene [ΣΑΛΗΝΗ]
3	Miiro	ΜΙΙΡΟ	Helios [ΗΛΙΟΣ], Mioro [ΜΙΟΡΟ], Miuro [ΜΙΥΡΟ]
4	Nana	ΝΑΝΑ	Nanaia [ΝΑΝΑΙΑ], Nanashao [ΝΑΝΑÞΑΟ]
5	Oado	ΟΑΔΟ	Anemos [ΑΝΕΜΟΣ]
6	Oesho	ΟΗÞΟ	Heracles [ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ]
7–13	**Gods only depicted in final phases**		
7	Ardochsho	ΑΡΔΟΧÞΟ	
8	Buddha (Boddo)	ΒΟΔΔΟ	
9	Lrooaspo	ΛΡΟΟΑΣΠΟ	
10	Manaobago	ΜΑΝΑΟΒΑΓΟ	
11	Mozdooano	ΜΟΖΔΟΟΑΝΟ	
12	Orlagno	ΟΡΛΑΓΝΟ	
13	Pharro	ΦΑΡΡΟ	
14–15	**In the final production of the main copper mint; see Ch. 3 §D.5 for a more detailed discussion of this issue**		
14	Sakyamuni Buddha (Sakamano Boudo)	ΣΑΚΑΜΑΝΟ ΒΟΥΔΟ	
15	Maitreya Buddha (Metrago Boudo)	ΜΗΤΡΑΓΟ ΒΟΥΔΟ	

Table 5.1 Codes used for gods depicted on coins of Kanishka I

A discussion of the function of these divine images within the Kushan coinage system is to be found in Chapter 2 §D.5, E.5 and Chapter 3 §D.4–5, §E.3–5.

Finding catalogued coins on the British Museum database

Each British Museum coin has a running number unique to this catalogue. It is followed in the listing by the unique PRN number of the coin which is the primary key used on the British Museum's online database (currently available at https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/). Unless otherwise specified this number should be prefixed with COC, so for coin Catalogue no. 775 where the PRN is listed as 187890, entering COC187890 in the Museum's online database would retrieve that coin's record (the British Museum's example of D.G2-i 1/4d, reverse variety 3c). For practical reasons only selected coins from the collection are illustrated in this catalogue, but an image of every British Museum coin listed is accessible online. The third number listed for every British Museum coin is its registration number. This number relates to the circumstances of the coins acquisition and full details of how to interpret these numbers can be found in Chapter 4. The registration number, provided it is punctuated correctly, will also retrieve the record for that coin on the Museum's database.

Codes	Gods depicted on coins of Huvishka		
1–6	**Most widely represented gods**		
	Name	**Bactrian**	**Other names or spellings**
1	Ardochsho	ΑΡΔΟΧÞΟ	
2	Mao	ΜΑΟ	These gods are sometimes depicted together. Miro [ΜΙΡΟ], Mioro [ΜΙΟΡΟ], Miuro [ΜΙΥΡΟ]
3	Miiro	ΜΙΙΡΟ	
4	Nana	ΝΑΝΑ	Nanashao [ΝΑΝΑÞΑΟ], Noneito [ΝΩΝΕΙΤΟ] (also with Oesho)
5	Oesho	ΟΗÞΟ	(also with Ommo [ΟΜΜΟ])
6	Pharro	ΦΑΡΡΟ	
7–26	**Only encountered on a few issues**		
7	Ashaeichsho	ΑÞΑΕΙΧÞΟ	
8	Athsho	ΑΘÞΟ	
9	Bizago	ΒΙΖΑΓΟ	(with Skando-Komaro and Maaseno [ΣΚΑΝΔΟ ΚΟΜΑΡΟ – ΜΑΑΣΗΝΟ])
10	Dionysus (Deineiso)	ΔΕΙΝΕΙΣΟ	
11	Heracles (Erakilo)	ΗΡΑΚΙΛΟ	Erkilo [ΗΡΚΙΛΟ], Ereikeilo [ΗΡΕΙΚΕΙΛΟ]
12	Iamsho	ΙΑΜÞΟ	
13	Lrooaspo	ΛΡΟΟΑΣΠΟ	
14	Maaseno	ΜΑΑΣΗΝΟ	
15	Maiissoph	ΜΑΙΙΣΣΟΦ	
16	Manaobago	ΜΑΝΑΟΒΑΓΟ	
17	Oxus (Oachsho)	ΟΑΧÞΟ	Ochsho [ΟΧÞΟ], Oron [ΩΡΟΝ]
18	Oado	ΟΑΔΟ	
19	Oanindo	ΟΑΝΙΝΔΟ	
20	Ahuramazda (Ooromozdo)	ΩΟΡΟΜΟΖΔΟ	
21	Rishti	ΡΙÞΤΙ	
22	Sarapis (Sarapo)	ΣΑΡΑΠΟ	
23	Shaoreoro	ÞΑΟΡΗΟΡΟ	
24	Teiro	ΤΕΙΡΟ	
25	Unnamed bowman		
26	Unnamed eight-armed god		

Table 5.2 Codes used for gods depicted on coins of Huvishka

Scripts

A variety of scripts are used on Kushan coins. Greek and Bactrian are represented by a standard Greek font throughout the catalogue. Kharoshthi and Brahmi are used as control marks or for inscriptions on a range of Kushan coins. There are fonts for the display of both scripts but they are unsatisfactory in a number of ways. The inscriptions are given in the catalogue text as transliterations (indicated in italics) and the opening page of each section indicates the control mark characters found in that period and the transliteration that has been employed. Kharoshthi and Brahmi consist of open syllables (a consonant or group of consonants with the value of its vowel, if not -a, indicated by a mark) and have their own order. None of the series presents a complete set of characters and it is assumed many users of this volume will not be specialists so instead of the standard order the characters (or short words where appropriate) are presented in English alphabetic order. The Iranian script Pahlavi is also used on Kushano-Sasanian and Kidarite Hun coins and is represented in transliteration as there are no applicable fonts available. For a more detailed discussion of the use of these scripts on the catalogued coins and of the documented variations in their letter forms, see Appendix 2.

Inscriptions

Inscriptions are presented at the end of each description. The description always indicates the script that is used to write the inscription, but not the language. It can be assumed that Greek script is used to write the Greek language, Bactrian for the Bactrian language, Kharoshthi script for the North Western Prakrit known as Gandhari, Brahmi script for Epigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit and Pahlavi script for Middle Persian (see Appendix 2). If the language is not what is expected the description will call attention to this. Where the meaning is unclear or the inscription is not formulaic a translation may be included. For a discussion of the terms used in inscriptions see section 4 under each king in Chapter 2. Characters which may or may not be present (because the end point of the inscription varies or they are sometimes omitted) are included in square brackets. Breaks in inscriptions where of relevance are marked by a hyphen: -.

Illustrations

The catalogue illustrates the coins of each category next to the category and in the same order as they are listed. One of each obverse/reverse combination is illustrated. Additional examples may be included to show other features of the design or other parts of an inscription not visible on the first example. All coins are illustrated at life size. In some cases, for clarity (for small coins, overstrikes, unusual legends), an enlargement or drawing is shown immediately after the coin. Large colour images of each British Museum coin listed are available in the British Museum's online database (see above). Coins illustrated in the catalogue are indicated by an asterisk.

Major publications

If appropriate the first line of the text of each entry will be a bibliographic reference. These are cross-references to major works on Kushan material, particularly those which are used as standard references for classification of the coinage. In the interests of brevity the single most appropriate reference is usually given:

Cribb 1990 for Kushano-Sasanian types.
Cribb 1999–2000 for Kanishka I's Buddhist image coins.
Cribb 2010 for the Kidarite Hun types.
Cribb 2016b for post-Kidarite Hun types from Kashmir and the Punjab.
Errington 2010 for Kidarite Hun types.
Göbl 1984 for Kushan coins (from Wima Kadphises onwards), Kushano-Sasanian, Kidarite Hun and Hephthalite types.
Iranian Huns (= Göbl 1967; 1981; 1983; 1987b; 1990; 1993b) for Kidarite and Hephthalite Hun types. (See also Vondrovec 2014.)
Khan 2010a for post-Kanishka II Kushan copper types.
Mitchiner 1975–6 for Kujula Kadphises and Wima Takto types.
Mitchiner 1978 for Kujula Kadphises and Wima Takto types. (The private online database zeno.ru curates its Kushan material (and much else) using Mitchiner references.)
Senior 2001 and 2006 for Kujula Kadphises and Wima Takto types.
Vondrovec 2014 for Kidarite, Alchon and Hephthalite types.
Zeymal 1983 for Kujula Kadphises and Wima Takto types.

Non-British Museum coins

Not all of the coins illustrated in the catalogue are part of the British Museum collection. Coins from other sources are used to illustrate types or combinations of obverse and reverse not present in the Museum's collection. These coins are designated with a letter A, B, C etc., specific to the category to which they belong, instead of a catalogue number.

The India Office Loan Collection (IOLC)

A number of coins are illustrated from this collection. They are assigned a letter rather than running numbers, but also have a PRN number in the same manner as the British Museum coins. Though part of the British Library's India Office Collection, these coins are on permanent loan to the British Museum and are recorded on the British Museum's online database. They are part of a larger group of material, mostly collected by Charles Masson on behalf of the East India Company (see Ch. 4) and include both coins and small finds. The Kushan coins in the collection were collected by Charles Masson, purchased as finds from the ancient city site of Begram or in the bazaars at Kabul or Jalalabad, Afghanistan. The collection is available online (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/search?keyword=IOLC.*) and is the subject of a publication (Errington 2021a).

Public collections

Some of these coins are held in other major public collections. Those used in the catalogue include:

Ashmolean (Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Oxford, UK): A large collection of Kushan coins, including early Kushan coins from the Senior collection, published by Senior 2001 and 2006.

ANS (The American Numismatic Society, New York, USA): These coins are listed with an accession number which includes the year of acquisition, the lot number and the individual number of the coin (e.g. ANS 1979.45.145). A catalogue of this collection has been published (Jongeward and Cribb 2015). The coins in the collection are also accessible online through the ANS collection database (http://numismatics.org/search/), using their accession numbers; 2632 records were online at the time of writing.

Berlin (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Münzkabinett, Berlin, Germany): A large collection of Kushan coins, selected examples can be seen online (https://ikmk.smb.museum/home).

Bern (Bernisches Historisches Museum Münzkabinett, Bern, Switzerland): A significant and important collection of Kushan material. The bulk of the material derives from a bequest of the collection of Craig Burns (Jongeward 2020). The Burns coins in the Bern Museum have been catalogued by Robert Göbl (1993a).

BKB (Bharat Kala Bhavan Museum, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, India): One of the largest collections of gold Kushan coins in India. The gold coins in the collection have recently been published by Savita Sharma (1999).

Brussels (Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels, Belgium): Coins from this institution have been accessed through Robert Göbl's card index in Vienna (see below).

Fitzwilliam (Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge, Cambridge, UK): A medium-sized collection of Kushan coins including material collected by Charles Masson from the ancient site of Begram, Afghanistan (https://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/collections/coinsandmedals).

Hermitage (Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, Russia): The Kushan coins in this collection were catalogued by Yevgeny Zeymal (1967).

IMC (The Indian Museum Kolkata, India): A large collection of Kushan coins. The collection was published in part by Vincent A. Smith (1906), but has expanded since. B.N. Mukherjee (1978; 1990) has published many examples, but a complete catalogue of the IMC is wanting.

Lahore (Lahore Museum, Pakistan): An extensive collection of Kushan coins, its holdings were published by R.B. Whitehead (1914), but the collection has expanded since and a catalogue is being prepared by Gul Rahim Khan and Naushaba Anjum.

Lucknow (Lucknow Museum, Lucknow, India): The repository for treasure trove in Uttar Pradesh, and as such has a significant and important collection of Kushan coins. Some details of hoards acquired by Lucknow are available in reports by A.K. Srivastava, (1980). Its collection has been accessed in part through file card records in Nasik.

Mathura (Mathura Museum, Mathura, India): An uncatalogued collection, but the finds from the site of Sonkh, which are amongst its most important, were published by its excavator, Herbert Härtel (1993). Other Kushan coins in the collection are published in the numismatic papers edited by Doris Srinivasan (1998).

Paris (Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, France): A large collection of Kushan and Kushano-Sasanian coins. This collection has only been accessible through publications (Göbl 1984; Bataille 1928) and Robert Göbl's card index (see Vienna below).

Shanghai (Shanghai Museum, Shanghai, China): A medium-sized collection of Kushan coins donated by Roger Doo (Du Weishan), published by Wang Yue *et al.* (2006) and later by Doo himself (2012).

Taxila (Taxila Museum, Taxila, Pakistan): A significant Kushan collection, held by the site museum, most of it from the finds made during excavations by John Marshall. A selection of the coins from the excavations were published by Marshall (1951). The Kushan coins in the collection have been republished by Gul Rahim Khan (2007a; 2008a; 2009a; 2010a; 2014; Khan and Cribb 2012).

Card indexes and data bases

Modern computer databases have not completely supplanted old-fashioned file card indexes. Two large card indexes have been used in the preparation of this volume.

Nasik: The Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies (IIRNS) maintains a file card record of many institutions in India which have not yet been able to fully publish their collections.

Vienna: The file cards of Robert Göbl, which were used in the production of his 1984 and 1993a volumes are held by the Institut für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte, Universität Wien. Thanks to the generous assistance of its staff these were used as part of the preparation for the present volume.

Two other important sources of images and information have been the database of auctioned coins coinarchives.com founded by A.J. Gatlin and the Oriental coin database zeno.ru founded by Vladimir Belyaev.

Private collections

A number of private collectors have generously allowed access to their collection over many years. A number of coins are imaged from those collections. Each collection is indicated in the catalogue by a letter identifying it (**Table 5.3**)

Code	Private collection
B	Pankaj Tandon, CoinIndia collection, USA
C	Thomas Mallon-McCorgray† collection, USA (http://grifterrec.rasmir.com/coins.html)
D	David Smith† collection, USA
E	Heinz Bons collection, Germany
F	Hirayama Ikuo Silk Road Museum, Japan
G	Larry Adams† collection, USA
H	R.C. Senior collection, UK
I	John Siudmak collection
J	Private collection, UK
K	Private collection, UK
L	Private collection, UK
M	Linenthal collection, USA
P	Aman ur Rahman collection, Dubai
Q	G.R. collection, Germany
R	Hans Loeschner collection, Austria
T	Private collection, Switzerland
V	Alex Raia collection, Estonia
W	Vikramm Chand collection, Singapore
X	MHM collection, Pakistan
Z	Klaus Grigo collection, Germany
AA	Karan Singh collection, UK

Table 5.3 Private collection codes († deceased)

Shown to the authors

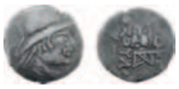
In some cases a coin, or an image of a coin, has been shown to the authors but it has not been possible to ascertain where the coin was located. Where a single source has shown a significant number of coins these have been assigned a letter. Shown to authors:

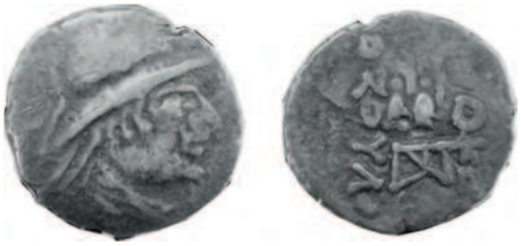
A = Mobin Ahmad
B = Trade source
C = Photo on file at British Museum, source unknown or undisclosed
D = Dilip Rajgor

Northern Tokharistan region silver mint (A.S1)

A single coin in the British Museum points to the production early in Kujula Kadphises' reign of imitations of Greco-Bactrian silver coins at a mint in the upper Kafirnigan valley in the northern part of his territory. Unattributable imitations of the tetradrachms of the Bactrian king Eucratides I circulated in this area during the period before Kujula Kadphises' rise to power and probably into the early part of his reign (Staviskii 1986: 134–5). They were probably issued by the Shuangmi yabgus who ruled this area before Kujula Kadphises destroyed the other Da Yuezhi yabgus. These imitations retain the designs, helmeted head of king on obverse and the star caps of the Dioscuri and palms on the reverse, and inscriptions of their prototypes (Mitchiner 1975: 496; 1978: 1866–7), but the coin of Kujula Kadphises replaces the name of the Bactrian king with his name.

001 A.S1-i 1/24u North Tokharistan silver mint obols, Eucratides imitation type


1: A.S1-i 1/24u (1a)


300% enlargement of 1

Mitchiner 1976: 201b

Kujula Kadphises (A), Northern Tokharistan silver mint (S1), reduced first and only phase (i) Attic standard obols (1/24u), on a), reduced weight standard *c.* 0.6g., with Greek legends, based on silver obols of the Bactrian Greek king Eucratides I (*c.* 174–140 BC).

Obverse: King, head and shoulders bust of king, facing right, wearing helmet with diadem, and cloak over shoulder.

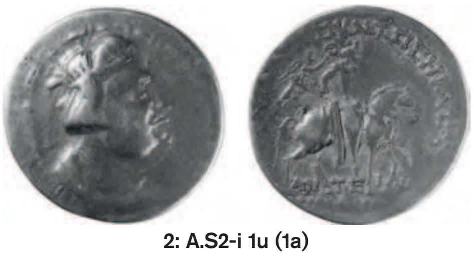
Reverse: Two star caps of the Greek star gods the Dioscuri, with two palms. Inscription in Greek (partially visible, in parallel lines to right and left of star caps, to be read from left edge of coin): …ΟΝΟ… …ΟΖΟΥΛΟ (of Kujula…, Kushan…,); control mark below star caps: Greek monogram below star caps ΠΑ.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
0001*	301130	1890,0404.22	0.55	11

North-eastern Tokharistan region silver mint (A.S2)

Kujula Kadphises largest production of silver coins was at his mint in the original territory of the Kushan yabgu in the Vakhsh valley. The currency system is the same as that of the imitation Greco-Bactrian coins of the Shuangmi yabgus, with silver tetradrachms and obols on the Attic standard (slightly reduced weight standard for the drachm, *c.* 4g), but the coins have novel designs, derived partly from the Greco-Bactrian issues and partly from coins of the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares and the Indo-Scythian Satrap Jihonika (Cribb 1993). Only one phase of production, with uniform designs depicting Kujula Kadphises, a bust on obverse and a full figure on horseback or standing on the reverse, has been identified. The phase could have continued throughout Kujula Kadphises' reign as there is progressive degeneration of the inscriptions, suggesting a lengthy issue. Plated imitations, probably unofficial, have also been recorded. A copper issue with the same designs, but an additional Gandhari inscription was made at Kujula Kadphises' Kashmir mint (A. C6-i 1u).

002 A.S2-i 1u North-eastern Tokharistan silver mint tetradrachms, 'Heraus' type


2: A.S2-i 1u (1a)

Mitchiner 1976: 514

Kujula Kadphises (A), North-eastern Tokharistan silver mint (S2), first and only phase (i), Attic standard tetradrachms (1u), on a reduced weight standard *c.* 16g, Greek legends, based on silver tetradrachms of the Bactrian Greek king Eucratides I (*c.* 174–140 BC).

Obverse: King, head and shoulders bust, facing right, with long hair and moustache, wearing diadem with two short ribbons and crossed lapel jacket, surrounded by circle of reel and pellet motifs.

Reverse: King, horseman riding to right, with long hair and moustache, wearing diadem, crossed lapel jacket and leggings, resting right hand on top of quiver, holding bow, attached to back of saddle, holding reins with left hand; behind the horseman's head flies Nike, a winged female figure, wearing a long dress, holding out in her right hand a wreath towards the king's head. Inscription in Greek, often blundered (clockwise, from about 9.00 to 3.00, read from centre): ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΗΙΑΟΥ and (anticlockwise, straight line, from about 7.00 to 5.00, read from edge) ΚΟΡΡΑΝΟΥ, (of ruling Yabgu, Kushan); control marks between the legs of the horse: various Greek letters, sometimes reversed.

1a as above; inscription in unblundered Greek and A/N/TE/I/X between legs of horse.

2a as 1a, but Σ/AN//AB between legs of horse.

3a as 1a, but inscription in blundered Greek and Σ/AN//AB between legs of horse.

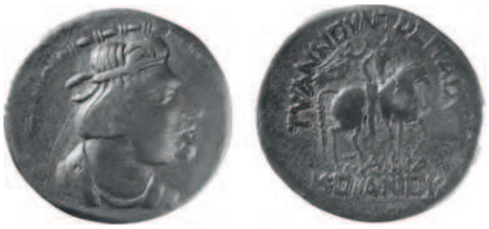
3b as 3a, but ΣA/N/[A]/OB between legs of horse.

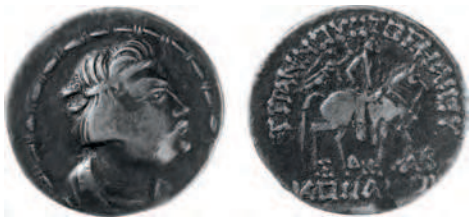
4a as 3a, but Σ/A/NA/B/OY (N reversed) between legs of horse.

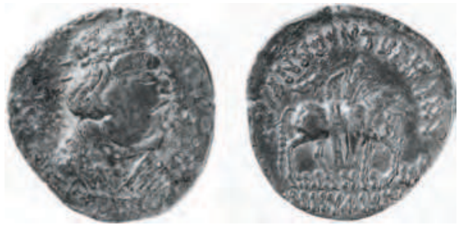
4b as 3a, but Σ/A/ZA/B/OY between legs of horse.

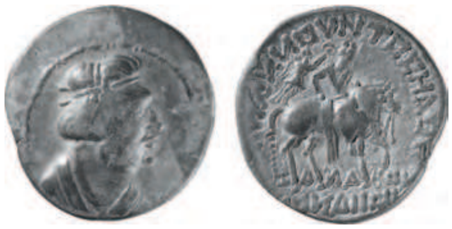
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Rev.
0002*	299486	1996,0303.1	15.78	29	1a
0003	299488	1890,0404.1	15.32	30	2a
0004	299489	1890,0404.2	13.21	30	2a
0005*	299487	1874,0709.6	11.86	28	2a
0006*	299492	1924,1017.2	15.98	28	3a
0007†	299495	1890,0404.4	15.59	29	3a
0008	299493	1994,0711.2	14.59	29	3a
0009*	299491	1890,0404.3	15.16	29	3b
0010*	299496	1994,0711.1	15.61	29	4a
0011*	299497	1890,0404.5	14.00	27	4b

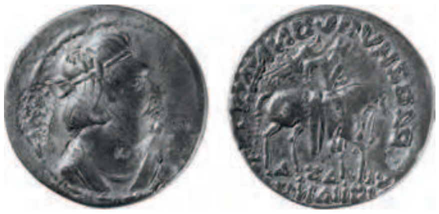
† Cut mark on the obverse

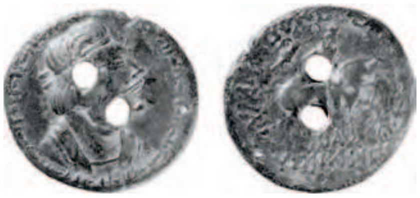

5: A.S2-i 1u (2a)


6: A.S2-i 1u (3a)


9: A.S2-i 1u (3b)


10: A.S2-i 1u (4a)


11: A.S2-i 1u (4b)


12: A.S2-imit-i 1u

003 A.S2-imit-i 1u North-eastern Tokharistan silver mint plated tetradrachms, 'Heraus' type

Mitchiner 1976: 514

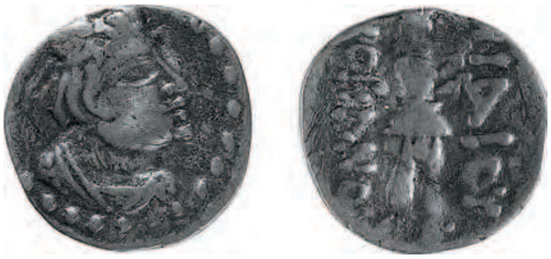
Kujula Kadphises (A), North-eastern Tokharistan silver mint (S2), plated imitation of first phase (imit-i) Attic standard silver tetradrachms (1u), on a reduced weight standard *c.* 12g, unofficial copy of A.S2-i 1u, based on silver tetradrachms of Eucratides I Greek king of Bactria (*c.* 174–140 BC).

Obverse: King, head and shoulders bust, facing right, with long hair and moustache, wearing diadem with two short ribbons and crossed lapel jacket, surrounded by circle of reel and pellet motifs.

Reverse: King, horseman riding to right, with long hair and moustache, wearing diadem, crossed lapel jacket and leggings, resting right hand on top of quiver, holding bow, attached to back of saddle, holding reins with left hand; behind the horseman's head flies Nike, a winged female figure, wearing a long dress, holding out in her right hand a wreath towards the king's head. Inscription in blundered Greek (clockwise, from about 9.00 to 3.00, read from centre): ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΥΝΟΤΟΣ [ΗΙΑΟΥ] and (anticlockwise, straight line, from about 7.00 to 5.00, read from edge) ΚΟΙΙΑΝΟΥ (of ruling Yabgu, Kushan); control marks between the legs of the horse: Greek letters Σ/OA//BY.

No.	PRN	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
0012*	299494	1890,0404.6	12.22	26

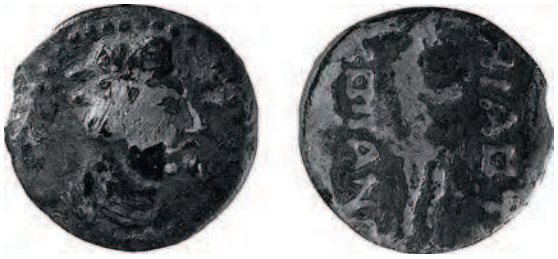
13: A.S2-i 1/24u-(1a)



300% enlargement of 13

15: A.S2-i 1/24u-(1a)

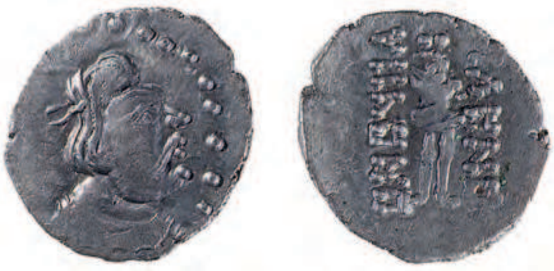
16: A.S2-i 1/24u (2a)



300% enlargement of 0016

20: A.S2-i 1/24u (2a)

30: A.S2-i 1/24u (3a)



300% enlargement of 30

35: A.S2-i 1/24u (3a)

004 A.S2-i 1/24u North-eastern Tokharistan silver mint obols, 'Heraus' type

Mitchiner 1976: 512, 515

Kujula Kadphises (A), North-eastern Tokharistan silver mint (S2), first and only phase (i), Attic standard obols (1/24u), on a reduced weight standard *c.* 0.6g, based on silver obols of Eucratides I Greek king of Bactria (*c.* 174–140 BC).

Obverse: King, head and shoulders bust, facing right, with long hair and moustache, wearing diadem with two short ribbons and crossed lapel jacket, surrounded by circle of reel and pellet motifs.

Reverse: King, male full length figure, standing facing right, with head as on obverse, wearing cross lapel jacket and leggings. Inscription in Greek, often blundered (in parallel lines to right and left of figure, to be read from left edge of coin).

1a inscription in unblundered Greek: ΗΙΑΙΟΥ ΚΟΡΣΑΝΟΥ (of the Yabgu, Kushan), cursive letters.

2a inscription in unblundered Greek: ΗΙΑΟΥ[Σ] ΚΟΡΡΑΝΟΥ, square letters.

3a as 2a, but inscription in blundered Greek

No.	PRN	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Rev.
0013*	299498	1890,0404.8	0.74	11	1a
0014	299500	1890,0404.10	0.71	10	1a
0015*	299499	1890,0404.9	0.49	11	1a
0016*	299504	1890,0404.7	0.69	12	2a
0017	299505	1922,0424.4539	0.68	11	2a
0018	299509	1987,0109.183	0.59	12	2a
0019	299508	1894,0507.1843	0.57	12	2a
0020*	299502	1894,0507.1841	0.57	12	2a
0021	299503	1893,0902.1	0.56	11	2a
0022	299506	1894,0507.1842	0.56	13	2a
0023†	299507	1890,0404.12	0.40	11	2a
0024	299511	1987,0109.185	0.67	12.5	3a
0025	299522	1894,0507.1840	0.65	12	3a
0026	299518	1894,0507.1844	0.63	12	3a
0027	299513	1987,0109.189	0.62	11.5	3a
0028	299521	1894,0507.1838	0.61	12	3a
0029	299515	1987,0109.191	0.61	11	3a
0030*	299516	1987,0109.187	0.61	12	3a
0031	299514	1987,0109.190	0.59	12	3a
0032	299512	1987,0109.186	0.57	11	3a
0033	299517	1987,0109.188	0.54	18	3a
0034†	299519	1894,0507.1839	0.49	11	3a
0035*	299510	1987,0109.184	0.48	12	3a
0036†	299501	1890,0404.11	0.43	12	3a
0037	299520	1922,0424.4538	0.43	12	3a

† The edge of these coins is broken

Sind region silver mint (A.S3)

A find of Indo-Parthian silver coins, made during the excavations at Sirkap, Taxila (Marshall 1951: 211–12), included three small silver coins attributable to Kujula Kadphises. All examples have a bust of the king on the obverse and the Greek goddess of victory Nike (related to the Kushan goddess Oanindo) on the reverse, as the Indo-Parthian coins with which they were found. The mint responsible for the issue of Kujula Kadphises' silver coins is probably the same mint as struck the Indo-Parthian coins with which they were found. These coins and the associated Indo-Parthian coins can be attributed to a mint in Sind because some of the Indo-Parthian examples are overstruck on silver coins of Nahapana, the Scythian king of Barygaza in western India (Cribb 1992). The only recorded denomination for the mint is an Indian standard drachm (slightly reduced in weight, *c.* 2g). Only one phase of production has been recorded.

005 A.S3-i ¼u Sind silver mint drachms, winged victory type

Mitchiner 1976: 1110, 1111; 2004: 1910–12

Kujula Kadphises (A), Sind region silver mint (S3), first and only phase (i), Indian standard drachms (¼u), on a reduced weight standard *c.* 2g, with designs copying Sind drachms of Indo-Parthian kings, Sarpedanes, Satavastres and Sasan (mid-1st century AD).

Obverse: King, head and shoulders bust, facing left, with long hair to collar, beardless, with moustache and sideburns, wearing tall hat, marked with crescent and crest ornament above, diadem with fan shaped tie and two ribbons and cross lapel jacket. Inscription in blundered Greek (clockwise, from about 12.00, end not clear, read from centre), beginning ΒΑΣΙΛ … (of King…).

1A single looped tie on diadem.

1B double looped tie on diadem.

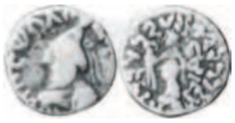
Reverse: Nike, Greek goddess of victory, standing female winged figure, facing left or right, with hair in top knot, wearing Greek dress, holding dotted diadem in extended right hand, and palm in left hand and over shoulder. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (anticlockwise, read from centre): various.

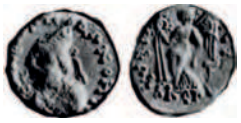
1a Nike facing left, inscription from 12.00: *maharajasa rajatirajasa tratarasa oṣanasa* (of King, King of Kings, Kushan, the Saviour), control mark in right field: Kharoshthi *bhu*.

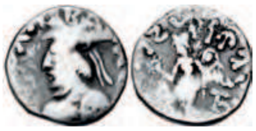
1b as 1a, inscription from 8.00, only partially visible from 9.00 to 2.00: *maharajasa raja[ti]rajasa… sa*.

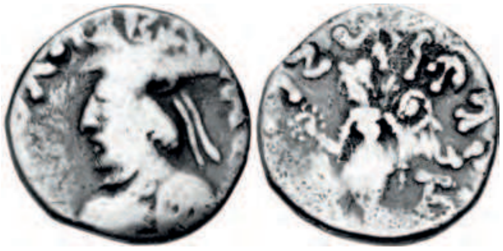
1c as 1a, inscription from 12.00, only partially visible from 10.00 to 2.00: … *rajatirajasa khaṣanasa kuyu*…. ([of King], King of Kings, Kushan, Kuju[la]…).

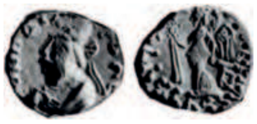
2a as 1a, but goddess facing right, inscription from 12.00, only partially visible from 11.00 to 9.00: …*rajasa rajati* … (of King, King of [Kings…]), control mark in left field: Kharoshthi *bhu*.

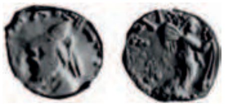

A: A.S3-i ¼u (1A/1a)


B: A.S3-i ¼u-(1A/1b)


C: A.S3-i ¼u-(1B/1a)


200% enlargement of C

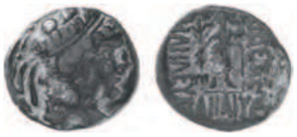

D: A.S3-i ¼u-(1B/1c)


E: A.S3-i ¼u-(1B/2a)

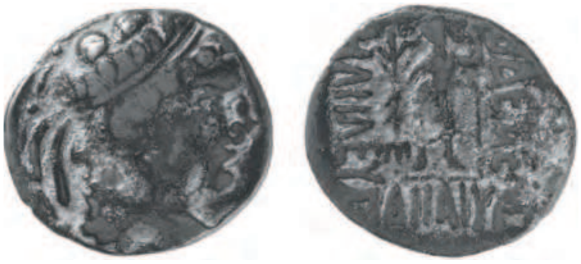
No.	Reference	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Mitchiner 2004: 1910	1.94	15	1A	1a
B*	Taxila, RUC no.258 (= Mukherjee no. 48 & 51 = Senior B4.1Di)	1.96	15	1A	1b
C*	CNG, sale 88, lot 639	1.79	16	1B	1a
D*	Taxila RUC no. 259 (= Mukherjee no. 49 = Senior B4.1Dii)	1.88	16	1B	1c
E*	Taxila RUC no. 260 (= Mukherjee no. 50 = Senior B4.2D)	1.88	14	1B	2a

Uncertain location silver mint (A.S4)

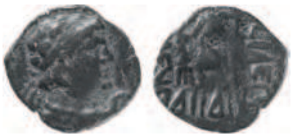
The only coin recorded for this mint was collected in Pakistan. It features the same denomination and obverse design as used at the Sind silver mint (A.S3). It is possible that this so far unique coin was also issued in Sind, but until further evidence emerges it is listed here under a separate mint. The reverse design, the Greek goddess of good fortune Tyche (related to the Kushan goddess Ardochsho), differentiates it from the Sind silver mint issues and suggests a possible link with the silver coinage of the Indo-Scythian Satrap Jihonika (Zeionises), which also features Tyche. There is only one phase of production.



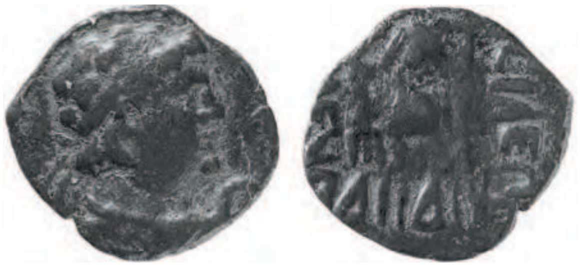
45: A.C1-i ¼u-(2A/2a)



45: Enlargement 200%



46: A.C1-i ¼u-(2B/2a)



46: Enlargement (200%)

2B as 3A, longer ear and hair as row of loops above diadem.
Reverse: Zeus, Greek sky god, standing male figure, facing forward, sometimes crowned with rays, wearing skirt and scarf (over left shoulder) holding sceptre in his left hand and thunderbolt in his right hand. Inscription in Greek, letters often with corrupted forms (parallel lines to right and left of figure, read from left edge): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ and (anticlockwise, straight line, from about 7.00 to 5.00, read from edge) ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ (of King Heliocles, the Just); control mark, by or below king's legs: various, Greek letters or monograms (see below).
1a inscription with Os drawn as dots or missing and Ks with separated or missing short out strokes in ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ and ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ, square Σ in ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ, second Σ in ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ as single line merged with Υ in ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ, control mark, on left by god's leg: Greek monogram ΠΙ.
2a as 1a, but diadem ribbons by god's head extended; Os missing and Ks without out strokes in ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ and ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ, square Σs in ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ and ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, control mark, on left by god's leg: Greek monogram ΠΙ.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	ANS (1979.45.145)		4.14	20	1A	1a
0045*	299484	OR.289	3.05	17	2A	2a
0046*	299485	OR.288	2.22	17	2B	2a

Begram region copper production centres (A.C2A & A.C2B)

The commonest coins of Kujula Kadphises' reign are the Hermaeus imitation issues of copper tetradrachms on the Indian standard, adapting the designs of the silver issues of the Indo-Greek King Hermaeus. The obverse bust of Hermaeus was retained, but the image of the Greek god Zeus on the reverse was replaced by that of the Greek god Heracles. The attribution of all varieties of this coinage is based on the Gandhari inscription naming Kujula Kadphises. The finds from Begram and Taxila show them in circulation in large quantities at both sites. Analysis of the variations in design suggests they were made in both Begram and Taxila, distinguishable by minor changes in design and attributable on the basis of their level of representation at each site. The higher proportion of well-made full weight examples among the Begram finds suggests that the series began in that region. The Taxila issues are copies of the Begram issues.

The Begram region issues fall into two separate series, which are provisionally attributed to two production centres, as there are no features which can be interpreted as evidence that they are sequential. The two series are distinguished by their obverse inscriptions. The coins of production centre A have a modified version of the Greek inscription used on the original coins of Hermaeus. Those of production centre B have a new inscription naming Kujula Kadphises.

Production centre A has only one phase, but during its progression there is a gradual reduction of the weight standard from the 9.7g standard of the Indo-Greek tetradrachm down to about 6.00g.

Production centre B has two phases, distinguished by their inscriptions. Phase 1 coins are inscribed in Greek language and Greek script: ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΖ[Ο]Υ ΚΟΡΣΝ[Α]ΟΥ, but phase 2 coins are inscribed in Bactrian language in Greek script: ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΕΙ ΚΟΡΣΑΝΕΙ. Some phase 1 coins have their Kharoshthi inscription written using a Sanskritised version of Gandhari. These coins seem to have been designed by an exceptional artisan, as his treatment of both the bust on the obverse and the god on the reverse are of high quality and his use of Sanskrit spelling shows a knowledge of Kharoshthi orthography which is unique at this period. On one coin he adds the Indian title *Swami* before the king's name, perhaps under influence of the practice in the territory of the satrapal states in western India. All centre B coins are struck close to the original standard of the Indo-Greek tetradrachm, except for a small group of unofficial copies (A.C2B-imit-i 1u) and a unique drachm denomination (A.C2B-i ¼u).

Unofficial copies based on the issues of both the Begram and Taxila production centres are also numerous (A.C2/3-imit 1u).

009 A.C2A-i 1u Begram centre A phase 1 tetradrachms, in name of Hermaeus

Mitchiner 1976: 1044

Kujula Kadphises (A), Begram copper production centre A (C2A), first phase (i), Indian standard tetradrachms (1u), on a falling weight standard *c.* 9.7–6g, derived from the very debased silver tetradrachms posthumously issued in the name of the Indo-Greek King Hermaeus, with a weight standard based on the Indo-Greek silver tetradrachm of *c.* 9.7g.

Obverse: King, head and shoulders bust, facing right, with short hair formed of tight curls, wearing diadem, and cloak over both shoulders, clasped in centre of chest. Inscription in Greek (clockwise, from 7.00 to 4.00, read from centre): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΥ and (anticlockwise, from 7.00 to 4.00, read from edge): ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ (of King Hermaeus, the Saviour, misspelt).

1A looped tie and single bent ribbon on diadem.

1B looped tie and two straight ribbons on diadem.

1C two curved ribbons on diadem.

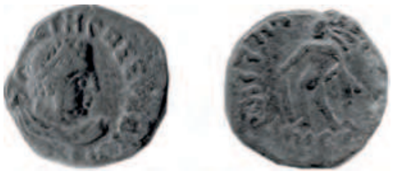
Reverse: Heracles, Greek hero god, standing male figure, facing front, head to left or front, wearing diadem, naked, lion skin hanging from left arm, holding club (resting on floor) in extended right hand. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (anticlockwise, from 12.00/1.00 to 11.00/12.00, read from centre): *kujula kasasa kuṣaṇa yavugasa dhamathidasa* (of Kujula Kasa, Kushan Yabgu, Firm in the Law); with or without control mark.

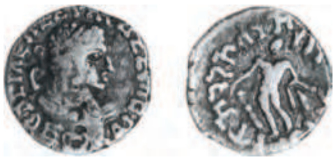
1a god's head left, two diadem ribbons to right, lion skin with tail.

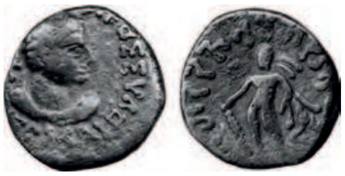
2a as 1a, inscription from 4.00 to 5.00, control mark, in right field: Kharoshthi *bu*.

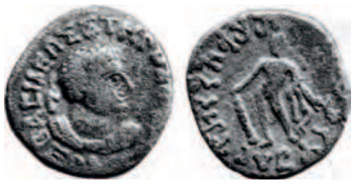
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
0047	299524	1846,1027.5	8.98	22	1A	1a
0048	280263	1838,EIC.66	8.98	23	1A	1a
0049	299523	1922,0424.3003	8.79	23	1A	1a
0050†	299542	1894,0506.1684	8.50	21	1A	1a
0051	199226	1894,0506.1676	8.47	24	1A	1a
0052	299535	OR.8952	8.39	24	1A	1a
0053*	299526	1850,0305.157	7.88	22	1A	1a
0054	299525	1847,1201.67	7.62	23	1A	1a
0055	299537	OR.8968	7.17	20	1A	1a
0056*	282578	1922,0424.4557	6.97	21	1A	1a
0057*	280262	IOC.257	6.66	22	1A	1a
0058*	232802	IOC.256	-	23	1A	1a
0059*	232798	1847,1201.60	-	24	1A	1a
0060	192733	1989,0904.680	10.96	25	1B	1a
0061	299527	1957,0309.1	9.57	24	1B	1a
0062	299531	1894,0506.1685	9.01	22	1B	1a
0063†	299532	1956,0409.166	8.37	23	1B	1a
0064	299591	1847,1201.66	7.89	22	1B	1a
0065†	299533	1894,0506.1683	7.37	22	1B	1a
0066	299534	1894,0506.1689	7.27	23	1B	1a
0067	299538	OR.8963	7.24	22	1B	1a
0068	299528	OR.299	7.04	23	1B	1a
0069*	299529	OR.302	6.84	23	1B	1a
A*	234464	IOLC.1060	7.60	24	1C	1a
0070*	2995570629	1853,0301.1275	7.60	24	1C	2a

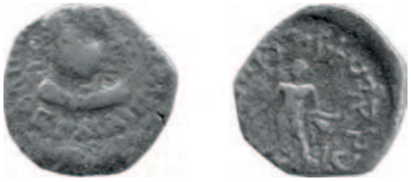
† V-shaped omega

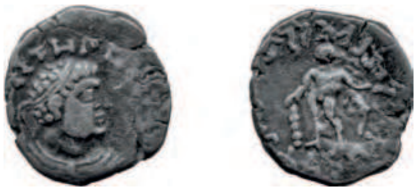

53: A.C2A-i (1A/1a)

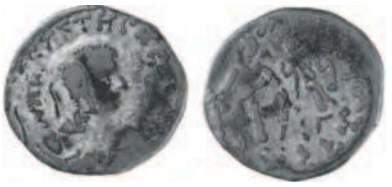

56: A.C2A-i (1A/1a)

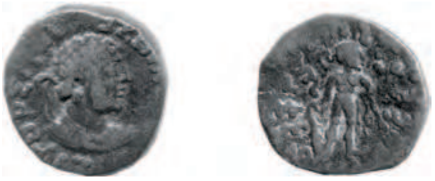

57: A.C2A-i (1A/1a)

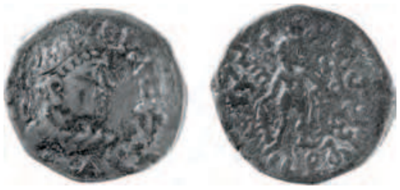

58: A.C2A-i (1A/1a)

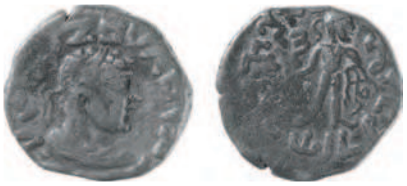

69: A.C2A-i (1B/1a)

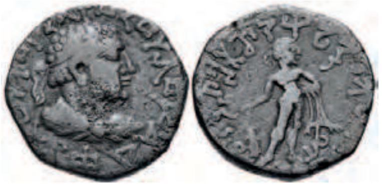

A: A.C2A-i 1u (1C/1a)

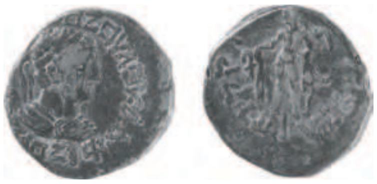

70: A.C2A-i 1u (1C/2a)

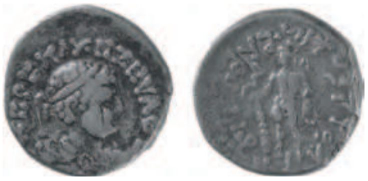

71 A.C2B-i 1u (1A/1a)

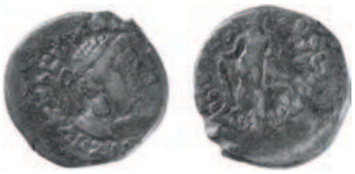

72: A.C2B-i 1u (1A/1a)

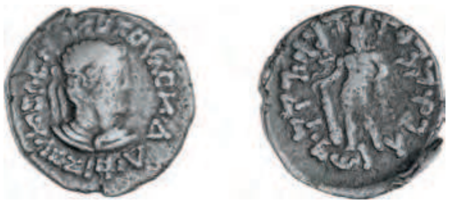

73: A.C2B-i 1u (1B/1a)


A: A.C2B-i 1u (1C/1b)


75: A.C2B-i 1u (2A/2a)


78: A.C2B-i 1u (2B/2b)


81: A.C2B-i 1u (2B/2b)

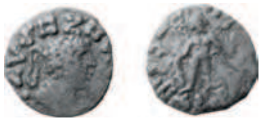

B: A.C2B-i 1u (3A/2b)

010 A.C2B-i 1u Begram centre B phase 1 tetradrachms, in the name of Kujula

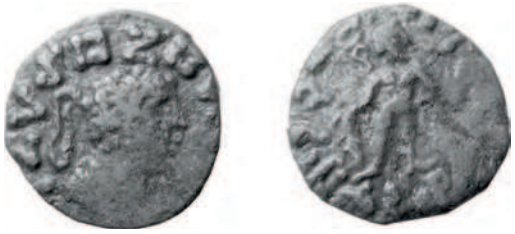
Mitchiner 1976: 1049–50
Kujula Kadphises (A), second copper production centre at Begram (C2B), first phase (i), Indian standard tetradrachms (1u), *c.* 9.7g, derived from the very debased silver tetradrachms issued in the name of the Indo-Greek King Hermaeus, with a weight standard based on the Indo-Greek silver tetradrachm of *c.* 9.7g.
Obverse: King, head and shoulders bust, facing right, with short hair formed of tight curls, wearing diadem, and cloak over both shoulders, clasped in centre of chest. Inscription in Greek (clockwise, from 12.30 to 12.00, read from centre): ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΖΥ ΚΟΡΣΝΟΥ or ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΖΟΥ ΚΟΡΣΝ[ΑΟΥ] (Kujula Kadphises, Kushan) .
1A two curved ribbons joined at bottom on diadem, inscription: ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΖΥ ΚΟΡΣΝΟΥ.
1B as 1A, inscription abbreviated to: ΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΖΥ ΚΟΡ.
1C as 1A, inscription: ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΖΥ ΚΟΡΣΝ.
2A two curved ribbons on diadem, inscription: ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΖΟΥ ΚΟΡΣΝΑ[ΟΥ].
2B as 2A, inscription ends: ΚΟΡΣΝ[Α].
3A looped tie and two ribbons on diadem, inscription ends: ΚΟΡΣΝ[Α].
Reverse: Heracles, standing male figure, facing front, head to right or left, wearing diadem with one or two ribbon, naked, lion skin hanging from left arm, holding club (resting on floor) in extended right hand. Inscription in Sanskritised Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (anticlockwise, from 11.00 to 11.30, read from centre): *[svamisa] kujūla katsasya kuṣaṇa yavug´asya dharmathida[sya]* (1a) or in Gandhari: *kujula kasasa kuṣaṇa yavugasa dhamathidasa* (2a and 2b) (of Kujula Ka[t]sa, Kushan Yabgu, Firm in the Law); control marks: various or none (as below).
1a diadem with one ribbon, lion skin with curled tail, inscription in Sanskritised Gandhari, written in ornamental style: *kujūla katsasya kuṣaṇa yavug´asya dharmathida*, control mark, in right field: Kharoshthi *bu*; in left field: Kharoshthi *dha*.
1b diadem with two ribbons, lion with curled tail, inscription in Sanskritised Gandhari, written in ornamental style: *svamisa kujūla katsasya kuṣaṇa yavug´asya dharmathidasya*, without control mark.
2a diadem with one ribbon, lion skin with bent tail, inscription in usual style: *kujula kasasa kuṣana yavugasa dhamathidasa*, control marks in right field: Kharoshthi *bu*; in left field: Kharoshthi *i*.
2b as 2a, but control mark in left field: Kharoshthi *dha*.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
0071*	299573	1850,0305.95	9.07	23	1A	1a
0072*	299576	1903,1106.1	8.87	24	1A	1a
0073*	299572	IOC.260	9.83	23	1B	1a
0074	299575	1922,0116.29	8.94	22	1B	1a
A*	CNG e-sale 297 lot 609				1C	1b
0075*	299574	1894,0506.1677	9.02	23	2A	2a
0076	299579	1889,0105.1183	8.39	22	2A	2a
0077	299592	1847,1201.73	8.34	23	2A	2a
0078*	299571	1844,0909.21	9.27	23	2B	2b
0079	299566	OR.8970	9.23	23	2B	2b
0080	299586	1847,1201.76	9.13	22	2B	2b
0081*	299564	1847,1201.65	8.51	21	2B	2b
0082	299584	1850,0305.158	8.02	21	2B	2b
B*	ANS (1944.100.28129)		9.71	26	3A	2b
0083	280260	IOC.258	9.31	24	3A	2b

011 A.C2B-i ¼u Begram centre B phase I drachms, Indo-Greek standard



A: A.C2B-i ¼u

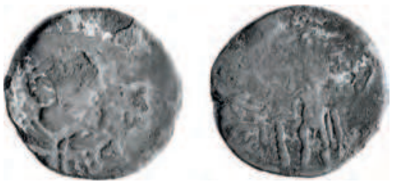


200% enlargement of A

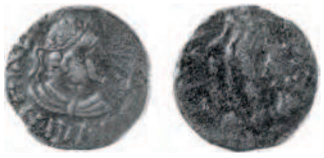
Previously unpublished
Kujula Kadphises (A), Begram production centre B (C2B), first phase (i), drachms (¼u). The only example (in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge) weighs 1.92g, derived from the very debased silver drachms issued in the name of the Indo-Greek King Hermaeus, with a weight standard based on the Indo-Greek silver drachm of *c.* 2.4g.
Obverse: King, head and shoulders bust, facing right, with short hair formed of tight curls, wearing diadem with two curved ribbons joined at bottom, cloak over both shoulders, knotted in centre of chest (as A. C2B-i 1u, obverse 1A). Inscription in Greek (clockwise, from 10.30 to 10.00, read from centre): ΚΟΖΟΥ[ΛΟ ΚΑΔΦ]ΙΣΥ (Kujula Kadphises).
Reverse: Heracles, standing male figure, facing front, head to right or left, wearing diadem with one or two ribbons, naked, lion skin hanging from his left arm, holding club, resting on floor, in extended right hand (as A.C2B-i 1u, reverse 1a). Inscription in Sanskritised Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (anticlockwise, from 11.00 to 11.30, read from centre): *kujūla ka[tsasya] ku[ṣaṇa ya]vu[g´asya dha]rmathi[da]* (of Kujula… Ku[shan Ya]bgu, Firm in the Law).

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
A*	Cambridge (01336-7)		1.92	15

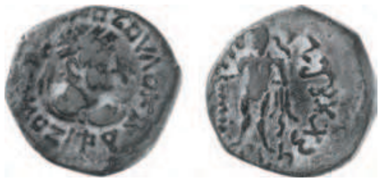
012 A.C2B-imit-i 1u crude copies of A.C2B-i 1u, obv. 2A or 2B, rev. 2a



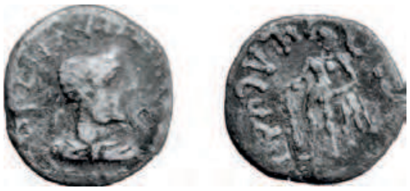
A: A.C2B-imit-i 1u (1A/1a)



84: A.C2B-imit-i 1u (1A/1b)



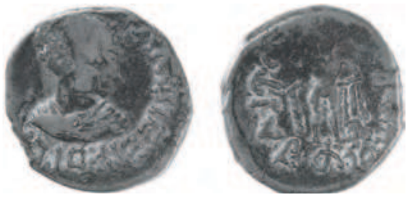
85: A.C2B-imit-i 1u (1B/1b)



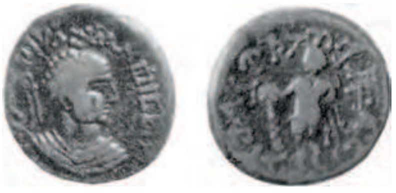
B: A.C2B-imit-i 1u (1B/1b)

Mitchiner 1976: 1051
Period of Kujula Kadphises (A), Begram copper production centre B (C2B), imitation of first phase (imit-i), Indian standard tetradrachms (1u), on a falling standard *c.* 9.7–4g, derived from the very debased silver tetradrachms issued in the name of the Indo-Greek King Hermaeus.
Obverse: King, head and shoulders bust, facing right, with short hair formed of tight curls, wearing diadem, and cloak over both shoulders, clasped in centre of chest.
Inscription in Greek, often blundered (clockwise, from 12.30 to 12.00, read from centre): ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΖΟΥ ΚΟΡΣΝΑ[ΟΥ] (Kujula Kadphises, Kushan).
1A two curved ribbons on diadem (as A.C2B-i 1u, obv. 2A).
1B looped tie and two ribbons on diadem (as A.C2B-i 1u, obv. 2B).
Reverse: Heracles, standing male figure, facing front, head to right or left, wearing diadem with one ribbon, naked, lion skin with tail hanging from his left arm, holding club (resting on floor) in extended right hand. Inscription in blundered Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (anticlockwise, various starting points, read from centre): *kujula kasasa kuṣaṇa yavugasa dhamathidasa* (of Kujula Kasa, Kushan Yabgu, Firm in the Law); with or without control mark.
1a diadem with one ribbon, inscription blundered and misplaced version of *kujula kasasa kuṣana yavugasa dhamathidasa* (as A.C2B-i 1u, rev. 2a), control mark in right field: Kharoshthi *ra*.
1b as 1a, but no control mark.

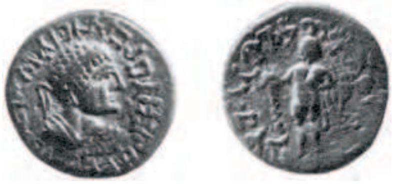
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	ANS (1997.66.2574)		8.87	23	1A	1a
0084*	299597	1894,0506.1680	5.85	21	1A	1b
0085*	299570	IOC.259	9.12	24	1B	1b
B*	234537	IOLC.1133	6.98	21	1B	1b



86: A.C2B-ii (1A/1a)

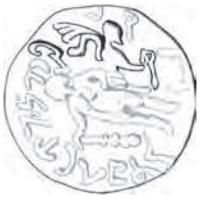


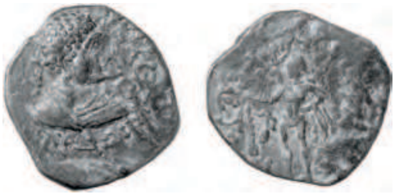
A: A.C2B-ii (1B/1a)



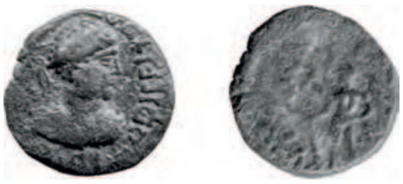
B: A.C2B-ii 1u (1C/1a)

Undertype of B highlighted

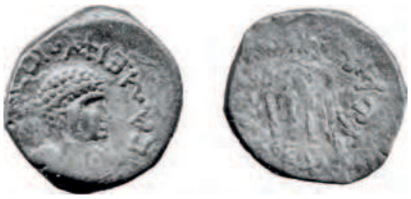




C: A.C2B-ii 1u (1C/1b)



D: A.C2B-ii 1u (1D/1c)



E: A.C2B-ii 1u (1E/1c)

013 A.C2B-ii 1u Begram centre B phase 2 tetradrachms, Bactrian inscription

Mitchiner 1978: 2869

Kujula Kadphises (A), Begram centre production B (C2B), second phase (ii), Indian standard tetradrachms (1u), *c.* 9.7g, derived from the very debased silver tetradrachms issued in the name of the Indo-Greek King Hermaeus.

Obverse: King, head and shoulders bust, facing right, with short hair formed of tight curls, wearing diadem with two ribbons, cloak over both shoulders, clasped in centre of chest. Inscription in Bactrian, written in Greek (the script is unmodified, without a character for 'sh', but the language is clearly Bactrian rather than Greek) (clockwise or anticlockwise, with various starting points, see below): ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΕΙ ΚΟΡΣΑΝΕΙ (Kujula Kadphises, Kushan).

1A as above with inscription: (ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ) ΚΑΔΦΙΣΕΙ ΚΟΡΣΑ(ΝΕΙ) (clockwise, from 10.30 to 10.00, read from edge).

1B as 1A, but inscription: (ΚΟΖ)ΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΕΙ Κ(ΟΡΣΑΝΕΙ) (clockwise, from 8.30 to 8.00, read from edge).

1C as 1A, but inscription: ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΕΙ ΚΟΡΣΑΝΕΙ (anticlockwise, from 10.00 to 10.30, read from edge).

1D as 1A, but inscription: (ΚΟΖ)ΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΕΙ ΚΟΡΣ(ΑΝΕΙ) (anticlockwise, from 9.00 to 9.30, read from edge).

1E as 1A, but inscription: ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ (ΚΑΔΦΙΣΕΙ ΚΟΡ)ΣΑΝΕΙ (anticlockwise, from 9.00 to 9.30, read from edge).

Reverse: Heracles, standing male figure, facing front, head to right or left, wearing diadem with one ribbon, naked, lion skin with tail hanging from his left arm, holding club (resting on floor) in extended right hand. Inscription in blundered Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (anticlockwise, starting point not fixed, read from the centre): *kujula kasa kuṣaṇa yavuga dharmathida* (of Kujula Kasa, Kushan Yabgu, Firm in the Law) (blundered copy of A.C2B-i 1u, rev. 2a and 2b); with various control marks.

1a inscription start place varies, full inscription not visible, control mark in right field: Kharoshthi *ku*.

1b as 1a, control marks in left field: Kharoshthi *ku* (below god's arm) and *dha* (above god's arm).

1c as 1a, illegible.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
0086*	299565	1922,0424.2976	9.32	25	1A	1a
A*	Hermitage		-	-	1B	1a
B*†	Private collection S		-	-	1C	1a
C*	Bern (14); Göbl 1993a: 15		8.87	-	1C	1b
D*	234493	IOLC.1089	8.14	23	1D	1c
E*	234460	IOLC.1056	9.95	25	1E	1c

† Overstruck on a coin of Gondophares

Taxila region copper production centres (A.C3)

Kujula Kadphises' initial issues of the Taxila region production centres are copies of his Hermaeus imitation coins of the Begram production centres. There are two series of these copies attributable to the Taxila region, which are here separated between two centres according to their relationship with their Begram region prototypes: centre A copying coins of Begram centre A (A.C2A) with the names of Hermaeus and Kujula Kadphises and centre B copying those of Begram centre B (A.C2B) with only the name of Kujula Kadphises.

Production centre A has four phases, distinguished by their progressively corrupted Greek inscriptions. Phase 1 production was of blundered copies of Begram centre A phase 1 coins (A.C2A-1), which have the same weight standard, ranging from 9.7 to 6g. Phase 2 production was also of blundered copies of the same prototype, but with their blundered Greek inscriptions randomly arranged. Some examples of this phase show a further drop in standard to 5g. Phase 3 production also copied Begram production centre A coins, but was of coins which have entirely blundered obverse inscriptions, sharing Greek letters with their prototype, but in random order. The coins of this phase feature a novel obverse design feature, showing the royal bust misinterpreted as that of the Greek god Heracles through the addition of lion-paws tied below the king's cloak. They also included types with new reverse inscriptions, featuring a Gandhari royal title: *maharaja*, and a curious rendering in Gandhari of Kujula Kadphises' name as *kalana kari*. This phase maintains a higher weight standard ranging from 8.5 down to 7g. Phase 4 production was also of coins with entirely blundered obverse inscriptions, but retain their prototypes reverse inscriptions. These coins are easily distinguished by having a distinctive treatment of Heracles' diadem ribbons extending to right and left of his head. The weight range of this phase ranges from 9 down to 1g, but pieces in good style are all above *c.* 4g, and pieces in poor style are all below 6g.

Production centre B has only one phase. Its production is of copies of Begram centre B, with a blundered Greek version of the name and titles of Kujula Kadphises on the obverse. These coins are also easily recognised by the spelling of the exceptional Gandhari title *dhamathita*, and the appearance on the majority of them of a Kharoshthi control mark *pa* or *ha* on the reverse. Their weight standard ranges from 8 to 4g.

Taxila region copper production centre A (A.C3A)

Hermaeus Imitation Heracles types in name of Hermaeus and Kujula Kadphises

014 A.C3A-i 1u Taxila centre A phase 1 tetradrachms, Hermaeus imitation

Mitchiner 1976: 1045, 1061–2

Kujula Kadphises (A), Taxila production centre A (C3A), first phase (i), copper tetradrachms (1u), on a falling weight standard *c.* 9.7–6g, ill-made versions of A.C2A-i 1u, with blundered Greek inscription.

Obverse: King, head and shoulders bust, facing right, with short hair formed of tight curls, wearing diadem, and cloak over both shoulders, clasped in centre of chest. Inscription in blundered Greek (clockwise, from about 7.00 to 4.00, read from centre):ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΥ; (anticlockwise, from about 7.00 to 4.00, read from edge) ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ (of King Hermaeus, the Saviour).

1A with blundered Greek, looped tie and single bent ribbon on diadem (bust as A.C2A-i 1u, obv. 1A).

1B as 1A, but crude bust.

1C as 1A, but blundered Greek written backwards, starting place varies.

1D looped tie and two straight ribbons on diadem (bust as A.C2A-i 1u, obv. 1B).

1E two curved ribbons on diadem (bust as A.C2A-i, obv. 1C).

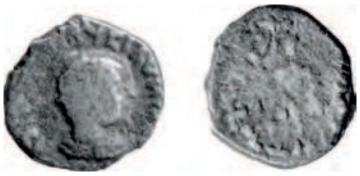
Reverse: Heracles, standing male figure, facing front, head to left, wearing diadem with two ribbons to right, naked, lion skin with tail hanging from his left arm, holding club (resting on floor) in extended right hand. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (anticlockwise, with various starting points, read from the centre): *kujula kasasa kuṣaṇa yavugasa dhamathidasa* (of Kujula Kasa, Kushan Yabgu, Firm in the Law), or misplaced and/or blundered version of same.

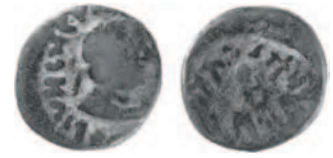
1a inscription from 12.00/1.00 to 12.30/1.30.

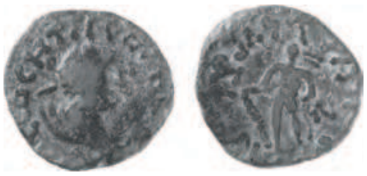
1b as 1a, but starting point of inscription misplaced.

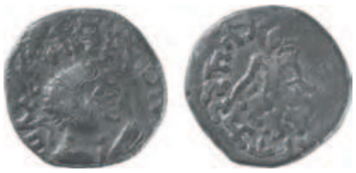
2a as 1a, but Kharoshthi written backwards and misplaced starting point.

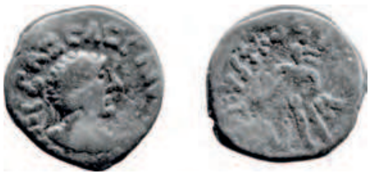
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	234667	IOLC.1262	9.53	22	1A	1a
0087*	299541	1889,0105.1117	6.74	20	1A	1a
0088	299593	1850,0305.155	5.56	20	1A	1a
0089	299553	1853,0301.1269	9.23	22	1B	1a

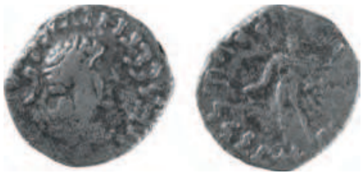

A: A.C3A-i 1u (1A/1a)

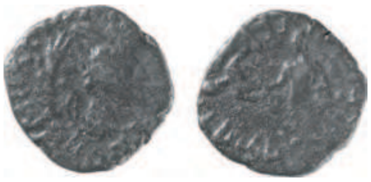

87: A.C3A-i 1u (1A/1a)

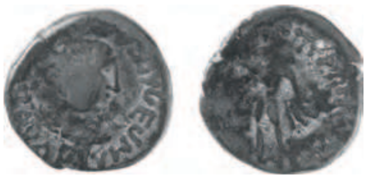

92: A.C3A-i 1u (1B/1a)

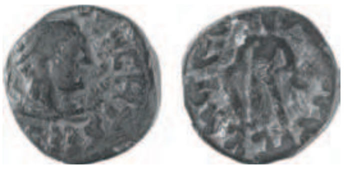

94: A.C3A-i 1u (1B/1a)

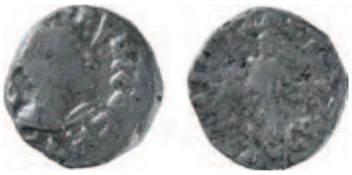

B: A.C3A-i 1u (1B/1b)

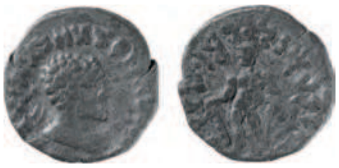

98: A.C3A-i 1u (1C/1a)

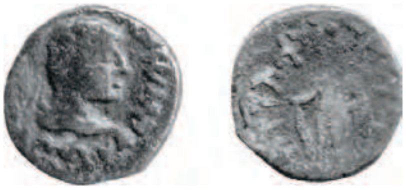

99: A.C3A-i (1C/1a)


102: A.C3A-i (1C/1b)


105: A.C3A-i (1C/2a)


109: A.C3A-i (1D/1a)


110: A.C3A-i 1u (1D/1a)


C: A.C3A-i 1u (1E/1a)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
0090	300866	OR.8966	7.73	19	1B	1a
0091	299539	1847,1201.64	7.64	23	1B	1a
0092*	299558	1844,0909.24	7.13	22	1B	1a
0093	299543	1889,0105.1116	6.98	22	1B	1a
0094*	299547	1894,0506.1678	6.92	22	1B	1a
B*	234447	IOLC.1044	9.07	23	1B	1b
0095	299554	1847,1201.69	7.65	21	1B	1b
0096	299567	1843,0512.5	7.96	21	1C	1a
0097	299549	1835,0901.4	7.46	23	1C	1a
0098*	299550	1956,0409.167	6.94	22	1C	1a
0099*†	299546	1894,0506.1682	5.96	23	1C	1a
0100	299552	1889,0105.1120	8.68	22	1C	1b
0101	299556	OR.8961	8.15	22	1C	1b
0102*	299551	1889,0105.1119	8.11	23	1C	1b
0103	299568	1843,0512.12	7.68	22	1C	1b
0104	299563	IOC.267	8.07	22	1C	2a
0105*	299562	1894,0506.1686	7.86	21	1C	2a
0106	299561	1889,0105.1121	7.79	22	1C	2a
0107	299560	OR.300	6.92	22	1C	2a
0108	299545	OR.9011	9.19	22	1D	1a
0109*	299540	OR.301	8.09	22	1D	1a
0110*	299548	1982,1115.59	6.62	22	1D	1a
0111	299588	OR.8964	6.54	21	1D	1a
0112	280264	1838,EIC.67	6.03	21	1D	1a
C*	234648	IOLC.1243	7.60	24	1E	1a

† Overstruck on itself

015 A.C3A-ii 1u Taxila centre A phase 2 tetradrachms, crude version 2

Kujula Kadphises (A), Taxila production centre A, (C3A), second phase (ii), Indian standard tetradrachms (1u), on a falling weight standard *c.* 9.7–5g, ill-made versions of A.C2A-i 1u, with Heracles head to right and left, with diadem ribbons.

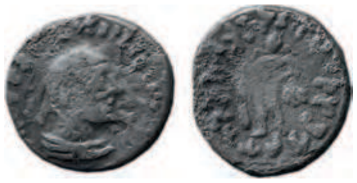
Obverse: King, head and shoulders bust, facing right, with short hair formed of tight curls, wearing diadem, and cloak over both shoulders, clasped in centre of chest. Inscription in blundered Greek (random starting point): a version of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΥ; ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ (of King Hermaeus, the Saviour), misspelt.

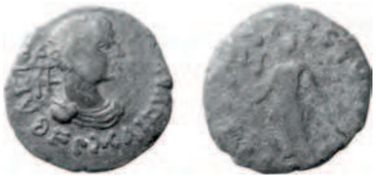
1A looped tie and two straight ribbons on diadem.

1B as 1A, but cloak clasped over right shoulder.

1C two curved ribbons on diadem.

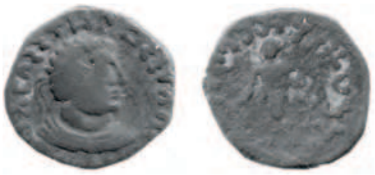
Reverse: Heracles, standing male figure, facing front, head to front, wearing diadem with ribbons to right and left, naked, lion skin hanging from his left arm, holding club (resting on floor) in extended right hand.


A.C3A-ii 1u (1A)

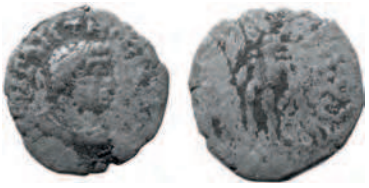

B.C3A-ii 1u (1B)

Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (anticlockwise, from 12.00/1.00 to 12.30/1.30, read from centre): *kujula kasasa kuṣaṇa yavugasa dhamathidasa* (of Kujula Kasa, Kushan Yabgu, Firm in the Law).

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.
A*	Taxila (473.05)		-	-	1A
B*	Fitzwilliam		-	-	1B
0113*†	299530	1853,0301.1274	7.75	23	1C
0114*	299536	OR.8962	6.51	24	1C



113: A.C3A-ii 1u (1C)



114: A.C3A-ii 1u (1C)

016 A.C3A-iii 1u Taxila centre A phase 3 tetradrachms, crude version 3

Kujula Kadphises (A), Taxila production centre A (C3A), third phase (iii), Indian standard tetradrachms (1u), on a falling weight standard *c.* 8.5–7g, ill-made versions of A.C2A-i 1u, with king's cloak with two ribbons emerging from clasp of cloak, like Heracles' lion skin cloak.

Obverse: King, head and shoulders bust, facing right, with short hair formed of tight curls, wearing diadem with two straight ribbons (as A.C2A-i 1u, obv. 1B), cloak over both shoulders, clasped in centre of chest with two ribbons below clasp (in imitation of representations of Heracles wearing the Nemaean lion skin as a cloak.) Inscription in blundered Greek (randomly written, unrelated to inscriptions of A.C2A-i 1u or A.C2B-i 1u).

Reverse: Heracles, standing male figure, facing front, head to left, right or front, wearing diadem, naked, lion skin without tail hanging from his left arm, holding club (resting on floor) in extended right hand. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (anticlockwise, from 12.00/1.00 to 12.30/1.30, read from centre): *kujula kasasa kuṣaṇa yavugasa dhamathidasa* (of Kujula Kasa, Kushan yabgu, firm in the law), or an inscription beginning *maharaja* (see below).

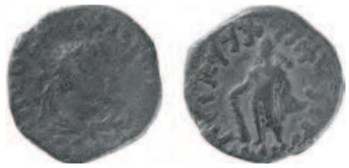
1a head left, single diadem ribbon to right, inscription: *kujula kasasa kuṣaṇa yavugasa dhamathidasa*.

2a head to front, two diadem ribbons to right and left, inscription: *maharajasa khuṣaṇasa yavugasa kuyula* (of king, Kushan yabgu, Kujula).

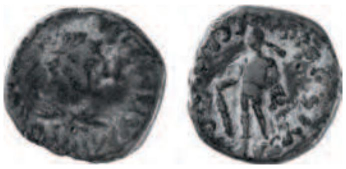
2b as 2a, inscription: *maharajasa khuṣaṇasa yavugasa kalana ka[bisa]* (of King, Kushan Yabgu, Kalana Kari).

2c head to right diadem with two short ribbons to left, inscription: *maharajasa khuṣaṇasa yavugasa kalana ka[bisa]* (of King, Kushan Yabgu, Kalana Kari).

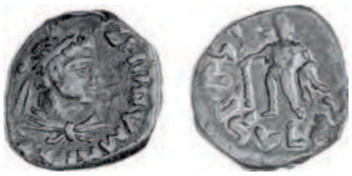
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Rev.
0115*	299544	1845,0613.29	9.13	21	1a
0116*	299589	OR.8960	8.12	22	1a
0117	299598	1843,0812.7	5.69	21	2a
A*	ANS (1944.100.28113)		7.15	22	2a
B*	Taxila (563.11)		-	-	2a
C*	Private collection B (320.40)		-	-	2b
D*	Taxila (318.07)		-	-	2b
E*	ANS (0000.999.12633)		5.85	21	2c
F*	ANS (1911.105.371)		6.91	22	2c
G*	Fitzwilliam (01115-6)		-	-	2c



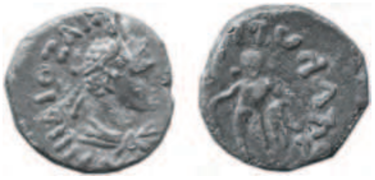
115: A.C3A-iii 1u (1a)



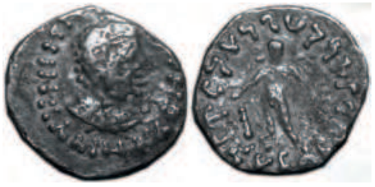
116: A.C3A-iii (1a)



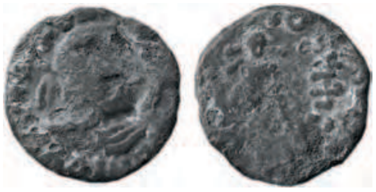
A: A.C3A-iii 1u (2a)



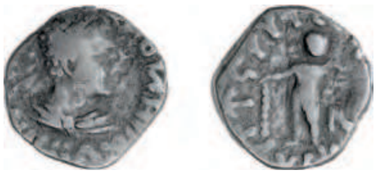
B: A.C3A-iii 1u (2a)



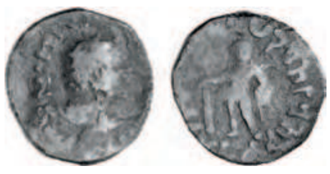
C: A.C3A-iii 1u (2b)



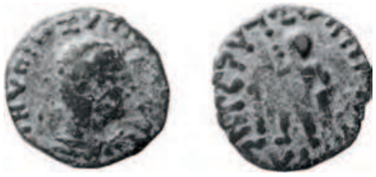
D: A.C3A-iii 1u (2b)



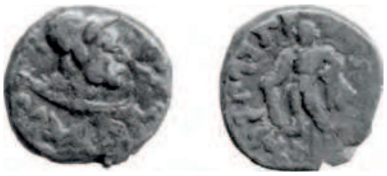
E: A.C3A-iii 1u (2c)

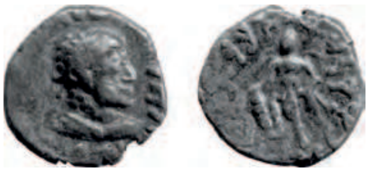


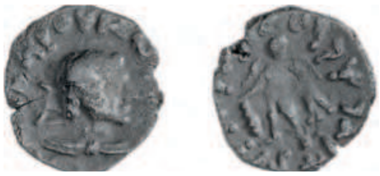
F: A.C3A-iii 1u (2c)

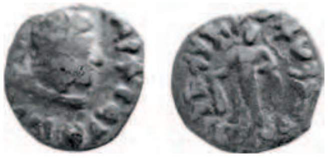


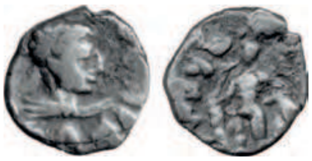
G: A.C3A-iii 1u (2c)

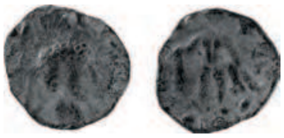

A: A.C3A-iv 1u (1A/1a)


B: A.C3A-iv (1A/1a)

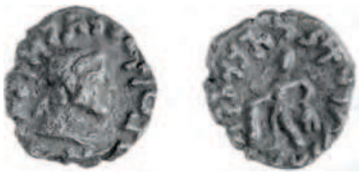

C: A.C3A-iv (1A/1a)


D: A.C3A-iv 1u (1A/1a)


E: A.C3A-iv 1u (1A/1b)


123: A.C3A-iv 1u (1A/1b)

124: A.C3A-iv 1u (1A/1b)


F: A.C3A-iv 1u (1B/1a)

017 A.C3A-iv 1u Taxila centre A phase 4 tetradrachms, crude version 4

Mitchiner 1976: 1063

Kujula Kadphises (A), Taxila production centre A (C3A), fourth phase (iv), Indian standard tetradrachms (1u), on a falling weight standard *c.* 9–4g, and close copies exhibiting a range of weights (from 6–1g), ill-made versions of A.C2A-i 1u, king's diadem with knot and single ribbon and Heracles with diadem ribbons to right and left on reverse.

Obverse: King, head and shoulders bust, facing right, with short hair formed of tight curls, wearing diadem, tied with knot (dot) and single ribbon, cloak over both shoulders, clasped in centre of chest. Inscription in blundered Greek (randomly arranged).

1A Inscription of randomly ordered Greek letters, sometimes derived from obverse of A.C2A-i 1u, obv. 1A.

1B Inscription repeating Gandhari inscription from reverse.

Reverse: Heracles, standing male figure, facing front, head to front, wearing diadem with ribbons to right and left, naked, lion skin without tail hanging from his left arm, holding club (resting on floor) in extended right hand. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (anticlockwise, from 12.00/1.00 to 12.30/1.30, read from centre): *kujula kasasa kuṣaṇa yavugasa dhamathida[sa]* (of Kujula Kasa, Kushan Yabgu, Firm in the Law).

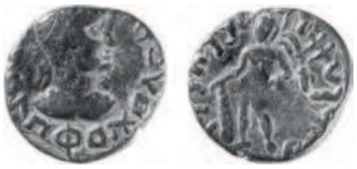
1a head to front, two diadem ribbons to left and right, lion skin without tail, inscription written correctly (as A.C2A-i 1u, rev. 2a).

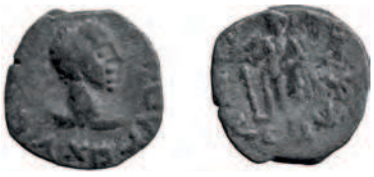
1b as 1a, but Kharoshthi written indistinctly and blundered.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	234557	IOLC.1153	10.19	22	1A	1a
B*	234559	IOLC.1155	8.86	22	1A	1a
C*	ANS (1944.100.28117)		5.81	22	1A	1a
0118	299601	OR.8949	4.55	20	1A	1a
D*	Oxford (9751-2)		-	-	1A	1a
0119	300932	OR.8951	6.08	18	1A	1b
0120	299599	OR.8967	5.65	19	1A	1b
E*	234601	IOLC.1196	4.97	19	1A	1b
0121	299606	1922,0116.31	3.70	17	1A	1b
0122	299609	OR.8955	2.74	16	1A	1b
0123*	299611	1894,0506.1679	2.44	17	1A	1b
0124*	299620	1922,0424.4509	0.93	12	1A	1b
F*	ANS (1944.100.28116)		7.21	22	1B	1a

Taxila region copper production centre B:

Hermaeus imitation Heracles types in name of Kujula Kadphises.


127: A.C3B-i 1u (1a)


A: A.C3B-i 1u (1b)

018 A.C3B-i 1u 1u Taxila centre B phase 1 tetradrachms, Hermaeus imitation

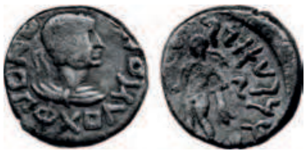
Mitchiner 1976: 1051

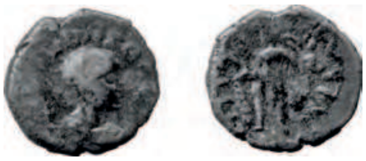
Kujula Kadphises (A), Taxila copper production centre B (C3B), first phase (i), Indian standard tetradrachms (1u), on a falling weight standard *c.* 8–4g, derived from the very debased silver tetradrachms issued in the name of the Indo-Greek King Hermaeus, with a weight standard based on the Indo-Greek silver tetradrachm of *c.* 9.7g, with inscription in blundered Greek, version of ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΖΟΥ ΚΟΡΣΝΑ[ΟΥ] (Kujula Kadphises, Kushan).

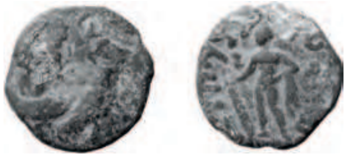
Obverse: King, head and shoulders bust, facing right, with short hair formed of tight curls, wearing diadem with a looped tie and one ribbon, cloak over both shoulders, clasped in centre of chest (copied from A.C2B-i

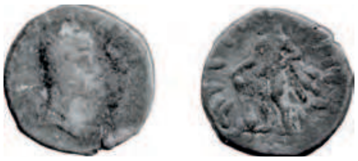
1u, obv. 3A). Inscription in blundered Greek (clockwise, from about 12.00 to 11.30, read from centre) a version of: ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΖΟΥ ΚΟΡΣΝ[ΑΟΥ] (Kujula Kadphises, Kushan), derived from the inscription of A.C2B-i 1u, obv. 3A.
Reverse: Heracles, standing male figure, facing front, head to left, wearing diadem with two ribbon, naked, lion skin without tail hanging from his left arm, holding club (resting on floor) in extended right hand. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (anticlockwise, with various starting points, read from centre): *kujula kasasa kuṣaṇa yavugasa dhamathita[sa]* (of Kujula Kasa, Kushan Yabgu, Firm in the Law) or indistinctly written version of same; control marks: various.
1a control mark in right field: Kharoshthi *pa*.
1b as 1a, but indistinct Kharoshthi.
1c as 1a, but control mark in right field: Kharoshthi *ha*.
1d as 1c, but indistinct Kharoshthi.
1e as 1a, but control mark in left field: Kharoshthi *ha*.
1f as 1a, but no control mark.
1g as 1f, but indistinct Kharoshthi.
1h as 1a, 1c, 1e or 1f, but detail indistinct.

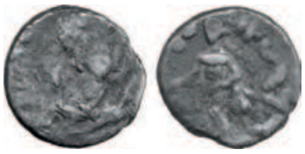
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Rev.
0125	299577	1847,1201.72	7.51	21	1a
0126	299555	1843,0812.6	6.73	21	1a
0127*	299578	1922,0424.3631	5.19	21	1a
0128	299595	1894,0506.1688	4.80	18	1a
A*	234672	IOLC.1267	6.55	22	1b
0129	299580	OR.8969	7.39	21	1c
0130	299559	1850,0305.156	6.82	19	1c
0131*	280261	IOC.261	6.41	19	1c
0132	299582	1889,0105.1118	5.30	21	1c
0133	299583	1844,0909.19	5.14	21	1c
0134	299581	1956,0409.168	4.76	19	1c
B*	234530	IOLC.1126	5.35	20	1d
C*	Fitzwilliam (0117-8)		-	-	1e
D*	234677	IOLC.1272	5.72	20	1f
0135	299599	1850,0305.96	5.43	20	1g
E*	234740	IOLC.1335	4.86	19	1g
F*	234549	IOLC.1145	3.57	20	1g
0136	299585	1850,0305.59	6.48	20	1h
0137	299590	OR.8950	6.08	18	1h
0138	299600	OR.8948	4.70	19	1h
G*	234498	IOLC.1094	5.18	19	1h

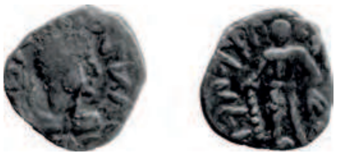

131: A.C3B-i 1u (1c)

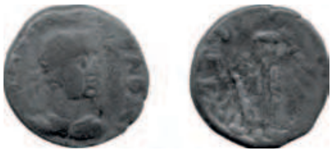

B: A.C3B-i 1u (1d)


C: A.C3B-i 1u (1e)


D: A.C3B-i 1u (1f)

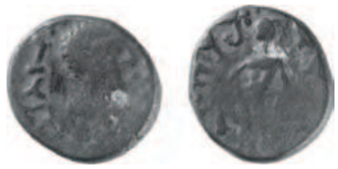

E: A.C3B-i 1u (1g)


F: A.C3B-i 1u (1g)

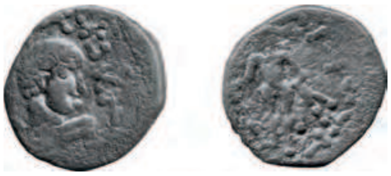

G: A.C3B-i 1u (1h)

Taxila or Begram region: unofficial copies of Kujula Kadphises of Hermaeus imitation/Heracles types

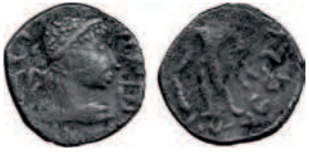
Unofficial imitations account for a large part of the currency of both Begram and Taxila regions during the first part of the reign of Kujula Kadphises. Some have weights matching lighter examples of the official coinage, but many fall well below even the lowest range of the normal standard, examples ranging in weight from 7 down to 0.5g have been recorded. The unofficial imitations are distinguished from official issues by the poor quality of their designs and inscriptions and by their low weight. It is unusual for one of these imitations to have an intelligible inscription, or to be matchable to a recognisable specific prototype.



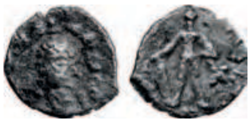
139: A.C2/3-imit 1u (1A/1a)



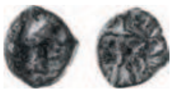
A: A.C2/3-imit 1u (1A/1a)



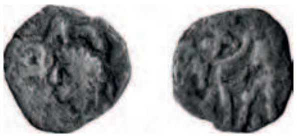
144: A.C2/3-imit 1u (1A/1a)



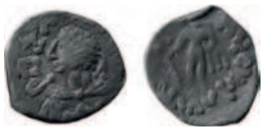
156: A.C2/3-imit 1u (1A/1a)



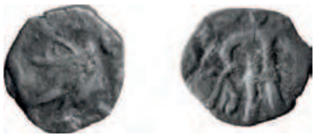
160: A.C2/3-imit 1u (1A/1a)



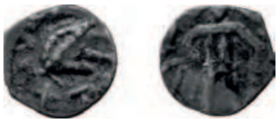
B: A.C2/3-imit 1u (1B/1a)



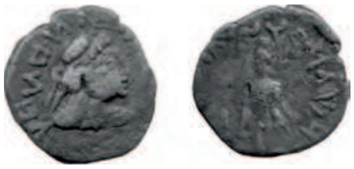
C: A.C2/3-imit 1u (1B/1a)



D: A.C2/3-imit 1u (1B/1b)



E: A.C2/3-imit 1u (1B/1b)



F: A.C2/3-imit 1u (2A/1a)

019 A.C2/3-imit 1u Imitations of Taxila or Begram tetradrachms, unofficial

Mitchiner 1976: 1064

Kujula Kadphises (A), imitations of coins from the Taxila or Begram mint (C2/3-imit), Indian standard tetradrachms (1u), on the same falling weight standard *c.* 7–0.5g, ill-designed copies of Kujula Kadphises' Heracles coins A.C2A-i 1u, A.C3A-i 1u, A.C3B-i 1u.

Obverse: King, head and shoulders bust, facing right, wearing diadem with various ribbons, cloak over both shoulders, knotted in centre of chest. Inscription in blundered Greek, randomly placed ill-formed letters.

1A head right.

1B head left.

2A as 1A, bust in style of Heliocles imitations.

Reverse: Heracles, standing male figure, facing front, head to left, naked, lion skin hanging from his left arm, holding club, resting on floor, in extended right hand. Inscription in blundered Gandhari in Kharoshthi script (anticlockwise, with various starting points, read from centre).

1a as above.

1b as 1a, but Heracles reversed, with lion skin hanging from right arm and club in extended left hand.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
0139*	300866	OR.8966	7.01	21	1A	1a
A*	234691	IOLC.1286	6.16	22	1A	1a
0140	299602	OR.8959	4.49	19	1A	1a
0141	299603	OR.8958	4.40	19	1A	1a
0142	299604	1844,0909.23	4.23	17	1A	1a
0143	299596	1902,0608.423	3.91	20	1A	1a
0144*	280267	1838,EIC.68	3.86	19	1A	1a
0145	299607	OR.8957	3.63	18	1A	1a
0146	299605	1894,0506.1687	3.07	18	1A	1a
0147	299608	1844,0909.22	2.95	18	1A	1a
0148	299610	OR.8953	2.68	17	1A	1a
0149	299612	1844,0921.37	2.43	13	1A	1a
0150	299613	1844,0909.69	2.42	17	1A	1a
0151	299614	OR.8954	1.93	15	1A	1a
0152	299615	1843,0721.6	1.75	15	1A	1a
0153	299616	1922,0423.24	1.75	16	1A	1a
0154	299623	1983,0531.293	1.72	13	1A	1a
0155	299617	OR.8956	1.70	17	1A	1a
0156*	280268	1838,EIC.70	1.53	15	1A	1a
0157	299618	1988,0324.1	1.32	14	1A	1a
0158	299619	1922,0116.47	1.14	14	1A	1a
0159	299621	1933,0705.12	0.89	12	1A	1a
0160	299622	1902,0608.424	0.59	11	1A	1a
B*	234634	IOLC.1229	2.11	17	1B	1a
C*	Taxila (464.07)		3.00	-	1B	1a
D*	234637	IOLC.1232	1.36	16	1B	1b
E*	234638	IOLC.1233	1.5	15	1B	1b
F*	234552	IOLC.1148	5.75	21	2A	1a

Taxila region copper mint (A.C4)

Following the collapse of the weight standard of the Hermaeus imitation coinage of the Taxila region, the mint based in Taxila attempted to reform the coinage and issue a new standard coinage, to replace the degenerating Hermaeus imitation tetradrachms. It might have been a continuation of one of the mints, but it cannot be identified, as the reformed coinage shows no connection with the pre-reformed coins. The attribution to Taxila is a reflection of the high concentration of the products of this mint in the finds from Taxila.

The production at this mint goes through two phases, as the first standard chosen did not halt the decline, so a lower standard was attempted in the second phase.

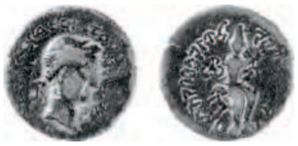
Phase 1 coins were struck on a standard of *c.* 3.5g and used designs copied from imported Roman coins. The obverse shows a head in the style of the Roman prototype and the reverse a seated figure of Kujula Kadphises, wearing Kushan dress, but in the posture adopted for the Roman emperor on some gold and silver issues of Augustus (*RIC* I (second edition): Augustus 200 and 270).

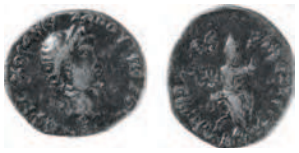
Phase 2 coins were struck on a standard of *c.* 1.7g and used designs showing the Greek god Zeus on the obverse and the king seated cross legged on the reverse, derived from Indo-Parthian (Senior 227) and Indo-Scythian (Senior 107) coins respectively.

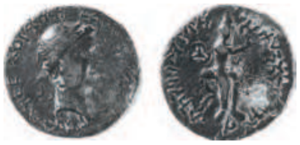
020 A.C4-i 1u Taxila copper mint phase 1 tetradrachms, Roman emperor type

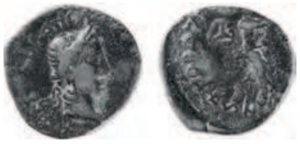
Mitchiner 1976: 1053
Kujula Kadphises (A), Taxila copper mint (C4), first phase (i), Indian standard tetradrachms, on a reduced weight standard *c.* 3.5g (1u), designs derived from gold and silver coins of the Roman emperor Augustus (31 BC–AD 14).
Obverse: King (?), head facing right, wearing wreath, in the style of a Roman emperor. Inscription in Greek (clockwise, starting from 9.00/ 10.00 to 8.00/ 9.00, with gaps between the beginning and the end of the inscription and between the second and third words, and on some coins between the first and second, read from centre): ΧΟΡΑΝΣΥ ΖΑΟΟΥ ΚΟΖΟΛΑ ΚΑΔΑΦΕΣ (of Kushan Yabgu, Kujula Kadphises).
Reverse: King, full length seated male figure, facing right, with hair covering the nape, wearing pointed hat with round finial, nomad jacket and trousers and boots, extending arm and making raised finger gesture with his right hand, holding in his left hand the hilt of the sword hanging from his belt, seated on Roman-style cross-legged curule chair. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (anticlockwise, from 11.00 to 11.30, read from centre): *khuṣaṇasa ya’u’asa kuyula kaphsasa sacadharmathitasa* (of Kushan Yabgu, Kujula Kaphsa, Firm in the True Law); control marks: three armed circular symbol in left field, with or without Kharoshthi control mark.
1a as above, without control mark.
1b as 1a, but control mark in right field: Kharoshthi *bra*.

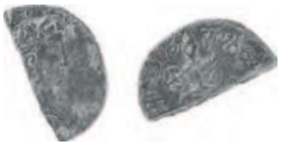
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Rev.
0161	299667	1889,0105.1184	3.75	18	1a
0162*	299661	1857,0813.44	3.46	19	1a
0163*	227687	1860,1220.68	3.44	-	1a
0164	299664	1894,0506.1088	3.43	17	1a
0165*	221975	1850,0305.184	3.38	18	1a
0166	229647	IOC.263	3.36	?	1a
0167	299662	OR.9013	3.35	18	1a
0168*	299665	1922,0424.3629	3.32	18	1a
0169	299663	1853,0301.1320	3.16	17	1a
0170	299666	1894,0506.2407	2.05	16	1a

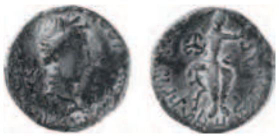

162: A.C4-i 1u (1a)

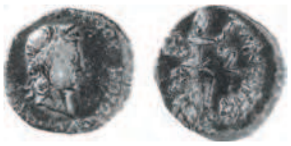

163: A.C4-i 1u (1a)

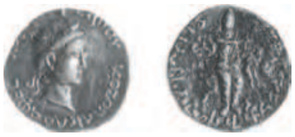

165: A.C4-i 1u (1a)


168: A.C4-i 1u (1a)

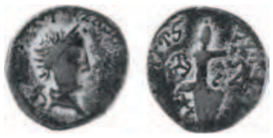

171: A.C4-i 1u (1a)


172: A.C4-i 1u (1b)

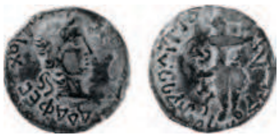

175: A.C4-i 1u (1b)



176: A.C4-i 1u (1b)

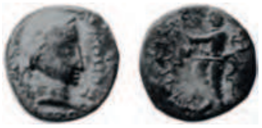


180: A.C4-i 1u (1b)

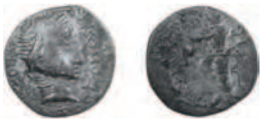


184: A.C4-i 1u (1b)

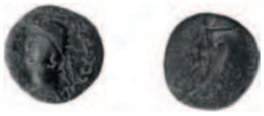
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Rev.
0171*	241073	2009,4046.1	1.98	19	1a
0172*	299648	1894,0506.2413	3.54	17	1b
0173	299652	1845,0613.93	3.46	17	1b
0174	299658	1847,1201.168	3.41	18	1b
0175*	299650	1860,1220.69	3.39	18	1b
0176*	25345	IOC.262	3.30	18	1b
0177	299655	1894,0506.2409	3.30	18	1b
0178	299651	1845,0613.99	3.26	18	1b
0179	299653	IOC.265	3.20	17	1b
0180*	299659	OR.9012	3.19	17	1b
0181	299660	1996,1030.15	3.11	18	1b
0182	299649	1894,0506.2414	3.07	17	1b
0183	299654	1894,0506.2408	3.04	17	1b
0184*	299657	IOC.264	2.79	17	1b
0185	299656	1894,0506.2411	2.47	17	1b



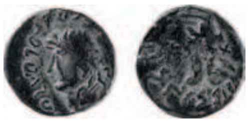
A: A.C4-imit-i 1u (1A/1a)



B: A.C4-imit-i 1u (1A/1b)



C: A.C4-imit-i 1u (1B/1a)



186: A.C4-imit-i 1u (1B/1b)

021 A.C4-imit-i 1u Taxila copper mint imitations, unofficial copies

Mitchiner 1976: 1053.

Kujula Kadphises (A), unofficial copies of the Taxila copper mint (C4), imitations (imit-i) of first phase A.C4-i 1u, Indian standard tetradrachms (1u) on a reduced weight standard *c.* 3.5g.

Obverse: King (?), head facing right or left, wearing wreath, in the style of a Roman emperor. Inscription in blundered Greek.

1A head facing right.

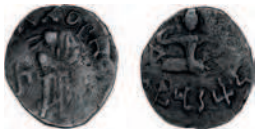
1B head facing left.

Reverse: King, full length seated male figure, facing right or left, with hair covering the nape, wearing pointed hat, nomad jacket and trousers and boots, extending arm and making raised finger gesture with his left hand, holding in his right hand the hilt of the sword hanging from his belt, seated on Roman-style cross-legged curule chair. Inscription in blundered Gandhari written in Kharoshthi script.

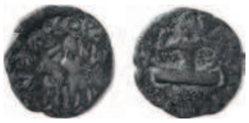
1a king facing right.

1b king facing left.

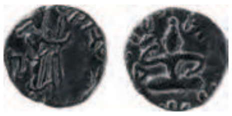
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Vienna (RDSC11530 1)		-	-	1A	1a
B*	Bern (13a)		-	-	1A	1b
C*	Paris; Vienna		-	-	1B	1a
0186*	299668	IOC.266	2.33	15	1B	1b



A: A.C4-ii 1u (1A)



189: A.C4-ii 1u (1A)



191: A.C4-ii 1u (1A)

022 A.C4-ii 1u Taxila region copper mint phase 2 tetradrachms, cross-legged king type

Mitchiner 1976: 1054

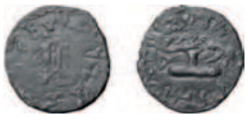
Kujula Kadphises (A), Taxila region copper mint (C4), second phase (ii), copper coin (1u), Indian standard tetradrachms, on a reduced weight standard *c.* 1.75g, designs based on coins of the Indo-Parthian king Abdagases (Senior type 227) and the Indo-Scythian king Azes (Senior type 107).

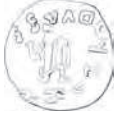
Obverse: Zeus, full length standing male figure, facing right, wearing long robe, right hand raised in blessing, left hand at waist holding staff. Inscription in blundered Greek (clockwise, from 1.00/12.00, end of inscription unclear, read from centre): XOP ... (Kuṣ[an]…)

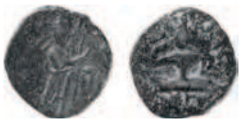
1A control mark in left field: Kharoshthi *pu*.

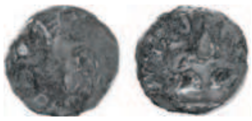
1B control mark in right field: Kharoshthi *va*.

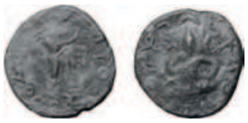
Reverse: King, full-length seated male figure, wearing nomad dress and tall hat, facing front, holding pick-axe or flower (?) in raised right hand, left hand at waist, seated cross-legged. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (anticlockwise, from 12.00 to 12.30, read from centre): *kuyula kadaphsasa kuṣaṇa yavugasa* (of Kujula Kadaphsa, Kushan Yabgu): control mark in left field (below right arm): Greek A.


B: A.C4-ii 1u (1B)


Undertype of B highlighted


192: A.C4-ii 1u (1B)


195: A.C4-ii 1u (1B)


C: A.C4-ii 1u (1A or 1B)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.
0187	299646	1922,0213.64	2.02	16	1A
A*	ANS (1944.100.29785)		1.96	16	1A
0188	299644	1922,0213.60	1.72	15	1A
0189*	299643	1922,0213.62	1.69	15	1A
0190	299645	1922,0213.61	1.61	15	1A
0191*	299642	1922,0424.3691	1.44	14	1A
B*†	Oxford (Senior 5169)		3.61	-	1B
0192*	299640	1888,1208.450	1.70	15	1B
0193	299639	1922,0424.3692	1.69	14	1B
0194	299641	1922,0213.59	1.60	14	1B
0195*	299637	1922,0213.63	1.20	15	1B
0196	299636	1922,0424.3693	2.24	15	1A or B
0197	299638	1922,0424.3690	1.75	15	1A or B
C*	Oxford (Senior 5171)		1.74	-	1A or B

† Coin is overstruck on a Su Hermaeus Nike Coin (A.C7A-iii).

Hazara (?) region copper mint (A.C5)

A single phase of coinage with helmeted bust of the king(?) on the obverse and a helmeted warrior carrying shield and spear was issued at a mint of unknown location. The recorded find spots are from Hazara and Begram. The coins do not fit into the production at Begram, so a mint is here proposed for the Hazara region. The coins were struck at the lower end of the reduced weight standard Indian tetradrachms produced at both Begram and Taxila.

023 A.C5-i 1u Hazara copper mint, helmeted warrior type

Mitchiner 1976: 1052

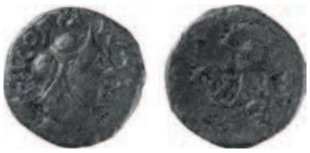
Kujula Kadphises (A), copper mint possibly in the Hazara region (C5), first and only phase (i), Indian standard mint tetradrachms, (1u), on a reduced weight standard *c.* 6–5g, as the issues of the Begram Region mints A.C2A and A.C2B and Taxila Region mint A.C3A.

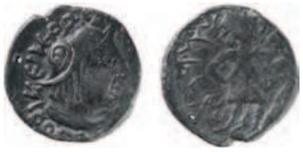
Obverse: King, head and shoulders bust, facing right, with hair covering the nape, wearing helmet with two plumes, cloak on shoulder with extension under chin. Inscription in Bactrian written in Greek script (clockwise, from 1.00/2.00 to 12.30/1.30, read from centre): ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔΟΒΙΚΕΙ ΚΟΡΣΑ[Ν] (of Kujula Kadphises, Kushan) (Α in place of Λ in some version of ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ; in some examples ΚΟΡΣΑ[Ν] is spelt ΚΟΑΡΝ…).

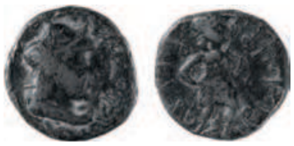
Reverse: King, standing male figure, facing front, head to right, wearing helmet (as king on obverse, but with single plume) and armour, holding spear in his right hand and shield in his left. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (anticlockwise, from 11.00 to 1.00, read from centre): *kuṣaṇa yavu'asa kuyula ka'usa* (of Kushan Yabgu, Kujula Ka'u), with or without control marks.

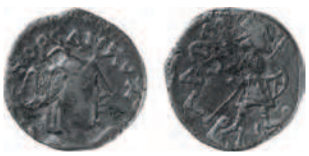
1a as above.

1b as 1a, but control marks in left field: Kharoshthi *ho* (behind king's right shoulder) and *ma* (below king's right elbow).

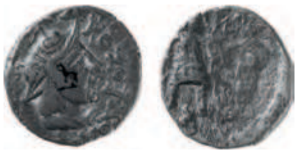

198: A.C5-i 1u (1a)

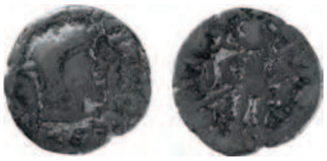

199: A.C5-i 1u (1a)

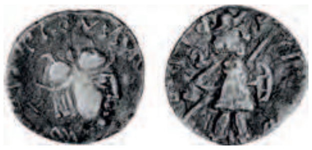

201: A.C5-i 1u (1a)


202: A.C5-i 1u (1a)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Rev.
0198*	299630	1860,1220.275	5.19	19	1a


206: A.C5-i 1u (1a)


207: A.C5-i 1u (1b)


A: A.C5-i 1u (1b)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Rev.
0199*	299626	1894,0506.2417	4.83	19	1a
0200	299629	1922,0116.30	4.69	18	1a
0201*	299628	1894,0506.2418	4.56	18	1a
0202*	299631	1888,1208.530	4.54	19	1a
0203	299625	1844,0921.38	4.46	19	1a
0204	299672	1894,0506.2415	4.45	19	1a
0205†	299624	1922,0213.108	4.06	20	1a
0206*	299633	1888,1208.531	3.98	19	1a
0207*	299635	1883,1004.96	5.44	20	1b
A*	ANS (1944.100.29675)		3.74	20	1b
0208	299632	1894,0506.2416	4.20	18	1b?
0209	299634	1922,0424.3630	4.18	19	1b?

† Collected in Hazara

Kashmir region copper mint (A.C6)

The only series of coins issued in the name of Kujula Kadphises which represent a true copper denomination, rather than a copper version of a former silver denomination, is that produced in Kashmir. The attribution of these coins to a mint in Kashmir is based on the higher than expected quantity of them in finds known to have come from Kashmir. Examples have also been found further west as far as Begram, but in relatively small numbers.

The denomination, a copper unit weighing *c.* 11–9g, with a quarter unit *c.* 2.5g, is the continuation of the copper coinage of the Indo-Scythian king Azes (Senior type 102) and his successor in Kashmir, the Satrap Jihonika (Zeionises; Senior type 133). The production goes through two phases, and continues, with just a change of inscription, into the reign of Kujula Kadphises' successor Wima Takto (B.C6). Control marks on the coins provide further evidence of subdivision in the mint's administration. The marks on the obverse are suggestive of separate workers or workshops in the mint; those on the reverse appear to represent progressive batches of production. There is insufficient evidence to create a definitive sequence for these batches.

Phase 1 production appears to have been brief, as it is represented only by two coins from the same pair of dies and a third overstruck by dies of the second phase. Phase 1 coins have the same designs as Kujula Kadphises silver tetradrachms from north-eastern Tokharistan, his bust on obverse and his full figure on horseback on the reverse, with an added Gandhari inscription on the obverse giving Kujula Kadphises' royal titles.

Phase 2 coins are more numerous and varied. The Gandhari inscription used on phase 1 coins was retained or adapted, but on the reverse. The designs, walking bull on the obverse and walking camel on the reverse, were adapted from the bull-lion issues of the Indo-Scythian Satrap Jihonika (Senior type 133). The obverse inscription is a blundered version of the Greek inscription on Jihonika's coins. Two denominations have been recorded, unit and quarter. The many variations are distinguished by their control marks and their Gandhari inscriptions.

024 A.C6-i 1u Kashmir region copper mint phase 1 units, 'Heraus' type

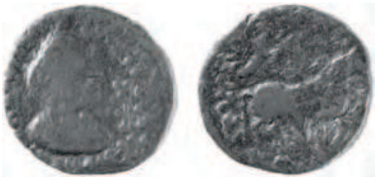
Mitchiner 1976: 517

Kujula Kadphises (A), Kashmir region copper mint (C6), first phase (i) copper coin (1u), *c.* 9g, designs derived from copper coins of Indo-Scythian Satrap Jihonika (*c.* AD 10–40).

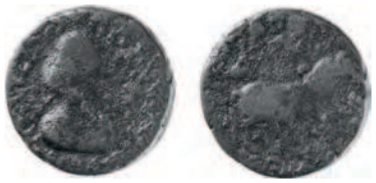
Obverse: King, head and shoulders bust facing right, wearing diadem, with hair over nape. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (clockwise, from 5.30 to 9.30, read from edge): *maharayasa rayatirayasa* and (anticlockwise, from 5.00 to 10.00, read from centre) *devaputrasa kuyula katakaphas*a (of King, King of Kings, Son of the Gods, Kujula Katakapha); control mark in right field (in front of king's face): Kharoshthi monogram *jatha*.

Reverse: King, horseman riding to right, wearing nomad dress, winged Victory flying behind horseman's back, details unclear. Inscription in Greek (clockwise, from 8.00, inscription end not visible, read from centre): ΤΥΡΑΝΝ[ΟΝΤΟΣ ΗΙΑΟΥ] and (anticlockwise, from 7.30, inscription end not visible, read from edge) ΚΟΡΡΑΝ[ΟΥ] (of ruling Yabgu, Kushan); control mark in right field (below horse's head): Kharoshthi *bu*.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
0210*	299669	1894.0506,1724	10.42	23
0211*	299670	1890.0404,13	9.77	22
Both coins are from the same pair of dies				



210: A.C6-i 1u



211: A.C6-i 1u

025 A.C6-ii 1u Kashmir region copper mint phase 2 units, bull and camel type

Mitchiner 1976: 1055–57

Kujula Kadphises (A), Kashmir copper mint (C6), second phase (ii), copper coin (1u), *c.* 9g, designs derived from copper coins of Indo-Scythian Satrap Jihonika (*c.* AD 10–40).

Obverse: Humped bull, standing facing right, sometimes on a line, nandipada symbol above back. Inscription in blundered Greek, version of inscription of Jihonika (clockwise, from 8.00 to 4.00, read from centre): ΜΑΝΝΙΟΛΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ ΣΑΤΡΑΠΟΥ, (anticlockwise, from 7.30 to 4.30, read from edge) ΖΕΙΩΝΙΣΟΥ (of Satrap Jihonika, Son of Manigula); control mark to right before bull; control mark in right field (before bull): various.

1A as above, control mark: Kharoshthi *bu*.

2A as 1A, but control mark: Kharoshthi *pu*.

3A s 1A, but control mark: Kharoshthi monogram *ṣamjho* (?).

Reverse: Bactrian camel, walking facing right, sometimes on a line. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (various forms, see below); control marks: Kharoshthi letters and monograms various.

1a as above, inscription (clockwise, from about 5.00 to 10.00, read from edge): *maharayasa rayatirayasa* and (anticlockwise, from about 5.00 to 10.00, read from centre) *devaputrasa kuyula katakaphasa* (of King, King of Kings, Son of the Gods, Kujula Katakapha), control marks, in right field (before camel): Kharoshthi *ji*; in upper field (above camel): *bha*.

2a inscription as 1a, control marks, in right field (before camel): Kharoshthi monogram aphu; in upper field (above camel): *rta*.

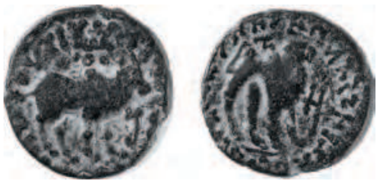
2b inscription as 1a, control mark, in right field (before camel): Kharoshthi monogram *aphu*.

3a inscription (clockwise, from about 5.00 to 1.00, read from edge): *maharayasa rayatirayasa devaputrasa* and (anticlockwise, from about 5.00 to 1.00, read from centre) *kuyula kaphasa* (of King, King of Kings, Son of the Gods, Kujula Kapa), control marks in right field (before camel): Kharoshthi *ya* and Kharoshthi monogram *raṣu*.

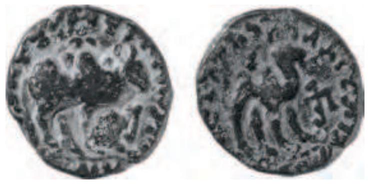
4a inscription (clockwise, from about 5.00 to 11.00, read from edge): *maharayasa rayatiraya[sa]* and (anticlockwise, from about 5.00 to 11.00, read from centre) *kuyula katakaphasa* (of King, King of Kings, Kujula Katakapha), control marks in right field (before camel): Kharoshthi *ku* and *ca*.

4b inscription (clockwise, from about 5.00 to 9.00, read from edge): *maharayasa rayatirayasa* and (anticlockwise, from about 5.00 to 9.00, read from centre) *devaputrasa kuyula katakapasa* (of King, King of Kings, Son of the Gods, Kujula Katakapa), control marks in right field (before camel): Kharoshthi *ku* and *ca*; in upper field (before camel): *rga*.

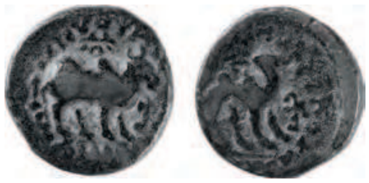
4c inscription (clockwise, from about 5.00 to 10.00, read from edge): *maharayasa rayatiraya[sa]* and (anticlockwise, from about 5.00 to 10.00, read from centre) *devaputrasa kuyula katakapasa* (of King, King of Kings, Son of the Gods, Kujula Katakapa), control marks in right field (before camel): Kharoshthi *ku* and *ca*.



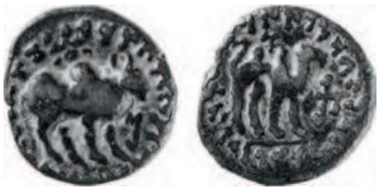
212: A.C6-ii 1u (1A/1a)



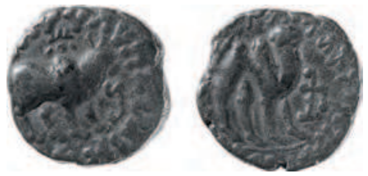
213: A.C6-ii 1u (1A/2a)



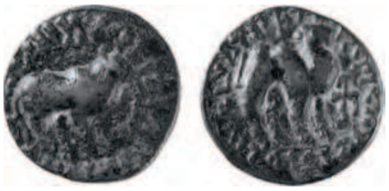
214: A.C6-ii 1u (1A/2a)



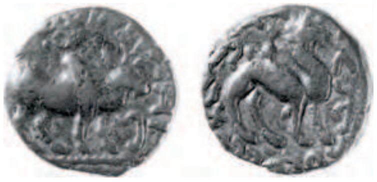
215: A.C6-ii 1u (1A/2a)



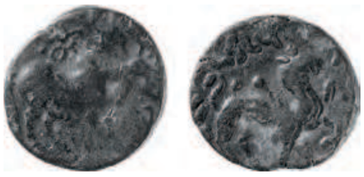
222: A.C6-ii 1u (1A/2b)



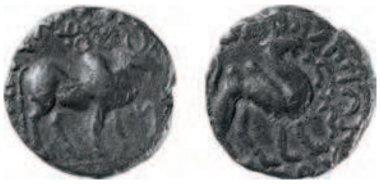
225: A.C6-ii 1u (1A/2b)



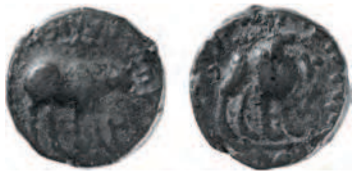
226: A.C6-ii 1u (1A/3a)



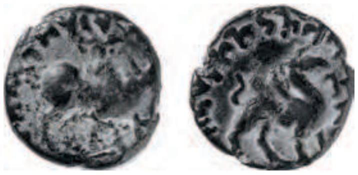
228 A.C6-ii 1u (1A/3a)



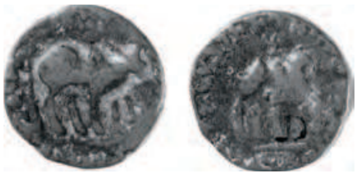
229 A.C6-ii 1u (1A/4a)



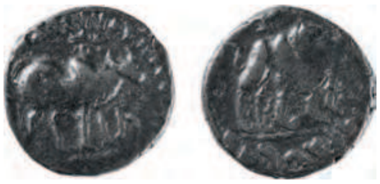
230 A.C6-ii 1u (2A/4b)



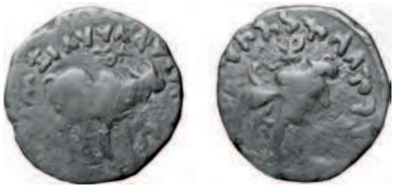
231 A.C6-ii 1u (2A/4c)



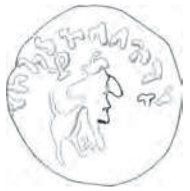
232 A.C6-ii 1u (2A/5a)



234 A.C6-ii 1u (2A/5a)



A: A.C6-ii 1u (2A/5a)



Undertype of A highlighted

5a inscription (clockwise, from about 5.00 to 10.00, read from edge, *sa* at end of *rayatirayasa* sometimes inverted): *maharayasa rayatiraya[sa]* and (anticlockwise, from about 5.00 to 10.00, read from centre) *devaputrasa kuyula katakapasa* (of King, King of Kings, Son of the Gods, Kujula Katakapa), control marks in right field (before camel): Kharoshthi *dha* and *dha*; in upper field (above camel): Kharoshthi *rga*; in lower field (between the camel's legs): Kharoshthi *cha*.

5b inscription (clockwise, from about 5.00 to 10.00, read from edge): *maharayasa rayatiraya[sa]* and (anticlockwise, from about 5.00 to 10.00, read from centre) *devaputrasa kuyula katakapasa* (of King, King of Kings, Son of the Gods, Kujula Katakapa), control marks in right field (before camel): Kharoshthi *dha* and *dha*; in upper field (above camel): Kharoshthi *rga*.

5c as 5b, but control marks in right field (before camel): Kharoshthi *am* and *tra*; in upper field (above camel): Kharoshthi *rga*.

5d as 5b, but control marks in right field (before camel): Kharoshthi *dha*; in upper field (above camel): Kharoshthi monogram *kala*.

6a inscription (clockwise, from about 5.00 to 10.00, read from edge): *maharayasa rayatiraya[sa]* and (anticlockwise, from about 5.00 to 10.00, read from centre) *devaputrasa kuyula katakapasa* (of King, King of Kings, Son of the Gods, Kujula Katakapa), control mark in right field (before camel): Kharoshthi *ca*.

6b as 6a, but control mark in right field (before camel): Kharoshthi *ca* (in two parts).

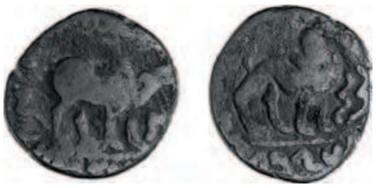
7a inscription (anticlockwise, from about 4.00 to 6.00, read from centre): *maharajasa mahadasa kuṣanasa kuyula katakaphsasa* and (clockwise, from about 6.00 to 4.00, read from edge) devapu[tra][sa] (of King Kushan, Kujula Katakaphsa, the Great, Son of the Gods), control marks in right field (before camel): Kharoshthi monogram *ṣasu*; in upper field (above camel): Kharoshthi *pa*.

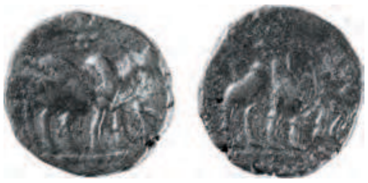
7b Inscription as 7a, but (anticlockwise, from about 4.00 to 4.30, read from centre) *maharajasa mahadasa kuṣanasa kuyula katakaphsasa devaputrasa* (of King Kushan, Kujula Katakaphsa, the Great, Son of the Gods), control mark in right field (before camel): Kharoshthi monogram *ṣasu*.

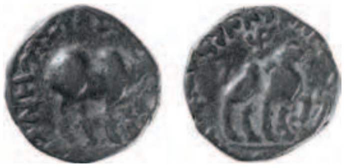
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
0212*	299671	1894,0506.1824	10.11	23	1A	1a
0213*†	299678	1894,0506.1821	12.73	23	1A	2a
0214*†‡	299672	1894,0506.1819	12.53	23	1A	2a
0215*†	299673	1894,0506.1818	10.28	24	1A	2a
0216†	299674	1894,0506.1826	10.28	24	1A	2a
0217†	299675	1850,1130.41	9.27	23	1A	2a
0218†	299679	1894,0506.1834	8.92	23	1A	2a
0219†	299676	1894,0506.1835	8.54	23	1A	2a
0220†	299677	1894,0506.1825	7.41	22	1A	2a
0221	299681	1894,0506.1831	10.54	23	1A	2b
0222*	299683	1894,0506.1829	10.51	22	1A	2b
0223	299682	1894,0506.1827	9.61	24	1A	2b
0224	299684	1894,0506.1828	9.59	29	1A	2b
0225*†	299680	1894,0506.1816	9.11	24	1A	2b
0226*	300890	1855,0608.11	10.98	23	1A	3a
0227	299688	1843,0812.18	10.80	23	1A	3a
0228*	299689	1987,0108.5	7.70	22	1A	3a
0229*	299687	1894,0506.1822	12.76	23	1A	4a
0230*	299699	1894,0506.1830	11.61	22	2A	4b
0231*	299700	1894,0506.1817	10.94	22	2A	4c

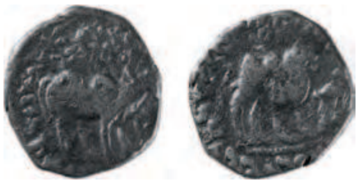
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
0232*	299691	1894,0506.1823	10.34	24	2A	5a
0233	299692	1845,0613.41	9.05	22	2A	5a
0234*	299693	OR.304	9.04	23	2A	5a
A*§	Oxford (Senior 5172)		10.59	-	2A	5a
B*	ANS (1944.100.29699)		9.12	22	2A	5b
0235*	299690	OR.303	10.47	23	2A	5c
0236*	299695	1922,0424.3595	9.67	21	2A	5c
0237*	299694	OR.306	7.65	23	2A	5c
C*	ANS (1944.100.29698)		9.95	24	2A	5d
0238*	299698	1894,0506.1820	9.84	23	2A	6a
0239*	299696	1855,0606.12	9.09	23	2A	6b
0240*	299697	1894,0506.1832	8.33	23	2A	6b
0241*	299706	1894,0506.1837	10.39	22	3A	7a
0242*	299704	1850,0305.132	9.88	22	3A	7a
0243*	299703	1894,0506.1839	9.16	24	3A	7a
0244	299705	OR.305	7.97	21	3A	7a
0245*	299701	1894,0506.1840	9.13	21	3A	7b
0246*	25327	1860,1220.168	9.11	21	3A	7b
0247	299702	1987,0108.6	7.99	23	3A	7b

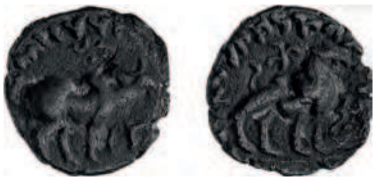
† Not magnetic
‡ Edge of the reverse die visible
§ Overstruck on A.C6-i 1u

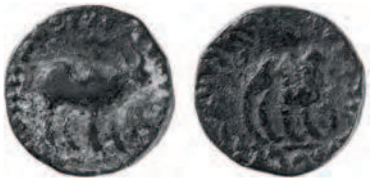

B: A.C6-ii 1u (2A/5b)

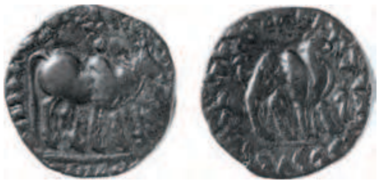

235 A.C6-ii 1u (2A/5c)

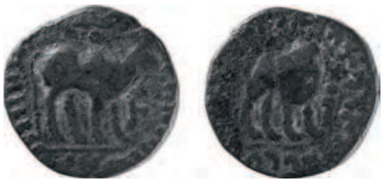

236: A.C6-ii 1u (2A/5c)

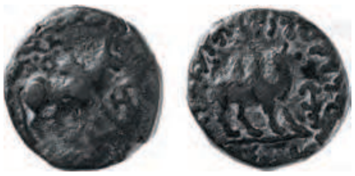

237: A.C6-ii 1u (2A/5c)

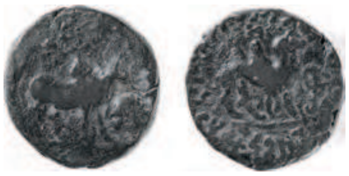

A.C6-i 1u A.C6-ii 1u (2A/5d)

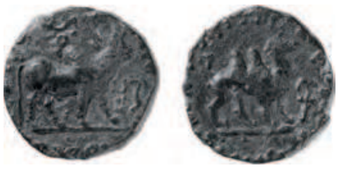

238: A.C6-ii 1u (2A/6a)

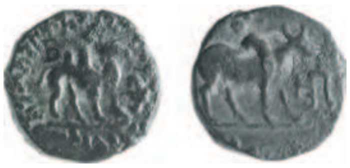

239: A.C6-ii 1u (2A/6b)

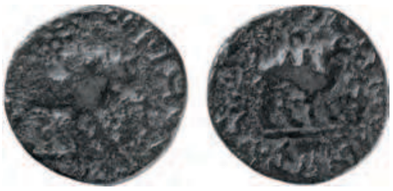

240: A.C6-ii 1u (2A/6b)


241: A.C6-ii 1u (3A/7a)


242: A.C6-ii 1u (3A/7a)


245: A.C6-ii 1u (3A/7b)


246: A.C6-ii 1u (3A/7b)

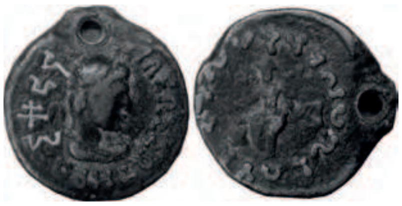

243: A.C6-ii 1u (3A/7a)

Phase 2 coins were Indian tetradrachms struck on the reduced standard of *c.* 5–4g, as used for the later coins of Kujula Kadphises' Hermaeus imitation. The designs are the same as those for phase 1, but the Greek inscription is based on the Su Hermaeus imitation series of Kujula Kadphises of his Begram production centres (A.C2 and A.C3). The majority of examples recorded were collected from the Begram region and seem to have been made for circulation there. A few examples have been recorded overstruck at Khotan by coins of the local kings (Cribb 1984 and 1985d).

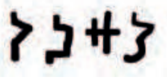
Phase 3 coins were also Indian tetradrachms, but struck on an even more reduced standard *c.* 2.5g, as used at the end of Kujula Kadphises' Hermaeus imitation issues. The obverse design and inscription and the reverse inscription are the same, with the addition of the title *rajaraja*, as those used in phase 2, but the reverse design features the Greek goddess Nike as on the silver drachms of Indo-Parthian kings (Senior types 245 and 252) and Kujula Kadphises (A.S3-i ¼u).

Phase 4 coins have the same designs and the same weight standard as those of Phase 3, but the reverse inscriptions are copied from coins of the Indo-Scythian king Azes.

027 A.C7A-i 1u Akra region mint phase 1 copper Attic tetradrachms, SuHermaeus Zeus type



250: A.C7A-i 1u



sam thi ra (or reverse kha) sa

Mitchiner 1976: 1047

Period of Kujula Kadphises (A), Akra region mint, first copper series (C7A), first phase (i), Attic standard copper tetradrachms (1u), *c.* 14g, obverse designs and inscriptions based on Kujula Kadphises' copies of silver tetradrachm of Indo-Greek King Hermaeus (A.C2A-i 1u), and reverse adapted from imitations of Hermaeus' issues.

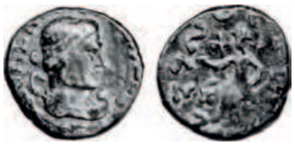
Obverse: King, head and shoulders bust, facing right, wearing diadem, and cloak over both shoulders. Inscription in Greek (clockwise, from about 12.00, inscription end unseen, read from centre): [ΒΑ]ΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ Ε[ΡΜΑΙΟΥ] (of King Hermaeus, the Saviour) with E written as Σ.

Reverse: Zeus, full length seated figure, facing three quarters left, wearing Greek dress, his right hand extended, his left hand at waist, seated on high-backed throne. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (anticlockwise, from about 4.00 to 8.00, read from centre): *maharajasa mahatasa*, and (clockwise, from about 4.00 to 8.00, read from edge) *heramayasa* (of King Hermaeus, the Great), control marks in right field: Greek monogram ΟΧ and Kharoshthi *pra*; in left field: apple-shaped degenerate form of Greek monogram ΟΧΡ.

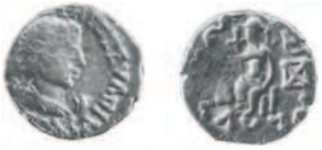
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
0250*†	1381	1894.0506.2419	13.79	26

† Found by C.J. Rodgers at Akra, Bannu District. Pierced above head. Engraved with mirror Kharoshthi graffiti: *sam thi ra* (or reversed *kha*) *sa*

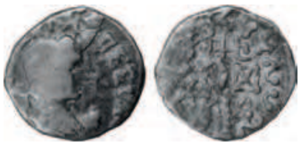
028 A.C7A-ii 1u Akra region mint phase 2 copper Indian tetradrachms, Su Hermaeus Zeus type



251: A.C7A-ii 1u (1A/1a)



252: A.C7A-ii 1u (1A/1a)



254: A.C7A-ii 1u (1A/1a)

Mitchiner 1976: 1046

Period of Kujula (A), Akra region mint, first copper series (C7A), second phase (ii), Indian standard tetradrachms (1u), on a reduced weight standard *c.* 5–4g, with obverse designs and inscriptions based on Kujula's copies of silver tetradrachm of Indo-Greek King Hermaeus (A.C2A-i 1u), and reverse adapted from imitations of Hermaeus' issues.

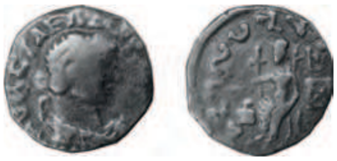
Obverse: King, head and shoulders bust, facing right, wearing diadem, and cloak over both shoulders.

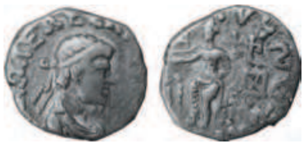
Inscription in Greek, sometimes blundered (various positions): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ (of King Hermaeus, the Saviour).

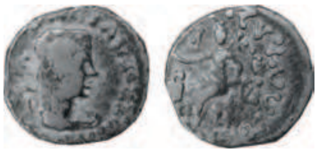
1A diadem with looped tie and single bent ribbon, inscription in Greek (clockwise, from about 7.00 to 4.00, read from centre): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΥ and (anticlockwise, from about 7.00 to 4.00, read from edge) ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ.

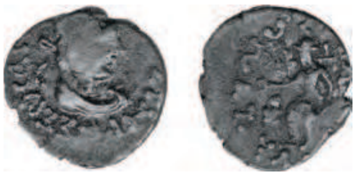
1B diadem with looped tie with two ribbons, one bent and one straight, inscription as 1A.

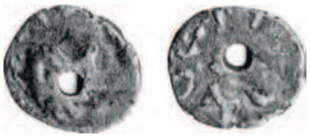
1C diadem with looped tie and two ribbons, both curved; inscription in

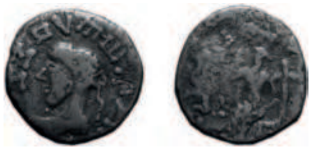

258: A.C7A-ii 1u (1A/1a)


259: A.C7A-ii 1u (1B/1a)


260: A.C7A-ii 1u (1C/1a)

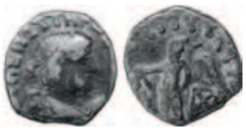

A: A.C7A-ii 1u (1C/1a)

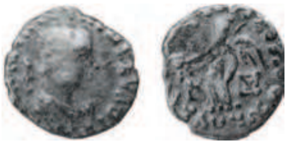

B: A.C7A-ii 1u (2A/2a)

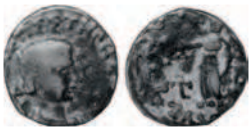

C: A.C7A-ii 1u (2B/2a)

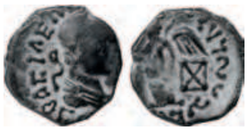
Greek, but Es written as Σs (clockwise, from about 11.00 to 10.30, read from centre): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ (of King Hermaeus, the Saviour).
2A crude portrait, facing right, inscription in blundered Greek, version of inscription of 1A.
2B crude portrait, facing left, inscription as 2A.
Reverse: Zeus, full length seated male figure, facing three quarters left, wearing Greek dress, his right hand extended, his left hand at waist, seated on high-backed throne. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi (anticlockwise, from about 4.00 to 7.30, read from centre): *maharaja mahatasa*, and (clockwise, from about 4.00 to 7.00, read from edge) *heramayasa* (of King Hermaeus, the Great); control marks in right field: Greek monogram OX and Kharoshthi *pra*; in left field: apple-shaped degenerate form of Greek monogram OXP.
1a as above.
2a as 1a, but crude figure and inscription in blundered Kharoshthi.

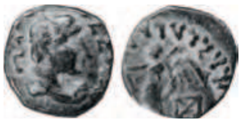
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
0251*	190560	IOC.149	5.37	18	1A	1a
0252*	190555	1894,0506.1664	4.77	19	1A	1a
0253	296523	OR.5221	4.48	19	1A	1a
0254*	190554	1894,0506.1663	4.43	20	1A	1a
0255	190552	1843,0812.8	4.29	18	1A	1a
0256	190559	IOC.148	4.11	19	1A	1a
0257	190551	1847,1201.48	3.86	17	1A	1a
0258*	296521	OR,5220	3.41	19	1A	1a
0259*	190553	1922,0424.3602	5.83	18	1B	1a
0260*	190556	1888,1208.401	5.25	19	1C	1a
A*	222618	IOLC.722	5.97	22	1C	1a
B*	222621	IOLC.725	1.92	17	2A	2a
C*	Private collection B		-	-	2B	2a


261: A.C7A-iii 1u (1A/1a)


263: A.C7A-iii 1u (1A/1a)


265: A.C7A-iii 1u (1A/1a)


267: A.C7A-iii 1u (1A/1a)

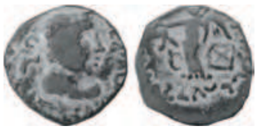

272: A.C7A-iii 1u (1A?/1a)

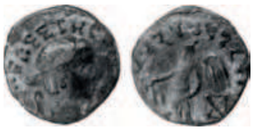
029 A.C7A-iii 1u Akra region mint phase 3 copper Indian tetradrachms, SuHermaeus Nike type

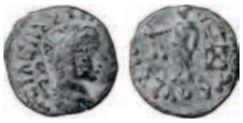
Mitchiner 1976: 1048 and 1066
Period of Kujula Kadphises (A), Akra region mint, first copper series (C7A), third phase (iii), Indian standard tetradrachms (1u), on a reduced weight standard *c.* 2.5g, obverse designs and inscriptions based on Kujula's copies of silver tetradrachm of Indo-Greek King Hermaeus (A.C2A-i 1u), and reverse adapted from Indo-Parthian issues.
Obverse: King, head and shoulders bust, facing right, wearing diadem, and cloak over both shoulders. Inscription in Greek, sometimes blundered (clockwise, from about 7.00 to 4.00, read from centre): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΥ and (anticlockwise, from about 4.00 to 7.00, read from edge) ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ (of King Hermaeus, the Saviour).
1A diadem with looped tie and single bent ribbon.
1B diadem with looped tie and two curved ribbons.
2A as 1A, crude portrait, inscription in blundered Greek.
3A as 1A, crude portrait, facing left, inscription as 2A.
Reverse: Nike, full length standing female figure, facing left, wearing long dress, hair tied in top-knot, right arm extended holding wreath diadem with two ribbons, left hand holding palm over left shoulder. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script, sometimes blundered (anticlockwise, from about 4.00 to 7.30, read from centre): *maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa*, and (clockwise, from about 4.00 to 7.00, read from edge) *heramayasa* (of King, King of Kings Hermaeus, the Great); control marks in right field: Greek monogram OX; in left field: Kharoshthi *pra*.
1a as above.
2a as 1a, without Kharoshthi control mark on left.

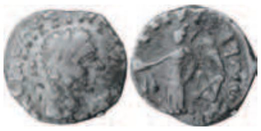
3a as 1a, but inscription in blundered Gandhari.
4a as 1a, Nike facing right, inscription as 3a.

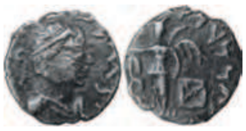
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
0261*	296597	1894,0506.1692	2.92	16	1A	1a
0262	296567	1894,0506.1699	2.80	18	1A	1a
0263*	296580	1894,0506.1698	2.79	18	1A	1a
0264	296595	1894,0506.1701	2.73	18	1A	1a
0265*	296564	1888,1208.402	2.50	16	1A	1a
0266	296579	1845,0613.91	2.40	16	1A	1a
0267*	296563	1922,0424.3696	2.37	16	1A	1a
0268	296600	1857,0814.4	2.36	16	1A	1a
0269	296599	1894,0506.1704	2.10	16	1A	1a
0270	296565	1894,0506.1702	2.05	15	1A	1a
0271	297137	1894,0506.1706	2.03	15	1A?	1a
0272*	297132	1894,0506.1703	1.94	15	1A	1a
0273*	296566	1922,0424.3698	1.92	16	1A	1a
0274*	297134	1922.0424.3695	1.83	16	1A?	1a
0275*	296734	1894.0506.1697	2.74	16	1A	2a
0276*	297133	1894.0506.1709	2.46	16	1A	2a
0277	297135	1894.0506.1705	2.30	14	1A	2a
0278*	296723	1922.0424.3694	2.47	16	2A	3a
0279*	297153	1894.0506.1696	2.12	16	2A	3a
0280	296724	1922.0213.131	0.99	14	2A	3a
0281	296725	1894.0507.2137	0.65	13	2A	3a
0282*	296732	1922.0424.3700	1.53	16	2A	4a
0283	296733	1922,0213.132	0.87	12	2A	4a
0284*	296728	1894,0506.1707	2.77	16	3A	3a
0285	296727	1894,0506.1708	1.96	13	3A	3a
0286	296729	1894,0506.1710	0.98	14	3A	3a
0287	296730	1894,0506.1711	0.89	14	3A	3a
0288	299647	OR.8972	0.73	13	3A	3a
0289*	296731	1894,0506.1690	2.49	16	3A	4a
0290	1992	1894,0507.1997	1.27	13	?	?

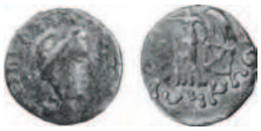

273 A.C7A-iii 1u (1A?/1a)

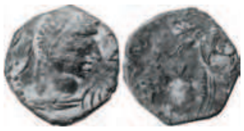

274: A.C7A-iii 1u (1A?/1a)

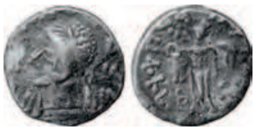

275: A.C7A-iii 1u (1A/1a)

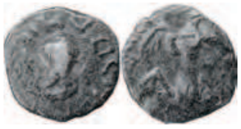

276: A.C7A-iii 1u (1A/2a)


278: A.C7A-iii 1u (2A/3a)


279: A.C7A-iii 1u (2A/3a)


282: A.C7A-iii 1u (2A/4a)


284: A.C7A-iii 1u (3A/3a)

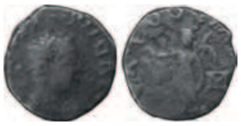

289: A.C7A-iii 1u (3A/4a)

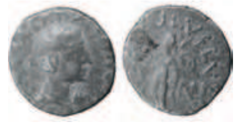
030 A.C7A-iv 1u Akra region mint phase 4 copper Indian tetradrachms, Azes Nike type

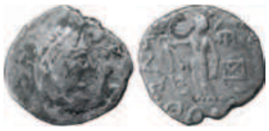
Mitchiner 1976: 1066

Period of Kujula Kadphises (A), Akra region mint, first copper series (C7A), fourth phase (iv), Indian standard tetradrachms (1u), on a reduced weight standard *c.* 2.5g, with obverse designs and inscriptions based on Kujula's copies of silver tetradrachm of Indo-Greek King Hermaeus (A. C2A-i 1u), and reverse adapted from Indo Parthian issues.

Obverse: King, head and shoulders bust, facing right, wearing diadem, and cloak over both shoulders. Inscription in blundered Greek.
1A diadem with looped tie and one double-curved ribbons.
1B diadem with looped tie and two curved ribbons.
Reverse: Nike, full length standing female figure, facing left, wearing long dress, hair tied in top-knot, her right arm extended holding wreath diadem with two ribbons, her left hand holding palm over left shoulder. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (anticlockwise, from about 12.00

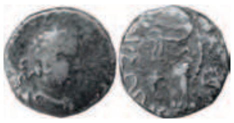

291: A.C7A-iv 1u (1A/1a)

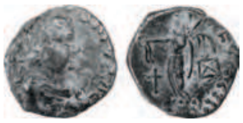

292: A.C7A-iv 1u (1A/1a)

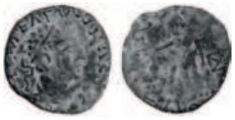

293: A.C7A-iv 1u (1A/1a)

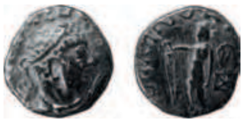
to 4.00, read from centre): *maharayasa mahatasa ayasa* and (clockwise, from about 12.00 to 4.00, read from edge) *rayadirayasa* (of King, King of Kings Azes, the Great); control marks in right field: Greek monogram OX; in left field: various Kharoshthi letters.
1a as above, control mark: Kharoshthi *pra*.
2a as 1a, but control mark: Kharoshthi *tha*.
3a as 1a, but control mark: Kharoshthi *pri*.

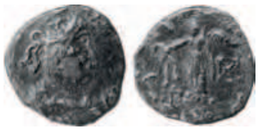
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
0291*	296606	1894,0506.1695	3.13	16	1A	1a
0292*	297138	1894,0506.1693	2.37	16	1A	1a
0293*	296608	1894,0506.1700	1.84	16	1A	1a
0294*	297147	1894,0506.1691	3.18	15	1A	2a
0295*	297152	1922,0424.3697	3.01	15	1A	2a
0296*	297149	1922,0424.4743	2.43	16	1A	2a
0297*	297145	1845,0613.92	2.18	15	1A	2a
0298*	296722	1922,0424.3699	1.35	16	1B	1a
0299	2001	1894,0507.1801	0.78	14	1B	1a
0300*	297139	1894,0506.1694	2.24	17	1B	3a

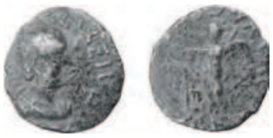

294: A.C7A-iv 1u (1A/2a)


295: A.C7A-iv 1u (1A/2a)


296: A.C7A-iv 1u (1A/2a)


297: A.C7A-iv 1u (1A/2a)


298: A.C7A-iv 1u (1B/1a)


300: A.C7A-iv 1u (1B/1a)

Akra region mint Azes Imitation silver and copper series (A.S5/A.C7B)

The second series of coins issued at the Akra Mint consists of Azes imitations, both base-silver drachms (A.S5) and copper coins (A.C7B-i), based on the late issues of the Indo-Scythian king Azes II (*c.* 10 BC–AD 30). This series shares control mark (corrupted Greek monogram OXP) and style of writing Kharoshthi (particularly the prone *ha*) with the coins of the first series (A.C7A). The base-silver drachms are on the Indian standard, *c.* 2.2g and have a very low and falling silver content. Their designs and inscriptions continue those of Azes II's tetradrachms and drachms. The obverse shows the king, holding a whip or pick-axe in his raised right hand, mounted on horse walking to right, and the reverse the Greek god Zeus holding staff and winged Victory. The inscriptions give the name and titles of Azes in blundered Greek on the obverse and in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script, on the reverse. The copper coins have a novel design adapted from the lion and bull copper types of Azes II (Senior 2001: 102), with a standing lion on the obverse and a seated figure of the Greek goddess Tyche on the reverse, and the same inscriptions as the base-silver coins. The copper denomination shows a falling weight standard, following the falling silver content of the drachms.

The Azes imitation silver Indian standard drachms, *c.* 2.2g, and copper/lead units *c.* 7.5–1g seem to have been adapted to circulation during the Soter Megas coinage commencing during Kujula Kadphises' reign (see below under Wima Takto) by the replacement of the king's whip with a pick-axe. The high incidence of the copper/lead Azes imitation coins among Akra finds provides the evidence for the attribution of this mint to that city (Cribb 2002). These coins circulate throughout Kushan territory south of the Hindu Kush, but the copper denomination is found most frequently among the finds from Akra. The appearance of the pick-axe on the obverses of some base silver drachms suggests a link with the period of the Soter Megas series.

Although there is progressive degeneration of silver content or of weight suggesting a sequence of issue, there appears to be only one phase of production.

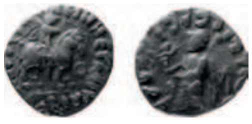
031 A.S5-i ¼u Akra mint base silver drachms, Azes imitations

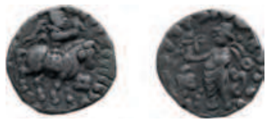
Senior 2001: 105.265–105.279; Mitchiner 1975–6: 856
Period of Kujula Kadphises (A), Akra region mint, base silver series (S5), first and only phase (i), base-silver (latest version appear to lack any silver) Indian standard drachms (¼u), on a reduced weight standard *c.* 2.2g, copying silver issues in the name of the Indo-Scythian king Azes II (*c.* 10 BC–AD 30). This is the same mint as A.C7.

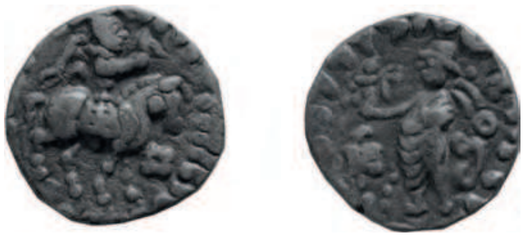
Obverse: King, male figure riding on a walking horse to right, wearing heavy armour, rounded cap and flowing banner attached to back of neck, holding whip or pick-axe in raised right hand, all on ground line. Details of armour unclear; details of horse unclear, but trace of bow in quiver at back of saddle (a 'Λ' shape below banner), reins and braided main and knotted tail. Inscription in blundered Greek (clockwise, from 7.00 to 5.00, read from centre): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ and (anti-clockwise, from 7.00 to 5.00, read from edge) ΑΖΟΥ (of Azes, King of Kings, the Great); control mark, in right field (before horse's legs): Greek letter or Kharoshthi letter or monogram.
1A king holding whip, oblong O in AZOY; control mark: Greek O.
1B as 1A, square O in AZOY; control mark: Greek O (square).
2A as 1B; control mark: Kharoshthi *ho*.
3A as 1B; control mark: Kharoshthi monogram *ajhu*.
3B as 3A, but king holding pick-axe.
4A as 3B; control mark: Kharoshthi *mi*.
5A as 3B; control mark: Kharoshthi *di*.

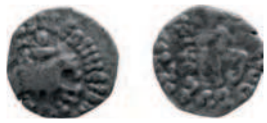
Reverse: Zeus, male figure standing facing left, wearing long robe and helmet-like headdress, holding Nike (winged Victory holding palm over shoulder), facing left, offering diadem in extended right hand, normally left hand at waist holding staff over left shoulder. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (anticlockwise, from 5.00 to 7.00, read from centre): *maharaja rajarajasa mahatasa* and (clockwise, from 7.00 to 5.00, read from edge) *ayasa* (of Azes, King, King of Kings, the Great); control marks, in left field (before god): corrupted Greek monogram POX (apple-shaped); in right field (behind god): Kharoshthi and Greek letters, or Kharoshthi letter or monogram.
1a god holding sceptre with knobbed end and two ribbons, Y-shaped *ja* in *maharaja*; control marks, in left field: corrupted Greek monogram with lower projection; in right field: Kharoshthi *vi*.
2a as 1a, V-shaped *ja* in *maharaja*; control marks in right field: Greek O and Kharoshthi *bu*.
2b as 2a; control marks, in right field: Greek A and Kharoshthi *bu*.
2c as 2b, Kharoshthi *ayasa* anticlockwise and to be read from centre of coin.
3a as 2a; control marks, in left field: corrupted Greek monogram without lower projection; in right field: Greek A and Kharoshthi *pra*.
3b as 3a, but god not holding sceptre.
4a as 3b; control mark, in right field: Kharoshthi monogram *vavam*.
4b god holding sceptre in form of knobbed end; control marks, in left field: corrupt Greek monogram without lower projection; in right field: Kharoshthi monogram *vavam*.
5a as 4b; control marks in right field: Greek A and Kharoshthi *vra*.
6a as 4b; control marks in right field: Greek O and Kharoshthi *su*.
7a as 4b; control mark in right field: Greek E and Kharoshthi *vi*.
8a as 4b; control mark in right field: Kharoshthi *su*.

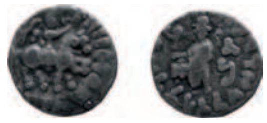
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
0301*†	2309	1976,1006.20	2.20	15	1A	1a
A*†	Ashmolean (Senior 1640)		2.19g	-	1B	2a
B*†	Ashmolean (Senior 1637)		2.31g	-	1B	2b
C*†	Ashmolean (Senior 1638)		2.27g	-	1B	2c
D*	Ashmolean (de Shortt)		2.00	-	2A	3a
0302*	307073	1995,1101.1	2.50	14	3A	4a
E*†	Ashmolean (Senior 1615)		2.12g	-	3A	4b
F*†	Ashmolean (Senior 1635)		2.06	-	3A	5a

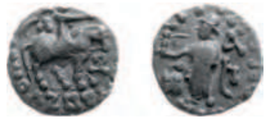

301: A.S5-i ¼u (1A/1a)

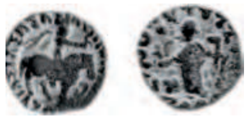

A: A.S5-i ¼u (1B/2a)

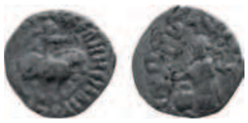

200% enlargement of A

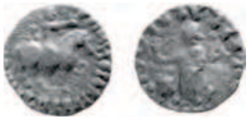

B: A.S5-i ¼u (1B/2b)

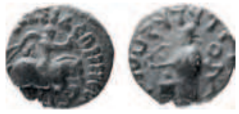

C: A.S5-i ¼u (1B/2c)

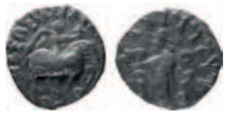

D: A.S5-i ¼u (2A/3a)

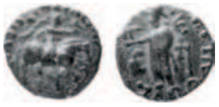

302: A.S5-i ¼u (3A/4a)


E: A.S5-i ¼u(3A/4b)

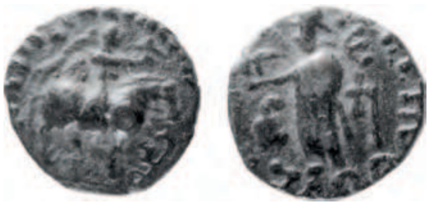

F: A.S5-i ¼u (3A/5a)


303: A.S5-i ¼u (3A/6a)

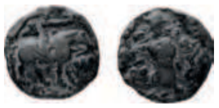

309: A.S5-i ¼u (3B/6a)



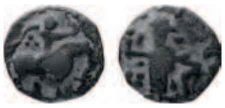
320: A.S5-i ¼u (3B/7a)



200% enlargement of 320



341: A.S5-i ¼u (4A/8a)



344: A.S5-i ¼u (5A/8a)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
0303*	2163	IOC.171	1.97	14	3A	6a
0304	307104	1990,0515.26	1.31	13	3A	6a
0305	307095	1889.0105,1074	2.36	14	3B	6a
0306	2526	1922,0424.4532	2.05	14	3B	6a
0307	2527	1922,0424.4531	2.04	13	3B	6a
0308	307097	1894.0507.2102	1.98	14	3B	6a
0309*	307102	1990,0515.21	1.93	14	3B	6a
0310	307100	1990,0515.25	1.90	13	3B	6a
0311	207103	1990,0521.23	1.74	14	3B	6a
0312	1991	OR.9168	1.70	13	3B	6a
0313	307101	1990,0515.28	1.61	13	3B	6a
0314	307106	1990,0515.22	1.60	13	3B	6a
0315	307117	1990,0515.27	1.39	12	3B	6a
0316	307096	1889,0105.1075	2.34	13	3B	7a
0317	2165	1847,1201.109	2.31	13	3B	7a
0318	2164	1852,0903.8	2.27	13.5	3B	7a
0319	307079	1889,0105.1076	2.27	13	3B	7a
0320*	2525	G.1129	2.26	13	3B	7a
0321	2528	1894,0506.634	2.22	14	3B	7a
0322	307074	1894,0506.750	2.18	14	3B	7a
0323	307081	1889,0105.1077	2.15	13	3B	7a
0324	307077	1894,0506.751	2.14	13	3B	7a
0325	307080	1889,0105.1073	2.13	14	3B	7a
0326	307076	1889,0105.1072	1.88	14	3B	7a
0327	307082	OR.9597	1.88	13	3B	7a
0328	307087	1990,0515.31	1.79	12	3B	7a
0329	307093	1998,0307.5	1.78	14	3B	7a
0330	307119	OR.9599	1.76	14	3B	7a
0331	307085	1990,0515.19	1.75	14	3B	7a
0332	307091	1990,0515.24	1.63	12	3B	7a
0333	307092	1990,0515.14	1.60	13	3B	7a
0334	307083	1990,0515.20	1.57	12	3B	7a
0335	307084	1990,0515.17	1.40	12	3B	7a
0336	307089	1990,0515.15	1.35	12	3B	7a
0337	307090	1990,0515.18	1.54	12	3B	7a
0338	307112	1894,0506.749	2.40	12	4A	8a
0339	307113	OR.9598	2.35	14	4A	8a
0340	307111	1894,0507.2077	2.32	13	4A	8a
0341*	2166	OR.9602	2.29	13	4A	8a
0342	2529	1865,0803.7	2.23	13	4A	8a
0343	307115	G.1130	2.23	13	4A	8a
0344*	307099	1847,1201.111	1.78	13	5A	8a
0345	307107	1990,0515.30	1.25	12	5A	8a
0346	307094	1990,0515.16	1.15	13	3B, 4A or 5A	6a, 7a or 8a
0347	307118	1990,0515.29	1.51	12	3B, 4A or 5A	6a, 7a or 8a
0348	307120	OR.9600	2.20	14	3B, 4A or 5A	6a, 7a or 8a

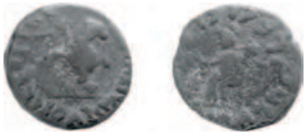
032 A.C7B-i 1u Akra mint copper units, Lion-Tyche type

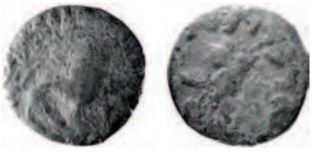
Senior 2001: 122–4; Mitchiner 1975–6: 839
Period of Kujula Kadphises (A), Akra region mint, second copper series (C7B), first and only phase (i), copper units (1u), with descending weight standards, *c.* 8g; *c.* 6–3g; *c.* 3–1g. The latest coins often made of lead, the obverse copying issues in the name of the Indo-Scythian king Azes (*c.* 46–0 BC), the reverse a new design related to the reverse of Kujula Kadphises' Roman head type (A.C4i). This is the same mint as A.C7A.

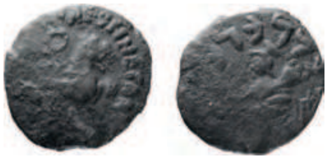
Obverse: Lion standing facing to right, raising left paw and with curled tail over back. Inscription in blundered Greek (clockwise, from 7.00 to 5.00, read from centre) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ and (anticlockwise, read from edge, from 7.00 to 5.00) ΑΖΟΥ (of Azes, King of Kings, the Great); control mark, in upper field (between lion's head and tail): Kharoshthi or Greek letter, or Kharoshthi monogram.
1A oblong O in AZOY; control mark: Greek O.
1B as 1A; control mark: Greek O (square).
2A square O in AZOY; control mark: Kharoshthi monogram *ajhu*.
3A as 2A; control mark: Kharoshthi *mi*.

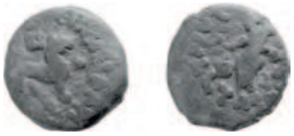
Reverse: Tyche, goddess seated on curule chair facing left, wearing hair in bun and long dress, making gesture of blessing or holding flower or nothing in extended right hand, holding cornucopia in left hand over left shoulder. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (normally anticlockwise, from 5.00 to 7.00, read from centre): *maharaja rajarajasa mahatasa* and (normally clockwise, from 7.00 to 5.00, read from edge) *ayasa* (of Azes, King, King of Kings, the Great); control marks, in left field (before goddess): corrupted Greek monogram OXP (apple-shaped); in right field (behind goddess): Greek and Kharoshthi letters, or Kharoshthi letter or monogram.
1a Goddess making gesture of blessing with extended right hand, Y-shaped *ja* in *maharaja*; control marks, in left field: corrupted Greek monogram with lower projection; in right field: Kharoshthi *vi*.
2a as 1a, V-shaped *ja* in *maharaja*; control mark, in right field: Kharoshthi *bu*.
2b as 2a; control marks, in right field: Greek A and Kharoshthi *bu*.
3a Goddess holding flower in extended right hand, V-shaped *ja*; control marks, in left field: corrupted Greek monogram without lower projection; in right field: Greek A and Kharoshthi *vra*.
4a as 3a; control marks, in right field: Greek E and Kharoshthi *vi*.
5a as 3a; control marks, in right field: Greek O and Kharoshthi *su*.
6a Goddess holding nothing in extended right hand, V-shaped *ja*; control marks, in left field: corrupted Greek monogram without lower projection; in right field: Kharoshthi monogram *avi*.
7a as 6a; control mark, in right field: Kharoshthi *su*.

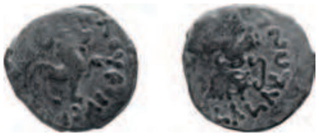
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	
A*	Ashmolean (de Shortt)		7.86	-	1A	1a	
0349*	2486	1843,0812.45	6.21	19	1A	1a	
0350	307124	1979,0215.17	4.83	17	1A	1a	
0351*	2489	1921,0331.68	4.39	20	1A	1a	
0352	1988	1894,0506.1912	3.29	16	1A	1a	
0353	2490	1857,0813.109	4.35	17	1B	2a	
B*	Ashmolean (Senior 2452)		4.64	-	1B	2a	
C*	Ashmolean (Senior 2455)		4.40	-	1B	2b	
0354*	2487	G.1128	4.34	19	2A	3a	
0355	307121	OR.9601	3.35	17	2A	4a	
0356	1985	1894,0506.1913	2.73	15	2A	4a	
0357*	2491	1853,0301.1296	2.39	16	2A	4a	
0358	2488	OR.9607	2.44	14	2A	5a	
0359*	2485	1835,BUR.48	2.43	15	2A	5a	
0360	307122	1998,0205.1	2.15	15	2A	5a	
D*	Ashmolean (de Shortt)		2.67	-	2A	5a	
E*	Ashmolean (Senior 2467)		2.07	-	3A	6a	
F*	Ashmolean		-	-	3A	7a	lead
G*	Ashmolean (Senior 2475)		1.25	-	3A	7a	copper, square

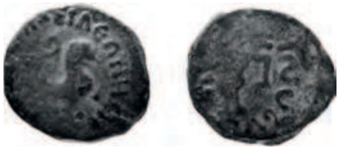

A: A.C7B-i 1u (1A/1a)

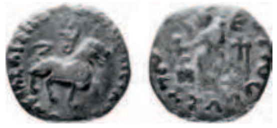

349: A.C7B-i 1u (1A/1a)

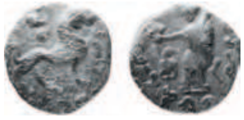

351: A.C7B-i 1u (1A/1a)

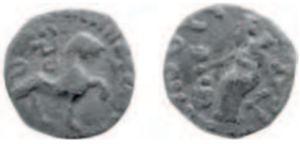

B: A.C7B-i 1u (1B/2a)

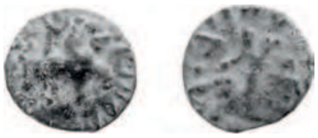

C: A.C7B-i 1u (1B/2b)

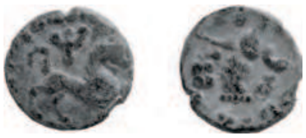

354: A.C7B-i 1u (2A/3a)

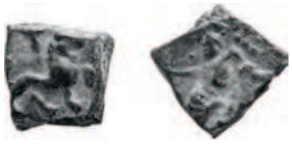

357: A.C7B-i 1u (2A/4a)


359: A.C7B-i 1u (2A/5a)


D: A.C7B-i 1u (3A/5a)


E: A.C7B-i 1u (3A/6a)


F: A.C7B-i 1u (3A/7a)


G: A.C7B-i 1u (3A/7a)

Begram region copper production centre (B.C1)

The majority of Soter Megas series coins were produced in the Begram region. There appears to be one main mint, but some issues may have been made at subsidiary mint workshops in the same region. Two denominations, unit and quarter, apparently based on the Attic weight standard as didrachms and hemidrachms, were issued. Both featured the same designs, on the obverse the bust of a rayed deity holding an arrow, the Kushan god Miiro (related to his Greek counterpart Apollo Helios), and on the reverse a mounted figure, probably the king, wearing an Iranian cap and holding a pick-axe. Both denominations also had the same inscription, often in abbreviated form: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ (King of Kings, the Saviour, the Great), titles borrowed from coins of the contemporary Indo-Parthian kings Sarpedanes and Sasan (Senior 2001: types 255 and 242). Many minor variations in the design and in the style of the inscription have been recorded.

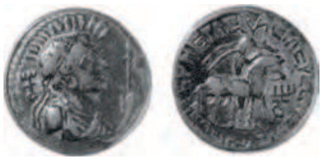
The distribution of these coins beyond the Begram region to most parts of the Kushan Empire has earned them the title of 'general coinage' (Mitchiner 1978: 397; MacDowall 1968: 247 and 2002: 168), but the products of the Begram production centre are not distributed as uniformly as this title implies. The unit is indeed found distributed throughout Kushan territory, being found at many excavated sites and as stray finds, but the quarter denomination is less frequently found outside of the Begram region. The close paralleling of variations between the two denominations shows clearly that they were made by the same engravers, so the different distribution is not related to their place of production because they were likely to have been made at the same mint. The units found north of the Oxus, in Pakistan and northern India represent the full range of variations in treatment of design, so the same conclusion can be drawn from them.

The production in the Begram region can be characterised as early and late. The early coinage is in two phases, which appear to overlap. They are distinguished by the letterforms used in their inscriptions. The late coinage is a single phase which seems to stop earlier for the quarter than the full unit.

Phase 1 production is of coins with inscriptions formed of square letterforms. It can be subdivided according to the use of the tamga associated with the Soter Megas series at all its mints. The phase appears to begin with coins with four prongs on the tamga, followed by a transition from the use of four prongs to three, represented by coins with four prongs on the obverse and three on the reverse, then the phase is completed by coins with three pronged tamgas on both sides.

Phase 2 production is distinguished from phase 1 by its use of rounded letterforms in its inscriptions. Like phase 1 it has three stages marked by the forms of the tamga. Phase 2 coins are much fewer in number than phase 1 and phase 3 coins. Some rare coins of phase 2 show the same treatment of the horse, with two ears visible as phase 3, but are distinguished by their letterforms.

Phase 3 comprises the largest part of this centre's production. Like phase 2 the inscriptions contain rounded letterforms, but they are distinguished by always having a complete inscription without the final Σ of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ and by both ears of the horse being visible. A majority of the coins of this phase also have a rounded cup-shaped Ω. The coins of this phase are also often broader than those of the earlier phases. This phase also shows a progressive degeneration in the quality of die engraving, as exhibited in the loss of detail, such as fewer rays on the god's head and the loss of the ribbons on his arrow.



361: B.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)

033 B.C1-i 1u Begram centre phase 1 Attic didrachms, Soter Megas series early square letter type

Mitchiner 1978: 2964–74, 2977–84

Soter Megas series, Kujula Kadphises (late reign) and Wima Takto (B), Begram region copper production centre (C1), first phase (i), Attic didrachms (1u), *c.* 8.5g. Anonymous coinage with Miiro (Helios) and king on horseback, with anonymous Soter Megas inscription. This coinage is subdivided by the number of prongs which appear on the tamgas. Die axis between 11.00 and 1.00, normally at 12.00.

Obverse: Miiro/Helios, head and shoulders bust facing right, with rays emanating from hair, wearing ring-shaped earring, diadem with circular looped tie and two ribbons, and cloak clasped above naked right shoulder and spread over chest and left shoulder, holding arrow (tied with ribbons) in raised hand with index finger pointing along shaft; four- or three-pronged tamga behind head. All within dotted border.

1A four-pronged tamga, hair with two rows of curls as thin crescents above diadem and roll of curls below; 14, 13, 12 or 11 rays.

1B Three-pronged tamga, hair as 1A, but slightly thicker curls; 15, 13, 11, 10, 9 or 8 rays.

2A four-pronged tamga, but two rows of curls drawn as ovals above and below diadem; 13, 12, 11, 10, 9 or 8 rays.

2B three-pronged tamga, as 2A; 13, 12, 11, 10, 9 or 8 rays.

3A four-pronged tamga, hair with two rows of curls drawn as thick crescents above diadem and heavy roll of curls below; 13, 11, 10, 9 or 8 rays.

3B three-pronged tamga, hair as 3A; 12, 11, 10, 9, 8 or 7 rays.

3C three-pronged tamga, hair with single row of thin curls above diadem; 10 rays.

Reverse: King, horseman riding walking horse to right, wearing Iranian cap with two long diadem ribbons, belted jacket and trousers, holding pick-axe in raised right hand and reins in left hand at waist; horse has bridle, saddle, rump strap and knotted tail; four- or three-pronged tamga to right below horse's head. One ear of horse only is visible. Inscription in Greek (written with square Σ, Ε and Ω, often abbreviated, from 12.00 or 6.00): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ[Σ] ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΩΤΗ[Ρ ΜΕΓΑΣ] (King of Kings, the Saviour, the Great) (characters in square brackets are sometimes omitted).

1a four-pronged tamga, complete inscription in square letters from 12.00.

1b four-pronged tamga, as 1a, but abbreviated inscription.

1c four-pronged tamga, as 1b, but Β shaped like a figure 8.

1d four-pronged tamga, as 1b, but inscription from 6.00.

1e four-pronged tamga, as 1b, but inscription from 10.00: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩ (sic) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΤΗ.

2a three-pronged tamga, complete inscription in square letters from 12.00.

2b three-pronged tamga, as 2a, but abbreviated inscription.

2c three-pronged tamga, as 2a, but Β shaped like a figure 8.

2d three-pronged tamga, as 2b, but Β shaped like a figure 8.

2e three-pronged tamga, as 2a, but inscription from 6.00.

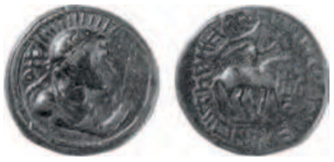
2f three-pronged tamga, as 2b, but inscription from 6.00.

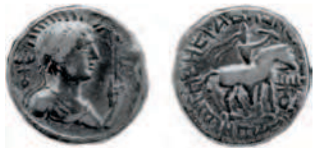
2g three-pronged tamga, as 1b, but inscription from 11.00: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩ (sic) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ [ΣΩΤΗΡ] (inscription may end between Σ and Ρ).

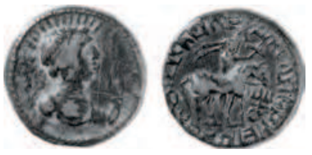
4 prongs/4 prongs

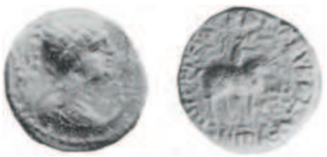
The earliest types feature four-prong tamgas on both sides:

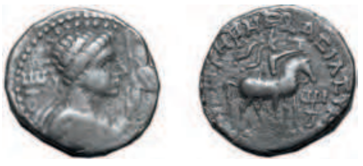
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Rays
0361*	299805	1894,0506.771	8.34	20	1A	1a	14
0362	299813	1894,0506.772	8.23	22	1A	1a	13?
0363*	299807	1894,0506.766	8.05	20	1A	1a	13
0364	299814	OR.308	7.91	19	1A	1a	14?
0365	299808	IOC.243	7.78	20	1A	1a	14
0366	299812	1844,0909.32	7.71	19	1A	1a	13
0367	299806	1981,0322.24	8.40	21	1A	1b	12
0368*	221976	1922,0424.2993	8.32	19	1A	1b	13
0369	299809	1835,BUR.36	7.26	19	1A	1b	13
0370*	299811	1922,0424.4737	8.33	19	1A	1c	12
0371	299815	1850,0305.142	8.09	20	1A	1c	14?
A*	Zeymal 1983, 73		8,19	20	2A	1a	?
B*	Private collection B				2A	1c	11
0372*	299820	1894,0506.770	7.83	20	3A	1b	8?
0373	299818	1894,0506.767	9.08	20	3A	1d	11
0374*	299810	1981,0322.21	8.58	20	3A	1d	9

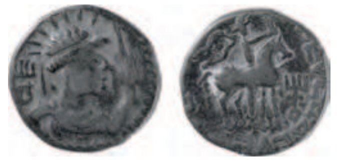

363: B.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)

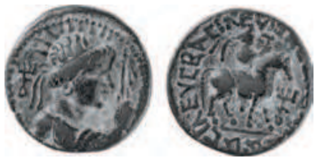

368: B.C1-i 1u (1A/1b)

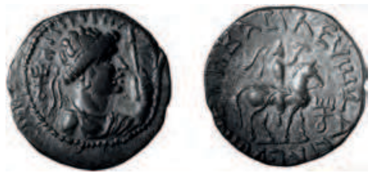

370: B.C1-i 1u (1A/1c)

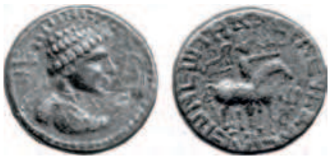

A: B.C1-i 1u (2A/1a)

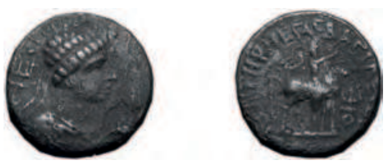

B: B.C1-i 1u (2A/1c)

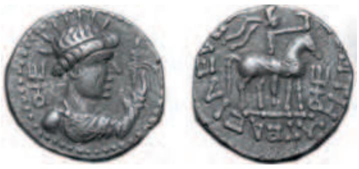

372: B.C1-i 1u (3A/1b)


374: B.C1-i 1u (3A/1d)

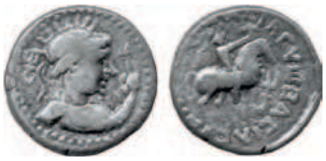

C: B.C1-i 1u (3A/1e)


D: B.C1-i 1u (2A/2b)

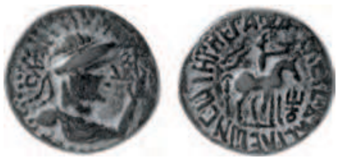

E: B.C1-i 1u (2A/2c)



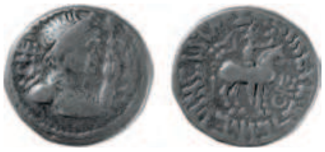
P: B.C1-i 1u (3B/2f)



Q: B.C1-i 1u (3B/2g)



383: B.C1-i 1u (3C/2c)



384: B.C1-i 1u (3C/2d)

034 B.C1-i ¼u Begram centre phase 1 Attic hemidrachms, Soter Megas series early square letter

Mitchiner 1978: 2986, 2989–90, 2993–3002
Soter Megas series, Kujula Kadphises (late reign) and Wima Takto (B), Begram region copper production centre (C1), first phase (i), Attic hemidrachms (¼u), *c.* 2.1g. Anonymous coinage with Miiro (Helios) and king on horseback, with anonymous Soter Megas inscription. This coinage is subdivided by the number of prongs which appear on the tamgas. Die axis between 11.00 and 1.00, normally at 12.00.

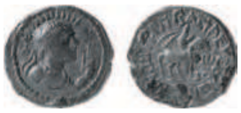
Obverse: Miiro/Helios, head and shoulders bust facing right, with rays emanating from hair, wearing ring-shaped earring, diadem with circular looped tie and two ribbons and cloak clasped above naked right shoulder and spread over chest and left shoulder, holding arrow (tied with ribbons) in raised hand with index finger pointing along shaft; four- or three-pronged tamga behind head. All within dotted border.
1A four-pronged tamga, hair drawn as two rows of curved curls above diadem and roll of curls below, 14, 13, 12, 11, 10 or 9 rays.
1B three-pronged tamga, as 1A, 16, 14, 13, 12, 11, 10 or 9 rays.
2A four-pronged tamga, hair drawn as two rows of oval curls above diadem and roll of oval curls below diadem, 11, 10, 9 or 8 rays.
2B three-pronged tamga, as 2A, 12, 11, 10, 9, 8 or 7 rays.
3A three-pronged tamga, hair drawn as two rows of curved curls above diadem and heavy roll of curls below, 12, 11, 10, 9, 8, 7 or 6 rays.

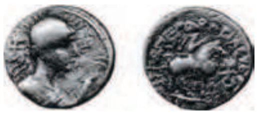
Reverse: King, horseman riding walking horse to right, wearing Iranian cap with two long diadem ribbons, belted jacket and trousers, holding pick-axe in raised right hand and reins in left hand at waist; horse has bridle, saddle, rump strap and knotted tail; four- or three-pronged tamga to right below horse's head. One ear of horse only is visible. Inscription in Greek (written with square Σ E and Ω, often abbreviated, from 12.00 or 6.00): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ[Σ] ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΩΤΗ[Ρ ΜΕΓΑΣ] (King of Kings, the Saviour, the Great) (inscription can end anywhere between P and A).
1a four-pronged tamga, abbreviated inscription from 12.00: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΩΤΗ[Ρ ΜΕΓΑ] (inscription can end anywhere between P and A).
1b four-pronged tamga, as 1a, but inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΩΤΗ[Ρ ΜΕΓΑ] (inscription can end anywhere between P and A).
1c four-pronged tamga, as 1a, but inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΩΤΗ.
1d four-pronged tamga, as 1a, but inscription from 10.00.
1e four-pronged tamga, as 1a, but inscription from 6.00.
1f four-pronged tamga, as 1b, but inscription from 6.00.
1g four-pronged tamga, as 1b, but inscription from 5.00.
2a three-pronged tamga, abbreviated inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΩΤΗ[Ρ ΜΕΓΑ] (inscription can end anywhere between P and A) at 12.00
2b three-pronged tamga, as 2a, but inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΩΤΗ[Ρ ΜΕΓΑ] (inscription can end anywhere between P and A)
2c three-pronged tamga, as 2a, but inscription with B shade like a figure 8
2d three-pronged tamga, as 2a, but inscription from 6.00.
2e three-pronged tamga, as 2b, but inscription from 6.00.
2f three-pronged tamga, as 2a, but inscription from 10.00.
2g three-pronged tamga, as 2b, but inscription from 10.00.
2h three-pronged tamga, as 2a, but blundered inscription.

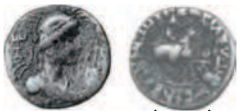
4/4 prongs

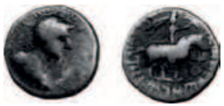
The earliest group have four pronged tamgas on both sides:

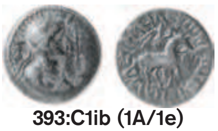
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Rays
0386	299916	1894,0506.774	2.18	14	1A	1a	14
0387	299917	1894,0506.777	1.97	14	1A	1a	?
0388*	299898	1844,0921.23	1.92	14	1A	1a	11
0389	280284	IOC.245	1.91	15	1A	1a	?
0390	299921	OR.8946	1.89	13	1A	1a	11
0391	299915	1844,0909.38	1.87	13	1A	1a	?
0392	280283	1838,EIC.89	1.76	14	1A	1a	11
A*	246592	IOLC.1896	1.91	14	1A	1b	12
B*	246586	IOLC.1890	1.93	14	1A	1c	14
C*	246684	IOLC 1988	1.85	14	1A	1d	12
0393*	299922	1847,1201.121	2.02	14	1A	1e	12
0394	299920	1894,0506.776	2.00	14	1A	1e	12?
0395	299905	1844,0909.39	2.00	14	1A	1e	?
D*	246601	IOLC 1905	2.01	15	1A	1f	11
E*	246695	IOLC 1999	1.91	13	1A	1g	9

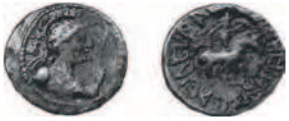

388: B.C1-i ¼u (1A/1a)

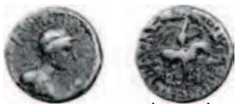

A: B.C1-i ¼u (1A/1b)


B: B.C1-i ¼u (1A/1c)


C:B.C1-i ¼u (1A/1d)

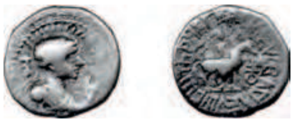

393:C1ib (1A/1e)

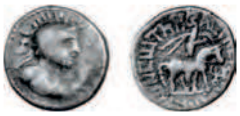

D: B.C1-i ¼u (1A/1f)

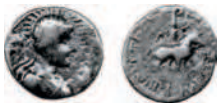

E: B.C1-i ¼u (1A/1g)

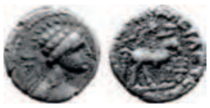
4/3 prongs

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Rays
0396	299918	1894,0506.775	2.06	13	1A	2a	14
F*	246619	IOLC.1923	1.95	15	1A	2a	11
G*	246629	IOLC.1933	1.95	14	1A	2b	10
H*	246588	IOLC.1892	1.89	13	1A	2e	9
I*	246674	IOLC.1978	1.94	13	2A	2a	10


F: B.C1-i ¼u (1A/2a)

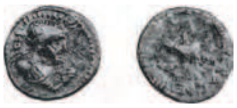

G: B.C1-i ¼u (1A/2b)

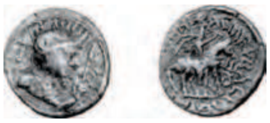

H: B.C1-i ¼u (1A/2e)


I: B.C1-i ¼u (2A/2a)

3/3 prongs

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Rays
0397	299903	OR.8939	2.01	12	1B	2a	10
0398	299911	OR.8934	1.94	12	1B	2a	?
0399	299885	OR.8933	1.90	13	1B	2a	?
J*	246716	IOLC.2020	1.87	13	1B	2a	11
K*	246729	IOLC.2033	1.98	15	1B	2b	11
L*	246752	IOLC.2056	1.80	14	1B	2c	9
0400*	299904	OR.9029	1.91	13	1B	2d	14

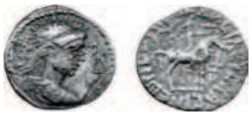

J: B.C1-i ¼u (1B/2a)

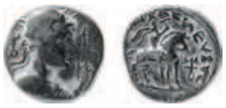

K: B.C1-i ¼u (1B/2b)

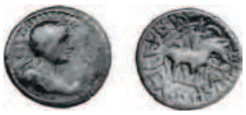
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Rays
0401	299894	1843,0721.7	1.92	14	1B	2e	?
0402	299888	1850,1130.45	1.77	14	1B	2e	9
M*	246717	IOLC.2021	1.93	14	1B	2e	12
N*	246719	IOLC.2023	2.00	14	1B	2g	13
O*	246943	IOLC.2247	1.97	13	2B	2a	7
P*	246837	IOLC.2141	1.95	13	2B	2b	9
Q*	246804	IOLC.2108	2.01	13	2B	2c	8
R*	246782	IOLC.2086	1.95	13	2B	2e	10
S*	246667	IOLC.1971	2.05	13	3A	2a	7?
0403	299913	OR.8926	2.19	15	3A	2b	9
0404	299890	1894,0506.779	1.93	13	3A	2b	9
T*	246784	IOLC.2088	2.04	13	3A	2b	9
0405	299893	1847,1201.119	1.98	13	3A	2c	?
0406	299912	OR.316	1.87	13	3A	2c	7
U*	246922	IOLC.2226	1.83	13	3A	2c	?
0407†	299902	1919,0702.2	2.09	12	3A	2e	12
V*‡	246723	IOLC.2027	2.00	15	3A	2e	?
W*	246989	IOLC.2293	1.92	15	3A	2f	?
0408*	299887	1894,0506.778	2.05	14	3A	2h	8

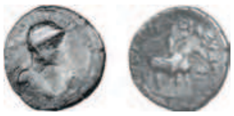
† Die axis 9:00; contemporary imitation.

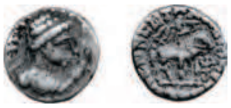
‡ Die axis 12:00; contemporary imitation.

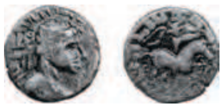

L: B.C1-i ¼u (1B/2c)

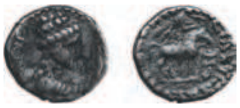

400: B.C1-i ¼u (1B/2d)

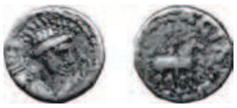

M: B.C1-i ¼u (1B/2e)

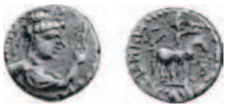

N: B.C1-i ¼u (1B/2g)

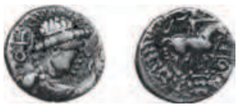

O: B.C1-i ¼u (2B/2a)

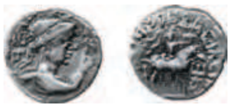

P: B.C1-i ¼u (2B/2b)

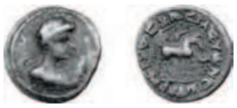

Q: B.C1-i ¼u (2B/2c)

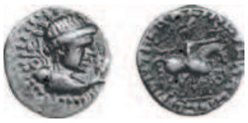

R: B.C1-i ¼u (2B/2e)

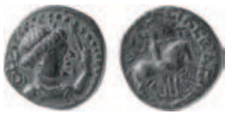

S: B.C1-i ¼u (2B/2e)

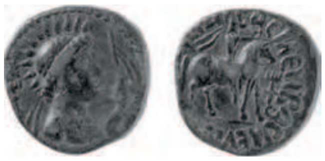

T: B.C1-i ¼u (3A/2b)


U: B.C1-i ¼u (3A/2c)

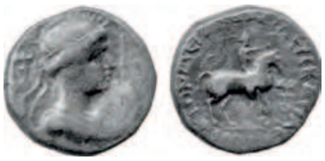

V: B.C1-i ¼u (3A/2e)


W: B.C1-i ¼u (3A/2f)

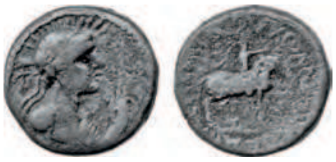

408: B.C1-i ¼u (3A/2h)



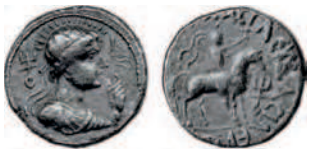
410: B.C1-ii 1u (1A/1a)



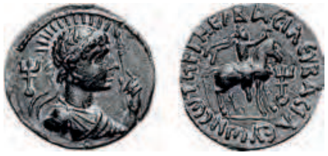
A: B.C1-ii 1u (2A/1a)



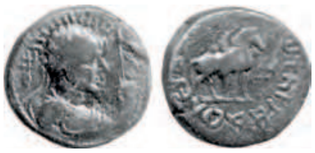
B: B.C1-ii 1u (2A/1b)



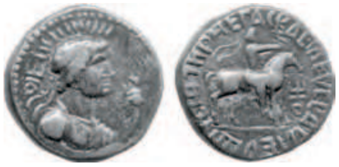
411: B.C1-ii 1u (2B/2a)



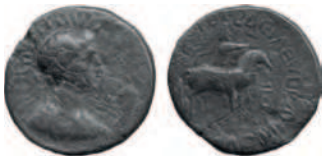
C: B.C1-ii 1u (2B/2b)



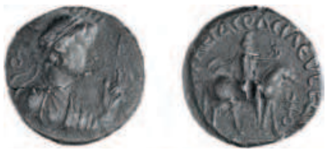
D: B.C1-ii 1u (2B/2c)



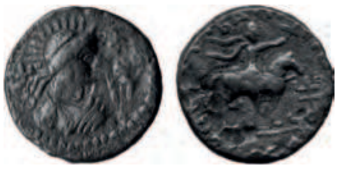
E: B.C1-ii 1u (2B/3a)



F: B.C1-ii 1u (2B/3b)



G: B.C1-ii 1u (2B/3b)



H: B.C1-ii 1u (3A/4a)

035 B.C1-ii 1u Begram centre phase 2 Attic didrachms, Soter Megas series early cursive script

Mitchiner 1978: 2975–6

Soter Megas series, Kujula Kadphises (late reign) and Wima Takto (B), Begram region copper production centre (C1), second phase (ii), Attic didrachms (1u), *c.* 8.5g. Anonymous coinage with Miiro (Helios) and king on horseback with anonymous Soter Megas inscription. This coinage is subdivided by the number of prongs which appear on the tamgas. This category has unfixed die axis.

Obverse: Miiro/Helios, head and shoulders bust facing right, with rays emanating from hair, wearing ring-shaped earring, diadem with circular looped ties and two ribbons and cloak clasped above naked right shoulder and spread over chest and left shoulder, holding arrow (tied with ribbons) in raised hand with index finger pointing along shaft; four- or three-pronged tamga behind head. All within dotted border.

1A four-pronged tamga, hair with curls drawn as thin crescents above diadem and heavy roll of curls below; 11 or 10 rays.

2A four-pronged tamga, as 1A, but with smaller roll of curls; 11 or more rays.

2B three-pronged tamga, as 2A; 15, 13 or 12 rays.

3A three-pronged tamga, hair with single row of curls drawn as straight lines above diadem and heavy roll of curls below; 13, 10, 9 or 8 rays.

4A three-pronged tamga, hair with two rolls of curls drawn as thick crescents above diadem and heavy roll of curls, drawn as ovals below; 7 rays.

Reverse: King, horseman riding walking horse to right, wearing Iranian cap with two long diadem ribbons, belted jacket and trousers, holding pick-axe in raised right hand and reins in left hand at waist; horse has bridle, saddle, rump strap and knotted tail; four- or three-pronged tamga to right below horse's head. One or two ears of horse are visible. Inscription in Greek (written with one or more cursive letters B, Σ, E and Ω, often abbreviated, from 12.00, 11.00, 10.00, 6.00 or 5.00): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ[Σ] ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΩΤΗ[Ρ ΜΕΓΑΣ]. (King of Kings, the Saviour, the Great).

1a four-pronged tamga, complete inscription with cursive letters B, Σ, E and Ω, from 12.00, horse showing one ear.

1b four-pronged tamga, as 1a, but abbreviated inscription, from 6.00.

2a three-pronged tamga, as 1a, but ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ (sic) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ.

2b three-pronged tamga, as 1a, but incomplete inscription.

2c three-pronged tamga, as 2b, but inscription from 5.00.

3a three-pronged tamga, as 1a, but square E and Ω and square and cursive Σ.

3b three-pronged tamga, as 1a, but square Ω.

4a three-pronged tamga, cursive inscription with misformed letters, including double looped Ω, starting between 10.00 and 11.00, horse showing one ear.

5a three-pronged tamga, cursive inscription, blundered with double-looped Ω, from 12.00, showing two ears.

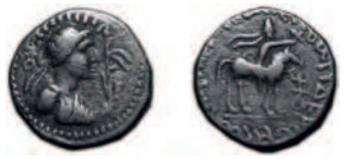
Four prongs/four prongs

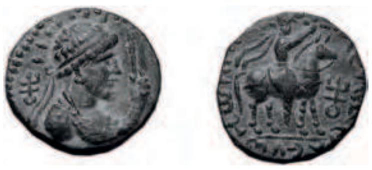
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Rays
0409	299816	OR.8944	8.04	20	1A	1a	11
0410*	299819	1850,0305.144	10.17	20	1A	1a	11
A*	246284	IOLC.1588	8.38	20	2A	1a	14
B*	246282	IOLC.1586	8.18	20	2A	1b	11

Three prongs/three prongs

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Rays/ axis
0411*	280278	IOC.242	8.07	19	2B	2a	15 /1
C*	CNG mailbid 69, 8/6/2005: 838		8.24	-	2B	2b	12
D*	246335	IOLC.1639	7.68	19	2B	2c	12/5

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Rays/ axis
E*	246328	IOLC.1632	9.07	21	2B	3a	12/3
F*	246332	IOLC.1636	7.67	20	2B	3b	12/6
G*	ANS (1938.50.141)		8.10	19	2B	3b	12
H*	246331	IOLC.1635	7.85	21	3A	4a	10/10
I*	Private collection B				3A	4a	9
J*	Private collection B				4A	5a	7
0412	299839	1996,1030.17	8.30	22	4A	5a	?/9


I: B.C1-ii 1u (3A/4a)


J: B.C1-ii 1u (4A/5a)

036 B.C1-ii ¼u Begram centre phase 2 Attic hemidrachms, Soter Megas series early cursive script type

Mitchiner 1978, 2987, 2992
Soter Megas series, Kujula Kadphises (late reign) and Wima Takto (B), Begram region copper production centre (C1), second phase (ii), Attic hemidrachms (¼u), *c.* 2.1g. Anonymous coinage with Miiro (Helios) and king on horseback with anonymous Soter Megas inscription. This coinage is subdivided by the number of prongs which appear on the tamgas. Die axis between 11.00 and 1.00, normally at 12.00 (obverse 1A), or random (obverse 2A).

Obverse: Miiro/Helios, head and shoulders bust facing right, with rays emanating from hair, wearing ring-shaped earring, diadem with circular tie and two ribbons and cloak clasped above naked right shoulder and spread over chest and left shoulder, holding arrow (tied with ribbons) in raised hand with index finger pointing along shaft; three-pronged tamga behind head. All within dotted border.

1A three-pronged tamga, hair drawn as two rows of curved curls above diadem and roll of curls below, 14, 13, 12 or 11 rays.

2A three-pronged tamga, hair drawn as single row of straight curls above diadem and row of curls as thick line below below, enlarged ribbons on arrow, 7 or 6 rays.

Reverse: King, horseman riding walking horse to right, wearing Iranian cap with two long diadem ribbons, belted jacket and trousers, holding pick-axe in raised right hand and reins in left hand at waist; horse has bridle, saddle, rump strap and knotted tail; three-pronged tamga to right below horse's head. One ear of horse visible. Inscription in Greek (written with cursive Β, Σ, Ε, and square or cursive Ω, abbreviated, from 12.00 or 6.00): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ[Σ] ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΩΤΗ[Ρ ΜΕΓΑ]. (King of Kings, the Saviour, the Great).

1a three-pronged tamga, abbreviated inscription with cursive letters Β, Σ, Ε, and Ω: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΩΤ[ΗΡ], from 12.00.

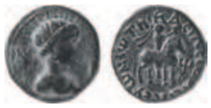
1b three-pronged tamga, as 1a, from 11.00.

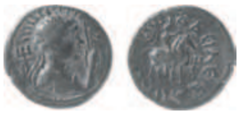
2a three-pronged tamga, abbreviated inscription with cursive letters Β, Σ, Ε, and square Ω, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ Μ, from 11.00.

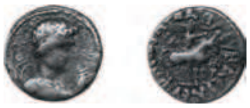
2b three-pronged tamga, as 2a, but blundered inscription.

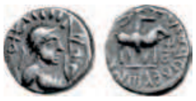
2c three-pronged tamga, horseman to left, blundered inscription.

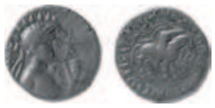
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Rays/ axis
0413*	299899	1922,0424,2994	2.24	13	1A	1a	11
0414*	299892	1894,0506.796	1.99	14	1A	1a	11/12
0415	299910	1894,0506.780	1.82	14	1A	1a	14
A*	246710	IOLC.2014	1.81	13	1A	1b	12
0416*	280285	IOC.246	2.19	12	2A	2a	6/12
0417*	299900	1855,0608.19	2.18	13	2A	2a	7/4
0418	299896	1889,0105.1098	2.14	13	2A	2a	?/6
0419	299908	OR.8936	2.10	12	2A	2a	6/2
0420	299906	OR.8938	2.07	13	2A	2a	6/12
0421	299914	OR.8945	2.06	12	2A	2a	?/1

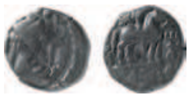

413: B.C1-ii ¼u (1A/1a)

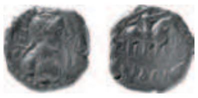

414: B.C1-ii ¼u (1A/1a)

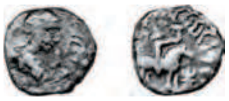

A: B.C1-ii ¼u (1A/1b)

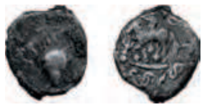

416: B.C1-ii ¼u (2A/2a)


417: B.C1-ii ¼u (2A/2a)


B: B.C1-ii ¼u (2A/2a)


423: B.C1-ii ¼u (2A/2b)

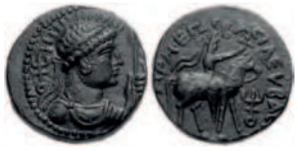

C: B.C1-ii ¼u (2A/2b)

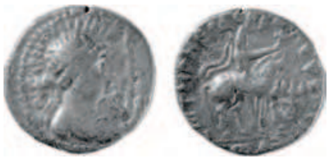

D: B.C1-ii ¼u (2A/2c)

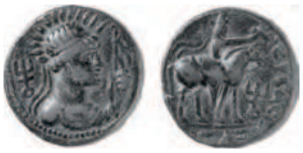
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Rays/ axis
B*	299914	IOLC.2207	2.32	13	2A	2a	?/3
0422	246903	1853,0301.1313	2.02	12	2A	2b	?
0423*	299909	OR.8935	1.98	12	2A	2b	?/3
0424	299891	1850,0305.213	1.98	12	2A	2b	?
C*	246657	IOLC.1961	2.35	13	2A	2b	?/3
D*	246671	IOLC.1975	2.28	13	2A	2c	?/6

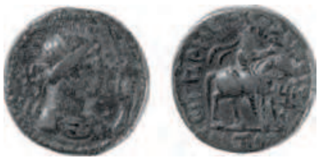
037 B.C1-iii 1u Begram centre phase 3 attic didrachms, Soter Megas series late cursive letter type

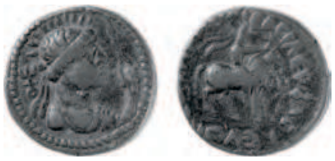
Mitchiner 1978: 2928–63
Soter Megas series, Wima Takto (B), Begram region copper production centre (C1), third phase (iii), Attic didrachms (1u), *c.* 8.5g. Anonymous coinage with Miiro (Helios) and king on horseback with anonymous Soter Megas inscription. Die axis between 11.00 and 1.00, normally at 12.00.
Obverse: Mithra/Helios, head and shoulders bust facing right, with rays emanating from hair, wearing ring-shaped earring, diadem with circular looped tie and two ribbons, and cloak clasped above naked right shoulder and spread over chest and left shoulder, holding arrow (sometimes tied with ribbons) in raised hand with index finger pointing along shaft; three-pronged tamga behind head. All within dotted border.
1A three-pronged tamga, hair with two rolls of curls drawn as thick crescents above diadem and heavy roll of curls, drawn as ovals below, sometimes with loose lock of hair before ear; 14, 13, 12, 11, 10, 9 or 8 rays.
1B three-pronged tamga, cruder version of 1B, no ribbons on arrow; 8, 7, 6 or 5 rays.
Reverse: King, horseman riding walking horse to right, wearing Phrygian Iranian cap with two long diadem ties ribbons, belted jacket and trousers, holding pick-axe in raised right hand and reins in left hand at waist, horse has bridle, saddle, rump strap and knotted tail; four- or three-pronged tamga to right below horse's head. Two ears of horse are visible. Inscription in Greek (written with cursive letters Β, Σ, and sometimes Ε and Ω, (starting atfrom 12.00): Greek (written with cursive letters Β, Σ, and sometimes Ε and Ω) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ (King of Kings, the Saviour, the Great).
1a three-pronged tamga, with cursive Β, Σ, both cursive and square Ε and square Ω.
1b three-pronged tamga, as 2a, but inscription with cursive letters Β, Σ, Ε and Ω.

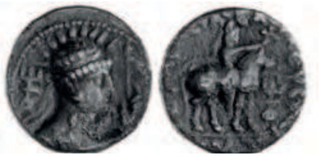

A: B.C1-iii 1u (1A/1a)

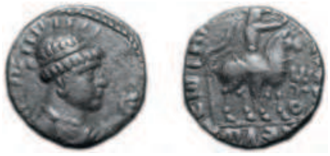

425: B.C1-iii 1u (1A/1a)

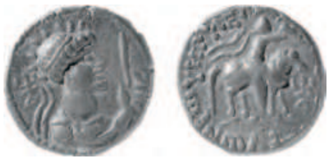

429: B.C1-iii 1u (1A/1a)


433: B.C1-iii 1u (1A/1a)


435: B.C1-iii 1u (1A/1a)

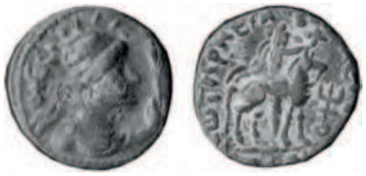

B: B.C1-iii 1u (1A/1a)

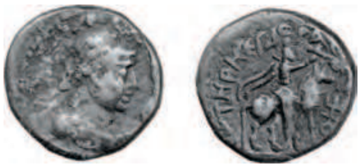

C: B.C1-iii 1u (1B/1a)

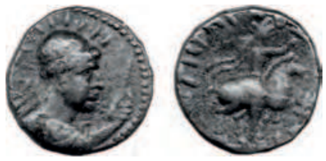

448: B.C1-iii 1u (1B/1a)

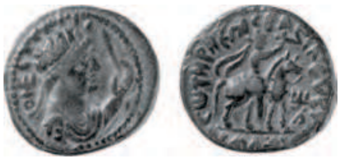
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Rays
A*	CNG electronic, 6 Jun 2007, 129		8.43	19	1A	1a	14
0425*	299824	1847,1201.114	8.12	20	1A	1a	13
0426	299876	OR.8941	7.98	20	1A	1a	13
0427	299822	1894,0506.789	8.27	20	1A	1a	12
0428	280279	IOC.244	7.00	20	1A	1a	12
0429*	299825	1894,0506.795	8.50	19	1A	1a	12
0430	299828	1843,0718.4	8.28	20	1A	1a	12
0431	299856	1894,0506.790	8.17	20	1A	1a	12
0432	299857	1894,0506.784	8.42	18	1A	1a	12
0433*	299858	1894,0506.793	8.79	20	1A	1a	11
0434	299879	OR.8942	7.97	18	1A	1a	11
0435*	299860	1894,0506.794	9.09	20	1A	1a	10
0436	299859	1894,0506.787	8.35	19	1A	1a	10
0437	204318	OR.7192	8.01	19	1A	1a	10?
0438	299832	1850,0305.147	7.24	20	1A	1a	10?
B*	ANS (1977.274.43)		8.33		1A	1a	9

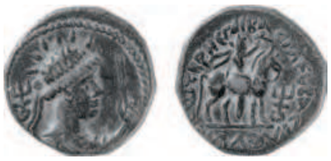
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Rays
0439	299853	1889,0105.1090	7.40	21	1A	1a	9
0440	299823	OR.9021	8.47	20	1A	1a	8
0441	299833	1996,1030.19	8.23	21	1A	1a	8
0442	299877	1835,BUR.71	8.25	21	1A	1a	8
0443	299880	OR.8943	7.74	20	1A	1a	8
0444	299840	1850,0305.141	7.96	20	1A	1a	?
0445	299854	1889,0105.1094	7.79	19	1A	1a	?
0446	299827	1996,1030.21	5.70	19	1A	1a	?
0447	299844	1889,0105.1093	7.69	21	1A	1a	?
C*	Private collection B (P6290037)				1B	1a	8
0448*	299881	1894,0506,786	8.03	20	1B	1a	7
0449	299873	1835,BUR.70	7.50	21	1B	1a	7
0450	299875	OR.8931	8.58	19	1B	1a	7
0451*	282579	1981,0322.23	8.43	22	1B	1a	6
D*	246476	IOLC.1780			1B	1b	8
E*	246485	IOLC.1789			1B	1b	8
0452	299845	1894,0506.792	8.35	20	1B	1b	7
0453	299843	1850,0305.145	8.31	20	1B	1b	7
0454	299835	1894,0506.785	8.26	21	1B	1b	7
0455	299874	OR.8929	8.26	20	1B	1b	7
0456	299861	OR.307	8.11	20	1B	1b	7
0457*	299837	1894,0506.783	8.08	24	1B	1b	7
0458	204317	OR.7191	8.06	20	1B	1b	7
0459	299871	OR.8947	8.02	21	1B	1b	7
0460	300868	1850,0305.148	7.96	19	1B	1b	7
0461	299831	1889,0105.1095	7.79	20	1B	1b	7
0462	280280	1838,EIC.81	7.76	22	1B	1b	7
0463	299836	OR.0310	7.72	22	1B	1b	7
0464*	299849	1894,0506.781	8.40	21	1B	1b	6
0465	299847	1894,0506.782	8.37	22	1B	1b	6
0466	299864	OR.309	8.32	21	1B	1b	6
0467	299865	1894,0506.791	8.28	22	1B	1b	6
0468	299848	1894,0506.788	8.11	23	1B	1b	6
0469	299852	1889,0105.1092	7.96	20	1B	1b	6
0470	299841	1843,0812.28	7.96	20	1B	1b	6
0471	299834	1996,1030.18	7.89	21	1B	1b	6
0472	299870	OR.9426	7.89	21	1B	1b	6
0473	299838	1996,1030.16	8.67	22	1B	1b	5
0474	299846	OR 0311	8.43	21	1B	1b	5?
0475	299916	OR.313	8.38	20	1B	1b	5
0476	299917	1838,EIC.76	8.35	23	1B	1b	5
0477*	299867	1835,0901.19	8.32	21	1B	1b	5
0478	280284	OR.8932	8.31	20	1B	1b	5
0479	299921	OR.8940	8.14	19	1B	1b	5
0480	280283	OR.8927	7.89	20	1B	1b	5
0481	246592	1996,1030.20	7.63	20	1B	1b	5
0482	246586	1850,0305.149	6.74	19	1B	1b	?

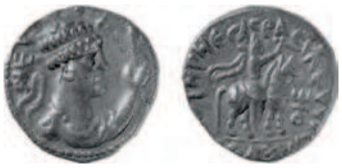

451: B.C1-iii 1u (1B/1a)


D: B.C1-iii 1u (1B/1b)

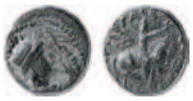

E: B.C1-iii 1u (1B/1b)

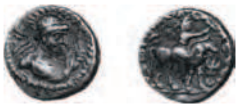

457: B.C1-iii 1u (1B/1b)

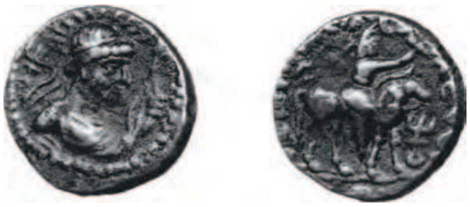

464: B.C1-iii 1u (1B/1b)

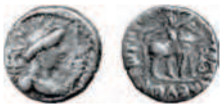

477: B.C1-iii 1u (1B/1b)

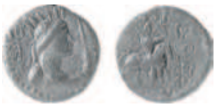
038 B.C1-iii ¼u Begram centre phase 3 Attic hemidrachms, Soter Megas series late cursive letter type

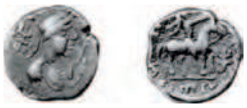

483: B.C1-iii ¼u (1A/1a)


A: B.C1-iii ¼u (1A/1a)


200% enlargement of A


B: B.C1-iii ¼u (1A/1a)

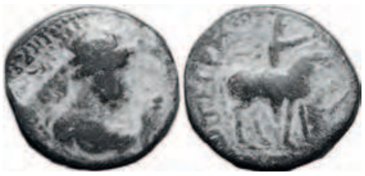

487: B.C1-iii ¼u (1A/1b)

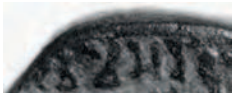

C: B.C1-iii ¼u (1A/1b)

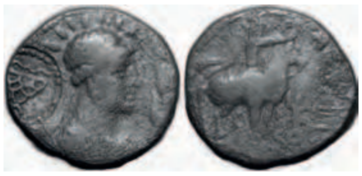
Mitchiner 1978: 2985, 2988, 2991
Soter Megas series, Wima Takto (B), Begram region copper production centre (C1), third phase (iii), Attic hemidrachms (¼u), *c.* 2.1g. Anonymous coinage with Miiro (Helios) and king on horseback with anonymous Soter Megas inscription. Die axis between 11.00 and 1.00, normally at 12.00.
Obverse: Mithra/Helios, head and shoulders bust facing right, with rays emanating from hair, wearing ring-shaped earring, diadem with circular looped tie and two ribbons and cloak clasped above naked right shoulder and spread over chest and left shoulder, holding arrow (tied with ribbons) in raised hand with index finger pointing along shaft; three-pronged tamga behind head. All within dotted border.
1A three-pronged tamga, hair drawn as two rows of oval curls above diadem and roll of oval curls below; 12, 11, 10, 9, 8, 7 or 6 rays.
Reverse: King, horseman riding walking horse to right, wearing Iranian cap with two long diadem ribbons, belted jacket and trousers, holding pick-axe in raised right hand and reins in left hand at waist; horse has bridle, saddle, rump strap and knotted tail; three-pronged tamga to right below horse's head. Both ears of horse visible. Inscription in Greek (written with cursive Β, Σ, Ε, and square Ω, from 12.00): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ. (King of Kings, the Saviour, the Great).
1a three-pronged tamga, inscription in mixed cursive and square letters, with cursive Β, Σ, Ε, and cursive a(nd/or) square Ωs, from 12.00.
1b three-pronged tamga as 1a, complete inscription blundered.

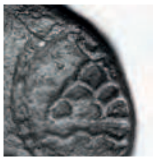
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Ray/ Axis
0483*	299907	OR.8937	2.17	12	1A	1a	8
0484	299895	1847,1201.122	2.07	12	1A	1a	8
0485	299897	1847,1201.118	2.07	13	1A	1a	8
0486	299889	1889,0105.1097	1.86	13	1A	1a	?
A*	246755	IOLC.2059	1.98	13	1A	1a	10
B*	246924	IOLC.2228	2.10	13	1A	1a	7/11
0487*	299919	1849,1107.63	1.65	13	1A	1b	6
C*	246923	IOLC.2227	1.98	13	1A	1b	8

039 B.C1-misc 1u Countermarked Begram centre Attic didrachms, Soter Megas series


A: B.C1-misc 1u (1A)


enlargement of countermark 1A


B: B.C1-misc 1u (2A)


enlargement of countermark 2A

Senior 2006: vol .4: 27
Soter Megas series, Wima Takto (B), Begram region copper production centre (C1), with countermarks (misc), Attic didrachms (1u), *c.* 8.5g. Anonymous coinage with Miiro/Helios and king on horseback, with Soter Megas inscription. Late coins of the Soter Megas type (B.C1-iii 1u) have been recorded as countermarked by Damazada (brother of the Western Satrap satrap Castana). The countermarks have been recorded in two varieties, struck behind the neck of the king, on the left hand side of the obverse.
1A rectangular punch with Gandhari inscription written in Brahmi script legend (in two lines within a rectangular punch): *svamisa da/maysadasa* (of Lord Damazada).
2A circular punch with a six-arched hill over a river with sun and moon symbols above.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Mark
A*	Private collection B		7.53	22	1A
B*	Private collection B		7.76	22	2A

Western Tokharistan region copper mint (B.C2)

During the period of the Soter Megas series this mint initially continued its issue of copper imitations of the silver tetradrachms of the Bactrian Greek king Heliocles which it had begun during the reign of Kujula Kadphises. Later it replaced them with a new Soter Megas series issue with a design based on the Begram region production centre issues.

The initial Soter Megas series period Heliocles imitation coins introduce a new reverse design replacing the Greek god Zeus on the reverse with an image of a standing horse. The portrait design and the reverse inscription are identical to the later versions of the earlier Heliocles imitation series. The horse reverse types are datable to the Soter Megas series period by the appearance of the four-pronged version of the Soter Megas tamga on the rump of the standing horse. The use of a four-pronged tamga suggests that these issues were made early in the Soter Megas series period, so they may be issues from late in the reign of Kujula Kadphises.

The Soter Megas series coins which followed the Heliocles imitations used the bust/horseman design of the Begram issues, but replaced the rayed bust facing right with a helmeted one facing left. Their inscriptions are copied from the Begram coins of phases 2 (1a, b, c) and 3 (2a). On the initial issues of the type their issuer Wima Takto is identified on the coins in two ways, the Kharoshthi control mark *vi* is placed before the bust and the initial letter(s) OO or O of his name OO[HMO] appear at the end of the normal Soter Megas inscription.

The horse reverse coins were issued in two denominations a unit and quarter representing tetradrachms and drachms on a reduced version of the Attic weight standard, *c.* 16–12g. The Soter Megas series coins are all tetradrachms on the Attic weight standard, but even more reduced, *c.* 12g.

The products of this mint are normally found in western Tokharistan, north and south of the Oxus, but the coins of the first phase are also found in relatively large numbers at Begram, perhaps representing the influx of the peoples ruled by the Kushans into this area during Kujula Kadphises' reign.

Phase 1 coins are all Heliocles imitations, often with the four-pronged tamga.

Phase 2 coins are Soter Megas series coins with a helmeted bust on the obverse and the three-pronged tamga.

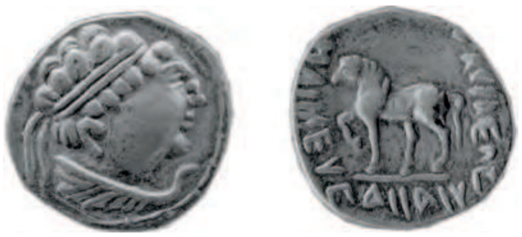
040 B.C2-i 1u Western Tokharistan copper mint phase 1 tetradrachms, Heliocles imitation type

Zeymal 1983, pl. 15, no. IX.10
Mitchiner 1978, 1877–8
Soter Megas series, Kujula Kadphises (late reign) and Wima Takto (B), Western Tokharistan region copper mint A (C2), first phase (i), Attic standard tetradrachms (1u), on a reduced weight standard *c.* 16 to 12g. Using designs adapted from debased copies of silver tetradrachms of Heliocles, the Greek king of Bactria, with Soter Megas tamga.

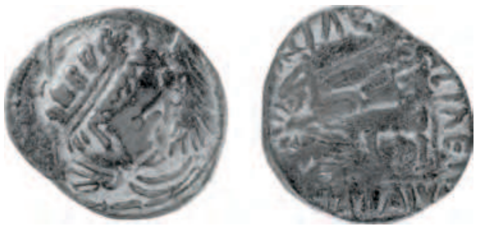
Obverse: King, head and shoulders bust facing right, with curled hair, wearing diadem with two ribbons, and cloak over shoulder, with end of cloak extending into right field, surrounded by circle of reel and pellet motifs.

Reverse: Horse standing facing left, with front right leg bent raised from ground line; four-pronged tamga is visible on the horse's rump on some examples (as noted). Inscription in blundered Greek (parallel lines to right and left of horse, read from left edge): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ (written as ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΛΙΙΛΕΥΣ) and (anticlockwise, straight line, read from bottom edge, from about 7.00 to 5.00) ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ (written as ΔΙΙΑΙΥ) (of King Heliocles the Just).

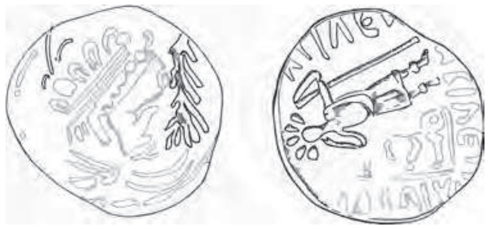
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Tamga
0488	299464	IOC.363	15.79	29	
0489	299468	1835,0901.21	15.64	29	tamga
0490	299466	1847,1201.78	15.58	26	
0491	299465	OR.287	14.74	28	
0492*	233043	1890,0404.24	14.72	30	



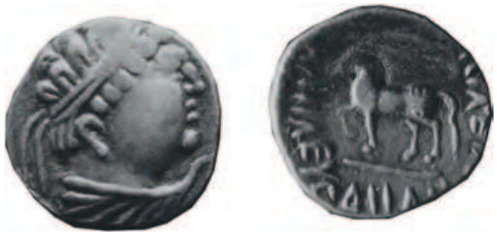
492: B.C2-i 1u



493: B.C2-i 1u



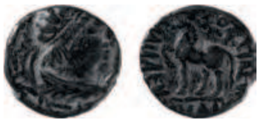
Undertypes of 493 highlighted



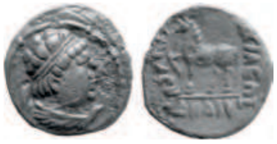
A: B.C2-i 1u with tamga visible

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Tamga
0493*†	299483	IOC.362	13.58	29	
0494	280259	IOC.364	12.60	27	tamga
0495	299467	OR.286	12.10	27	
A*	Private collection T		12.94	-	tamga

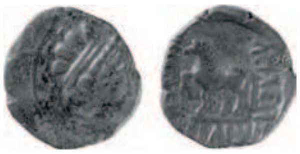
† This coin is overstruck on an example of A.C1a (type 3b/3b). Visible parts of the under-type are indicated below the coin by a sketch. The standing figure of Zeus is clear on the reverse (oriented at 8.00 with part of the under-type legend), though the end of his arm and thunderbolt are lost. The obverse is less clear but what is visible is probably part of the cloak of the under-types obverse bust.



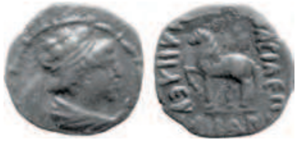
499: B.C2-i ¼u-1A



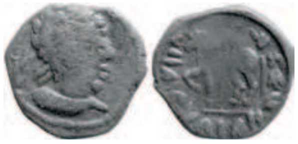
A: B.C2-i ¼u-1A



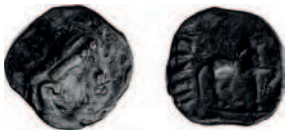
500: B.C2-i ¼u-1B



B: B.C2-i ¼u-1B



C: B.C2-i ¼u (1A/B?)



D: B.C2-i ¼u (1A/B?)

041 B.C2-i ¼u Western Tokharistan copper mint phase 1 drachms, Heliocles imitation type

Zeymal 1983, pl. 15, no. IX.13
Mitchiner 1978, 1879–88
Soter Megas series, Kujula Kadphises (late reign) and Wima Takto (B), Western Tokharistan region copper mint A (C2), first phase (i), Attic standard copper drachms (¼u), on a reduced weight standard *c.* 3.5g. Using designs adapted from debased copies of silver drachms of Heliocles, the Greek king of Bactria, with Soter Megas tamga.
Obverse: King, head and shoulders bust facing right, wearing diadem with two ribbons, and cloak over shoulder, with end of cloak extending into right field, surrounded by circle of reel and pellet motifs.
1A Hair with five loops above diadem.
1B Hair with four loops above diadem.
Reverse: Horse standing facing left, with front right leg bent raised from ground line; four-pronged tamga is visible on the horse's rump on some examples (as noted). Inscription in blundered Greek (parallel lines to right and left of horse, read from left edge): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ (written as ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΛΙΙΛΕΥΣ) and (anticlockwise, straight line, read from bottom edge, from about 7.00 to 5.00) ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ (written as ΔΙΙΑΙΥ) (of King Heliocles the Just).

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Tamga
0496	299469	1922,0424.2903	6.21	19	1B	tamga
0497	299470	OR.290	3.71	18	1A	
0498	299471	1857,0813.65	3.69	17	1A	tamga
0499*‡	299472	OR.8998	2.71	16	1A	tamga
A*	268811	IOLC.1563	4.55	18	1A	
0500*	299477	OR.8996	4.27	19	1B	tamga
0501‡	300867	1964,0915.1935	3.40	18	1B	tamga
0502	299473	1844,0909.25	3.36	18	1B	
0503	299474	1843,0721.3	3.07	17	1B	tamga
0504	280259	IOC.365	3.03	18	1B	tamga
0505	299476	OR.8995	2.47	18	1B	tamga
B*	268778	IOLC 1532	3.21	18	1B	tamga
C* †	268773	IOLC.1527	3.52	17	(1A/B?)	
D*†	ANS (1985.19.7)		2.31	16	(1A/B?)	

† Imitation, ANS 1985,19.7 depicts the horse to right
‡ Formerly part of the Stein collection

042 B.C2-ii 1u Western Tokharistan copper mint phase 2 Attic tetradrachms, Soter Megas series helmeted bust type

Mitchiner 1978: 2923–4

Soter Megas series, Wima Takto (B), Western Tokharistan region production centre (C2), second phase (ii), Attic standard copper tetradrachms (1u), on a reduced weight standard *c.* 12g. Using designs adapted from the Soter Megas general issue type. This denomination could also be a triple unit on the full Attic standard used for the general coinage (B.C1).

Obverse: Miiro/Helios (?), helmeted head and shoulders bust facing left, holding arrow in raised right hand, with finger extended along shaft, cloak across chest held by round clasp on left shoulder, surrounded by circle of reel and pellet motifs. Helmet with rounded cap, scroll pattern on side, wide brim and crest along crown; three-pronged tamga behind head; control mark, in right field (before face): Kharoshthi *vi*.

1A rounded face.

1B elongated face.

Reverse: King, horseman riding walking horse to right, wearing Iranian cap with two long diadem ribbons, belted jacket and trousers, holding pick-axe in raised right hand and reins in left hand at waist; horse has bridle, saddle, rump strap and knotted tail; three-pronged tamga to right below horse's head. Both ears of horse visible. Inscription in Greek (written with cursive letters Β, Σ, Ε and Ω, clockwise, from 12.00): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ[Σ] ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΩΤΗ[Ρ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΟΟ] (W[ima], King of Kings, the Saviour, the Great).

1a inscription, written with double-looped Ωs and curved tail on N: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΟΟ.

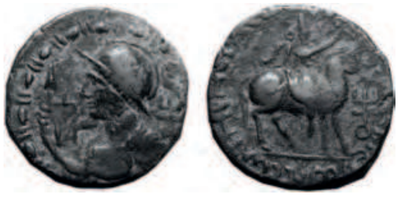
1b inscription, written with double-looped Ωs and curved tail on N: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΟΟ.

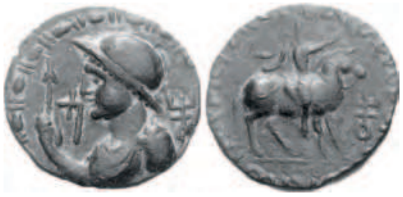
1c inscription, written with double-looped Ωs and curved tail on N: ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ Ο.

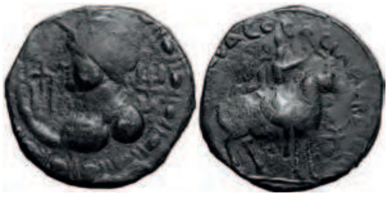
1? inscription, written with double-looped Ωs and curved tail on N: illegible.

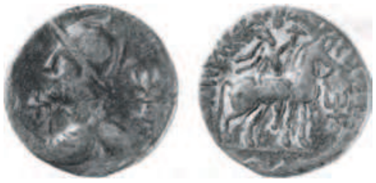
2a inscription, written with single-looped Ω and straight tail on N: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ.

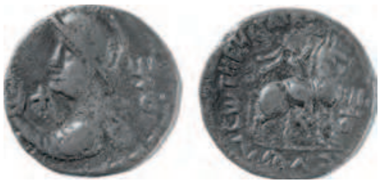
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.
A*	Private collection B		-	-	1A	1a
B*	CNG, Triton XII, Jan 2009: 417		12.35	-	1A	1b
C*	Private collection B		-	-	1A	1c
0506	299768	1894,0506.763	11.10	24	1A	1?
0507*	299765	1881,0707.3	12.63	25	1B	2a
0508*	299766	1894,0506.762	12.59	24	1B	2a
0509	280277	IOC.247	12.42	24	1B	2a
0510	299767	1956,0409.169	11.89	23	1B	2a
0511	299769	1894,0506.765	11.86	23	1B	2a


A: B.C2-ii 1u (1A/1a)


B: B.C2-ii 1u (1A/1b)


C: B.C2-ii 1u (1A/1c)


507: B.C2-ii 1u (1B/2a)

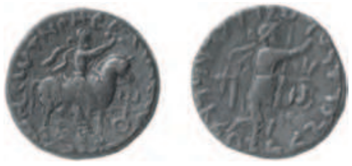

508: B.C2-ii 1u (1B/2a)

Gandhara region silver/copper mint: local issues (B.S1/B.C3)

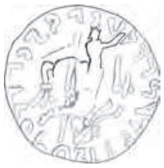
The first Kushan coins issued in the Peshawar region, i.e. Gandhara, were Soter Megas series coins, made late in the series. The mint responsible made both base-silver and copper coins, which are listed here together. The base silver coins used designs, king on horseback on the obverse and standing Greek god Zeus on the reverse, derived directly from the last issues of Indo-Parthian coins from the same mint, with very slight adaptations to conform to the Soter Megas series. Their inscriptions suggest that they were based on phase 2 and phase 3 Begram mint Soter Megas coins. The prototype was issued by the Indo-Parthian king Sasan, and two base-silver coins of the Soter Megas series from this mint were overstruck on coins issued by Sasan and his contemporary Mujatria. The Soter Megas series base-silver coins add new control marks in place of the ones used by the Indo-Parthian king and on some varieties show the king holding a pick-axe like the Soter Megas coins issued at Begram and in Tokharistan. These coins appear to be issued in the reign of Wima Takto as their control marks include Wima Takto's initial as a Kharoshthi control mark *vi*. On two of the base-silver coins the Gandhari translation of the usual Soter Megas inscription, *maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa tratarasa* has the king's name added at the end: *vema'a[sa]*. The base-silver coins were issued in two denominations, tetradrachms and drachms on the Indian weight standard, *c.* 9.5g and 2.3g. They contain about 3% silver, just enough to make them look silver on issue, but most surviving examples look like copper coins.

The copper coins issued at this mint have no inscription apart from the Wima Takto's initial being used as a control mark: *vi*. The vase of plenty, *purnaghata*, in the field is the same as that appearing on the mint's base-silver issues. The designs show a naked male figure holding a staff, which appears to represent the Kushan god Oesho and a female deity who is probably the Kushan goddess Ardochsho.

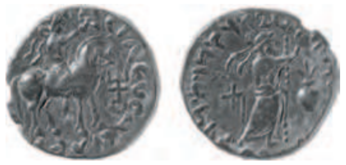
The products of this mint are rare and appear to have been issued for only a brief period in a single phase, and they were perhaps soon replaced by coins of the Begram Soter Megas series.



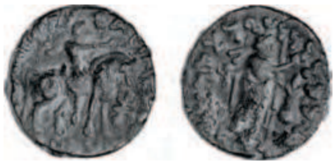
A: B.S1-i (1A/1a)



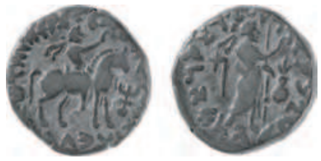
Undertype of A highlighted



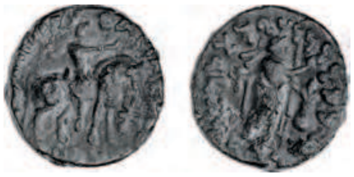
512: B.S1-i 1u (1A/1a)



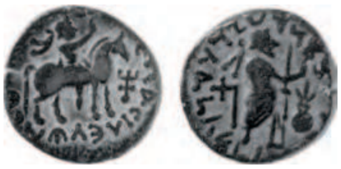
B: B.S1-i 1u (2A/2a)



513: B.S1-i 1u (2A/2b)



C: B.S1-i 1u (2B/2b)



521: B.S1-i 1u (2B/2c)

043 B.S1-i 1u Gandhara mint base silver Indian standard tetradrachms, Soter Megas bilingual type

Mitchiner 1978: 2915–8

Soter Megas series, Wima Takto (B), Gandhara region mint (S1), first and only phase (i), Indian standard base silver tetradrachms (1u), *c.* 9.5g. Using designs adapted from the Soter Megas general issue type and from coins of the Indo-Parthian king Sasan (Senior 242.647).

Obverse: King, horseman riding walking horse to right, wearing diadem with two long ribbons, belted jacket and trousers, holding pick-axe in raised right hand or making gesture of acknowledgement and holding reins in left hand at waist; horse has bridle, saddle, rump strap and knotted tail; three-pronged tamga to right below horse's head. One ear of horse only is visible.

1A king bearded and holding pick-axe in raised right hand, wearing diadem with circular looped tie and downturned ribbons. Inscription in Greek (written with double-looped Ω and curved tail on N): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ Μ (King of Kings, the Saviour, the Great).

2A king making gesture of acknowledgement with raised right hand, wearing diadem with small round solid tie and downturned ribbons. Inscription in Greek (written with single-looped Ω and straight tail on N): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ.

2B king making gesture of acknowledgement with raised right hand, wearing diadem with small bar-shaped solid tie and upturned ribbons. Inscription in Greek (written with cursive letters Β, Σ, Ε and Ω, clockwise, from 12.00): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ Μ[ΕΓΑΣ].

Reverse: Zeus, standing facing right, wearing a diadem with triangular tie and two ribbons, long dress, and cloak over shoulders, holding staff in left hand and making gesture of blessing with raised right hand, waterpot with emerging leaves (*purnaghata*) in right field before god. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (anticlockwise, from 12.00, read from centre): *maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa tratarasa [vema'asa]* (of Wima, King, King of Kings, the Great, the Saviour); control mark, in left field (behind god): Kharoshthi *vi*.

1a god wearing down-turned diadem ribbons, inscription (Kharoshthi *ja* without foot): *maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa tratarasa vema'a[sa]*.

2a god wearing downturned diadem ribbons, inscription (Kharoshthi *ja* with foot): *maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa tratarasa*.

2b god wearing straight diadem ribbons, inscription as 2a (Kharoshthi *ja* with foot).

2c god wearing straight diadem ribbons, inscription as 2a (Kharoshthi *ja* without foot).

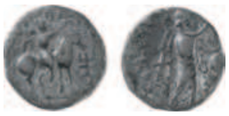
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.
A*‡	Lahore Museum (Soter Megas 96)		9.14	20	1A	1a
0512*†	299749	1894,0506.797	8.89	21	1A	1a
B*	ANS (1944.100.57849)		9.80	-	2A	2a

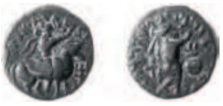
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.
0513*	299751	1894,0506.799	9.56	20	2A	2b
0514	299754	1894,0506.802	9.34	20	2A	2b
C*	ANS (1944.100.59471)		9.79	-	2B	2b
0515	299758	1894,0506.798	9.79	21	2B	2c
0516	299753	1894,0506.801	9.80	22	2B	2c
0517	299750	OR. 7458	9.77	21	2B	2c
0518	299752	1847,1201.99	9.49	21	2B	2c
0519	299756	1894,0506.803	9.47	21	2B	2c
0520	299759	1850,0305.281	9.41	21	2B	2c
0521*	299757	1894,0506.800	9.32	21	2B	2c
0522	299755	1894,0506.804	9.03	20	2B	2c

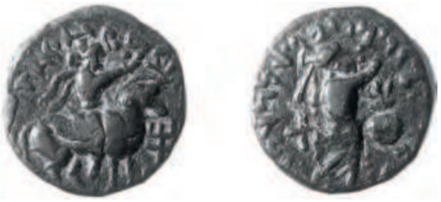
† Overstruck on Sasan, Senior: 242.647. (Cribb 2014a, 119, fig. 27)
‡ Overstruck on Mujatria, Senior 239 (Cribb 2014a, 119, fig. 25)

044 B.S1-i ¼u Gandhara mint base silver Indian standard drachms, Soter Megas bilingual type

Mitchiner 1978: 2919–20
Wima Takto (B), Gandharan region local issues (S1), first and only phase (i), Indian standard base-silver drachms (¼u), *c.* 2.3g. Using designs adapted from the Soter Megas general issue type and from coins of the Indo-Parthian king Sasan (Senior type 242.647).
Obverse: King, horseman riding walking horse to right, wearing Iranian cap with diadem with looped tie and two long ribbons, belted jacket and trousers, holding pick-axe in raised right hand and reins in left hand at waist; horse has bridle, saddle, rump strap and knotted tail; three-pronged tamga to right below horse's head. One ear of horse only is visible. Inscription in Greek (written with cursive letters B, Σ, E, double-looped Ωs and curved tail on N, clockwise, from 12.00): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ Μ (King of Kings, the Saviour, the Great).
Reverse: Zeus, standing facing right, wearing a diadem with triangular tie and two ribbons, long dress, and cloak over shoulders, holding staff in left hand and making gesture of blessing with raised right hand, water pot with emerging leaves (*purnaghata*) in right field before god. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (anticlockwise, from 12.00): *maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa tratarasa* (of the King, King of Kings, the Great, the Saviour); control mark, in left field (behind god): Kharoshthi *vi*.


523: B.S1-i ¼u

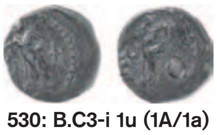

A: B.S1-i ¼u

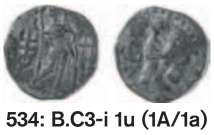

200% enlargement of A

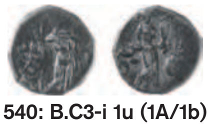
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
0523*	299760	1894,0506.807	1.85	14
0524	299761	1894,0506.808	2.00	12
0525	299762	1894,0506.805	1.72	12
0526	299763	1894,0506.806	2.05	12
0527	299764	1850,0305.232	2.39	13
A*	Bern (27); Göbl 1993a: 54		2.18	13

045 B.C3-i 1u Gandhara mint copper units, Soter Megas series Oesho/Ardochsho type

Mitchiner 1978: 2921–2
Soter Megas series, Wima Takto (B), Gandharan region mint (C3), first and only phase (i), copper units (1u), *c.* 1.6g. Perhaps related to the reduced weight standard posthumous Azes coppers with lion obverse and Tyche reverse (see type A.C7B).
Obverse: Oesho (?), standing male figure, facing with head to right, wearing cloak across shoulders, holding staff in raised right hand and with end of cloak or animal skin draped over left hand resting on hip, three-pronged tamga in left field; control mark, in right field: Kharoshthi *vi*, all within dotted border.
1A Oesho standing with curved posture.
2A Oesho standing straight, with brimmed headdress.
Reverse: Ardochsho/Tyche, standing female figure, facing right, wearing full-length dress, holding cornucopia; nandipada symbol in left field, water pot with emerging leaves (purnagata) in right field.
1a Ardochsho with single breast visible, holding base of cornucopia with


530: B.C3-i 1u (1A/1a)

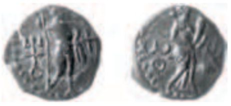

534: B.C3-i 1u (1A/1a)


540: B.C3-i 1u (1A/1b)

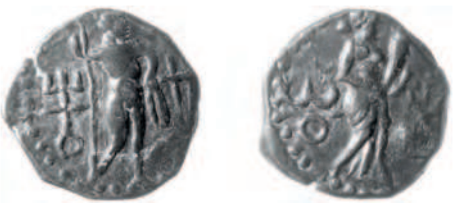
right hand.

1b Ardochsho with both breasts visible, holding base of cornucopia with right hand and supporting its body with left arm.

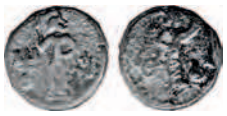
2a Ardochsho holding cornucopia with left arm, right hand on hip.



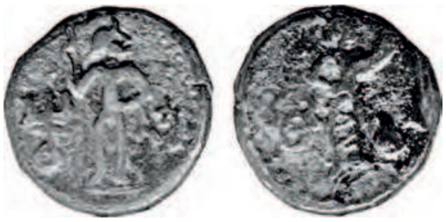
A: B.C3-i 1u (1A/1b)



200% enlargement of A



B: B.C3-i 1u (2A/2a)

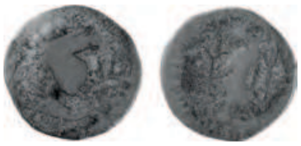


200% enlargement of B

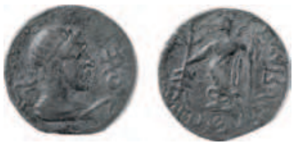
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
0528	299778	OR.319	1.82	11	1A	1a
0529	299776	1894,0506.831	1.66	13	1A	1a
0530*	299780	1894,0506.826	1.56	13	1A	1a
0531	299775	1894,0506.830	1.56	12	1A	1a
0532	299773	1894,0506.824	1.55	12	1A	1a
0533	299777	1894,0506.832	1.51	11	1A	1a
0534*	299774	1894,0506.828	1.50	13	1A	1a
0535	299784	OR.318	1.49	13	1A	1a
0536	299785	1894,0506.827	1.30	11	1A	1a
0537	299781	1894,0506.834	1.19	12	1A	1a
0538	299783	1894,0506.836	1.05	12	1A	1a
0539	299770	1894,0506.822	1.65	12	1A	1b
0540*	299782	1894,0506.821	1.60	12	1A	1b
0541	299771	1894,0506.823	1.40	12	1A	1b
0542	299779	OR.8971	1.35	12	1A	1b
0543	299772	1894,0506.825	1.30	11	1A	1b
A*	Bern (29); Göbl 1993a: 56		1.52	13	1A	1b
B*	246267	IOLC.1571	1.80	14	2A	2a

Mathura region copper mint (B.C4)

The first Kushan coins struck in the Mathura region were all copper Attic drachms of the Soter Megas series, struck on a reduced weight standard *c.* 4g. Their designs were copied from the copper Heliocles imitations issued in Tokharistan during the reign of Kujula Kadphises (A.C1), with a bust on the obverse and the standing figure of the Greek god Zeus, holding a staff and thunderbolt on the reverse. They are distinguished from their prototype by the use of the three-pronged tamga and by the usual Soter Megas series inscription. The products of this mint are rare and were all made in a single phase, perhaps replaced by coins of the Begram Soter Megas series. Their use of the three-pronged tamga and the form of inscription used places them late in the Soter Megas series, so they were probably issued in the reign of Wima Takto. Their attribution to the Mathura region reflects their discovery in this area.



544: B.C4-i 1u (1A)



546: B.C4-i 1u (2A)

046 B.C4-i 1u Mathura copper mint drachms, Soter Megas series imitation Heliocles type

Mitchiner 1978: 2925–7

Soter Megas series, Wima Takto (B), Mathura copper mint (C4), first and only phase (i), copper Attic drachms (1u), struck on a reduced weight standard *c.* 4g. The designs derive from the imitations of Heliocles under Kujula (A.C1a).

Obverse: King or Miiro/Helios, bust right, wearing rayed diadem, and cloak over right shoulder, with end of cloak extending into right field; three-pronged tamga in right field.

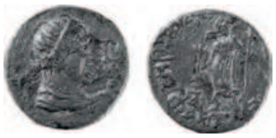
1A hair drawn as four loops, with looped tie on diadem.

2A hair drawn as lines, with looped tie on diadem.

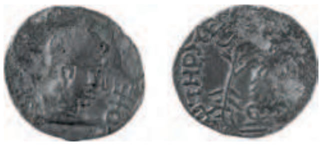
2B as 2A, but single line tie.

Reverse: Zeus, standing male figure, facing with head to right, head surrounded by rays (drawn as dots), wearing large diadem with long curved ribbons, long dress, with cloak over shoulders and hanging from left arm, holding thunderbolt in extended right hand and sceptre in raised left hand. Inscription in Greek (written with square letters except for some cursive Σs) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ (King of Kings, the Saviour, the Great); control mark in left field (below thunderbolt): Greek monogram ΠΑ.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Die
0544*	299800	1894,0506.819	4.25	18	1A	
0545	299797	OR.315	3.56	17	1A	
0546*	299786	1894,0506.814	4.37	18	2A	
0547	299796	1894,0506.813	4.28	17	2A	
0548	299801	1848,0803.198	4.25	17	2A	
0549	299803	1894,0506.816	3.94	17	2A	
0550	299802	1894,0506.809	3.86	18	2A	
0551	299795	1850,0305.283	3.69	23	2A	
0552*	299789	1894,0506.815	4.35	17	2B	die 1
0553	299790	1894,0506.818	4.28	17	2B	die 2
0554	299791	1894,0506.812	4.21	17	2B	die 3
0555	299788	1860,1220.273	4.16	18	2B	die 2
0556	299799	1894,0506.820	4.16	18	2B	die 2
0557	299798	1894,0506.817	3.87	18	2B	die 2
0558*	299787	1894,0506.811	3.72	18	2B	die 1
0559	299793	1850,0305.98	3.71	18	2B	die 2
0560	299794	1847,0309.22	3.57	17	2B	die 1
0561	299792	1894,0506.810	3.37	18	2B	die 2



552: B.C4-i 1u (2B)



558: B.C4-i 1u (2B)

Kashmir region copper production centre (B.C5)

This production centre initially continued its issues made in the previous reign, but with the name of Wima Takto. The denominations of the initial issue were a copper unit (1u) of *c.* 9g and a quarter (¼u) of *c.* 2.25g. Later issues reduced the weight standard of the copper unit to *c.* 6–4g and omitted the quarter. All issues had the same designs with standing bull on the obverse and standing camel on the reverse.

The distribution of the coins suggests that they were issued in the Kashmir region and only a few examples have been recorded elsewhere. Their denomination is not connected with the monetary system of any other region under Kushan control, but the reduction of the unit to *c.* 4g suggests that there was an attempt to bring the denomination into correspondence with the reduced Attic standard Soter Megas series.

The phases of issue are distinguished by their weight standard, their use of inscriptions and control marks.

Phase 1 production retained the weight standard, *c.* 9g, the blundered Greek obverse inscription, two part reverse inscription and control mark scheme of this mint's issues under Kujula Kadphises. The reverse inscriptions, naming Wima Takto, and the individual control marks on the reverse distinguish these coins from Kujula Kadphises' issues.

Phase 2 coins were struck on a lower weight standard *c.* 6–4g and introduced new inscriptions on obverse and reverse. The obverse inscriptions used the title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ copied from the Soter Megas series, but in blundered form, followed either by the initial part of the king's name OOHMO and/or blundered letters which cannot be deciphered. The reverse inscriptions is in one part and arranged in a circle from about 12.00 giving the name and titles of Wima Takto: *maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa vema takhosa*, but often abbreviated.

Phase 3 coins are identical to some issues of phase 2, obverse 3B, but have broader flans.

Phase 4 coins are identical to issues of phase 2, obverse 2 and 3, but have different control marks and a reverse inscription that mentions a local ruler instead of the king.

047 B.C5-i 1u Kashmir copper centre phase 1 units, bull and camel type

Cribb 1995/6: type 6

Wima Takto (B), Kashmir production centre (C5), first phase (i), copper units (1u), *c.* 9g. Designs continued from Kujula Kadphises coins of the same type (A.C6).

Obverse: Humped bull, standing facing right, sometimes on a ground line, nandipada symbol above back. Greek inscription, blundered version of inscription of Jihonika (clockwise, from about 7.00 to 4.00, read from centre): ΜΑΝΝΙΟΛΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ ΣΑΤΡΑΠΟΥ and (anticlockwise, from about 7.00 to 4.00, read from edge) ΖΕΙΩΝΙΣΟΥ (of Satrap Jihonika, Son of Manigula); control mark, in right field: Kharoshthi letter.

1A Control mark: Kharoshthi *pu*.

1B Control mark: Kharoshthi *bu*.

Reverse: Bactrian camel, walking facing right, with raised tail, sometimes on a ground line. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script: various see below; control marks, in right field (before camel): Kharoshthi letter or monogram.

1a Inscription (clockwise, from about 5.00 to 7.00, read from edge): *maharayasa* and (anticlockwise, from about 5.00 to 7.00, read from centre) *rayatirayasa devaputrasa vema takta mahatasa* (of Wima Takto, King, King of Kings, the Son of the Gods, the Great); control mark: Kharoshthi monogram *vejho*.

1b as 1a, but inscription (arranged as 1a): *maharayasa rayatirayasa devaputrasa vema takta maha*; control mark: Kharoshthi monogram *sagapa*.

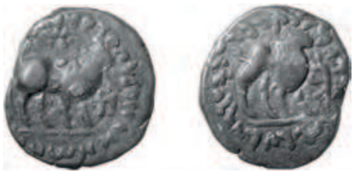
1c as 1b; control mark: Kharoshthi monogram *sa-ca*.

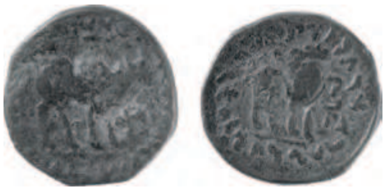
1d as 1a or 1b (end of inscription not yet reported); control mark: Kharoshthi monogram *a-shu*.

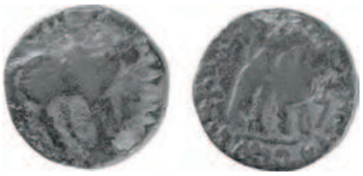
1e as 1a or 1b (end of inscription not yet reported); control mark: Kharoshthi *jha*.

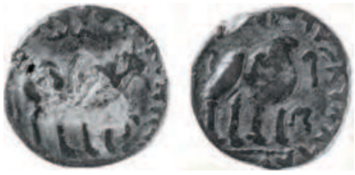
1f as 1a or 1b (end of inscription not yet reported); control mark: Kharoshthi *ca*.

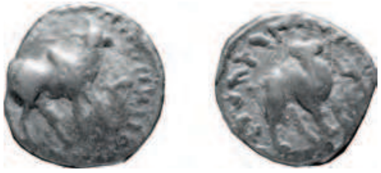
1g blundered inscription (only visible from 2.00 to 7.00): *maharayasa raya…*; control mark: Kharoshthi *ja*.

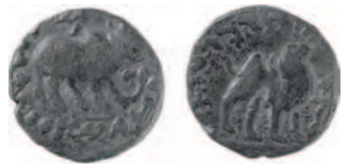

A: B.C5-i 1u (1A/1a)

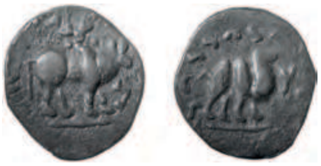

563: B.C5-i 1u (1A/1b)


565: B.C5-i 1u (1A/1c)


566: B.C5-i 1u (1A/1d)


B: B.C5-i 1u (1A/1e)


568: B.C5-i 1u (1B/1f)


C: B.C5-i 1u (1B/1g)

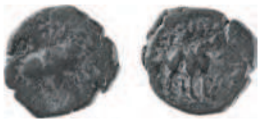
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Bern (9); Göbl 1993a: 45		10.2	22	1A	1a
0562	299713	1894,0506.1838	10.78	24	1A	1a
0563*	299709	1987,0108.8	10.34	24	1A	1b
0564	299714	1894,0506.1833	8.16	24	1A	1b
0565*	299712	1894,0506.1836	10.09	21	1A	1c
0566*	299710	1987,0108.9	9.24	22	1A	1d
B*	Private collection T				1A	1e
0567	299686	1853,0301.1302	11.18	22	1B	1f
0568*	299708	1987,0108.7	9.56	21	1B	1f
0569	299715	1889,0105.1115	8.65	21	1B	1f
C*	Bern (10); Göbl 1993a: 47		7.87	21	1B	1g

048 B.C5-i ¼u Kashmir copper centre phase 1 quarter units, bull and camel type

Wima Takto (B), Kashmir mint (C5), first phase (i), quarter copper unit (¼u), *c.* 2.25g. Designs continued from Kujula Kadphises coins of the same type (A.C6).

Obverse: Humped bull, standing facing right, sometimes on a ground line, nandipada symbol above back. Inscription: illegible.

Reverse: Bactrian camel, walking facing right, with raised tail, sometimes on a ground line. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script: (anticlockwise, only visible between 1.00 and 9.00): *[maharayasa rayatirayasa] devaputrasa vema [takta maha]* (of Wima Takto, King, King of Kings, the Son of the Gods, the Great); control mark in right field (before camel): Kharoshthi monogram *sagapa*.

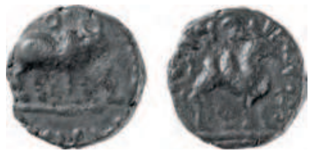

570: B.C5-i 1/4u

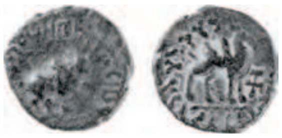
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
0570*	299711	1894,0506.1857	1.98	15

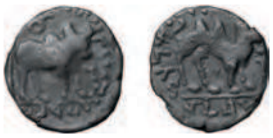
049 B.C5-ii 1u Kashmir centre phase 2 copper units, bull and camel type

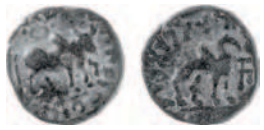
Mitchiner 1978: 2895–6; Cribb 1995/6: 7.
Wima Takto (B), Kashmir mint (C5), second phase (ii), copper units (1u), on a reduced weight standard *c.* 6–4g, but mostly *c.* 4g. Designs continued from phase 1; most examples of this type are magnetic.
Obverse: Humped bull, standing facing right, sometimes on a ground line, nandipada symbol above back. Inscription in blundered Greek (clockwise, from 12.00): various, see below; control mark, in right field (before bull): Kharoshthi letter.
1A illegible inscription; control mark: Kharoshthi *tra*.
2A inscription (blundered version of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ…): ΒΥΠΝΕΙ ΒΥΠΝΕΙΝ ΝΟΟΗΔΤΟΩΗ; control mark: Kharoshthi *ra*.
2B illegible inscription (legible from 3.00 to 6.00): …ΣΩΤΗΡ…; control mark: Kharoshthi *ra*.
2C as 2B, inscription (blundered version of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ ΟΟΗΜ[Ο]…, legible from 1.00 to 7.00): ΒΥΠΝΕΙ ΟΟΗΜ…
3A illegible inscription including (blundered version of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΟΟΗΜ[Ο]…, legible from 1.00 to 7.00): ΒΥΠΝΕΝ ΟΟΗΜ…; control mark: Kharoshthi *na*.
3B inscription (blundered version of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ…): ΒΥΠΝΕΙ ΒΥΠΝΕΙΝ ΝΟΟΜΑΤΟΩΗ; control mark: Kharoshthi *na*.
3C inscription (blundered version of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ…): ΒΥΠΝΕΙ ΒΥΠΝΕΙΝ ΝΔΟΟ[…]Ω; control mark: Kharoshthi *na*.
3D illegible 1E or 1F.
3E blundered unofficial copy of 1E.
Reverse: Bactrian camel, walking facing right, with raised tail, sometimes on a ground line. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (anticlockwise, from 12.00, not always complete): *maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa ve[ma takhosa]* (of Wima Takto, King, King of Kings, the Son of the Gods); control mark, in right field (before camel): Kharoshthi letter or monogram.
1a inscription: *maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa vema takhosa*; control mark: Kharoshthi *bhu*.
1b inscription: *maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa vema takhosa*; control mark: Kharoshthi *bha*.
1c inscription: *maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa vema takho*; control mark: Kharoshthi *bha*.
1d inscription: *maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa vema ta*; control mark: Kharoshthi *bha*.
1e inscription: *maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa vema*; control mark: Kharoshthi *bha*.
1f inscription: *maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa ve*; control mark: Kharoshthi *bha*.
1g as 1b–1f, but end of inscription illegible.
1h blundered copy of 1b–1g.
2a inscription: *maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa vema takho*; control mark, in right field (before camel): Kharoshthi monogram *ajhu*.

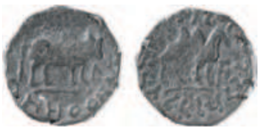
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
0571*	299716	2001,1005.15	5.48	19	1A	1a
0572	299717	1998,0309.4	4.04	16	2A	1b
0573*	299718	1998,0309.5	4.02	17	2A	1b
A*	Ashmolean (Senior no. 5198)		5.62	-	2B	1b
0574	299721	1894,0506.1853	3.70	16	2C	1g
0575*	299719	1998,0309.6	3.58	16	2C	1g
0576*	299722	2002,1020.1	4.73	16	3A	1c
B*	Ashmolean (Senior no. 5199)		4.61	-	3A	1c
C*	Ashmolean (Senior no. 5189)		4.73	-	3B	1c
0577*	299723	1998,1202.16	5.98	16	3C	1b
0578*	299729	1855,0608.13	4.67	20	3C	1c
D*	Private collection B				3C	1d

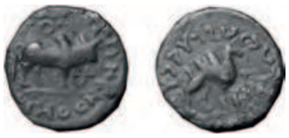

571: B.C5-ii 1u (1A/1a)

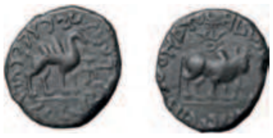

573: B.C5-ii 1u (2A/1b)

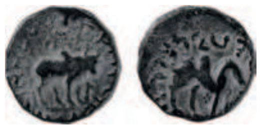

A: B.C5-ii 1u (2B/1b)

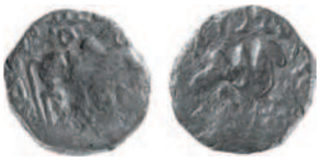

575: B.C5-ii 1u (2C/1g)

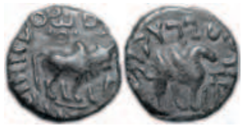

576: B.C5-ii 1u (3A/1c)

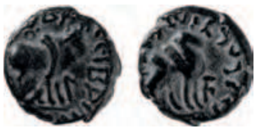

B: B.C5-ii 1u (3A/1c)


C: B.C5-ii 1u (3B/1c)

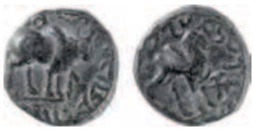

577: B.C5-ii 1u (3C/1b)

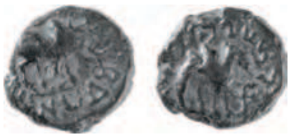

578: B.C5-ii 1u (3C/1c)

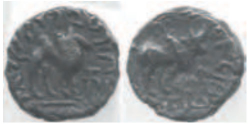

D: B.C5-ii 1u (3C/1d)

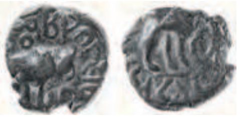

579: B.C5-ii 1u (3D/1b)

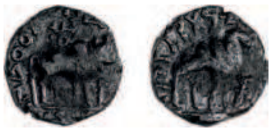
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
0579*	299726	1998,1202.17	4.36	16	3D	1b
0580	299727	2001,1005.16	4.34	14	3D	1b
0581*	299724	1998,0309.7	5.82	16	3D	1c
0582*	299725	1894,0506.1854	4.38	17	3D	1e
E*	Shown to authors B		4.24	16	3D	1f
0583	299730	1894,0506.1856	4.00	15	3D	1g
0584	299731	1894,0506.1851	3.92	16	3D	1g
0585	299732	1894,0506.1843	3.67	14	3D	1g
0586	299733	1894,0506.1855	3.42	15	3D	1g
0587*	299734	1913,0401.19	3.42	15	3D	1g
0588	299735	1894,0506.1849	3.37	16	3D	1g
0589	299728	1894,0506.1852	3.35	16	3D	1g
0590	299736	1894,0506 .1842	3.24	20	3D	1g
0591	299737	1894,0506.1841	2.95	15	3D	1g
0592	299740	1898,1003. 246	2.86	13	3D	1g
0593	299738	1853,0301.306	2.67	15	3D	1g
F*	ANS (1944.100.29750)		4.34	15	3D	1g
0594*	299741	1913,0401.18	3.25	13	3D	2a
G*	Shown to authors B		4.41	16	3D	2a
0595*	299739	1922,0424.3004	2.37	13	3E	1h

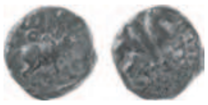

581: B.C5-ii 1u (3D/1c)

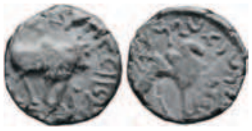

582: B.C5-ii 1u (3D/1e)

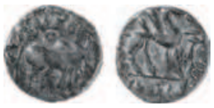

E: B.C5-ii 1u (3D/1f)


587: B.C5-ii 1u (3D/1g)


F: B.C5-ii 1u (3D/1g)


594: B.C5-ii 1u (3D/2a)


G: B.C5-ii 1u (3D/2a)


595: B.C5-ii 1u (3E/1h)

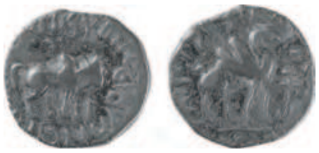
050 B.C5-iii 1u Kashmir copper centre phase 3 units, bull and camel

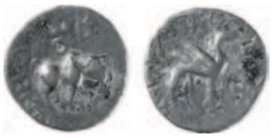
Mitchiner 1978: 2895–6
Cribb 1995/6: 7
Wima Takto (B), Kashmir region production centre (C5), third phase (iii), copper units (1u), on a reduced weight standard *c.* 4g, designs continued from second phase.

Obverse: Humped bull, standing facing right, sometimes on a ground line, nandipada symbol above back. Inscription in blundered Greek (blundered version of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ…; clockwise, from 12.00): ΒΥΠΝΕΙ ΒΥΠΝΕΙΝ ΝΔΟΟ[…]Ω; control mark, in right field (before bull): Kharoshthi *na*.

Reverse: Bactrian camel, walking facing right, sometimes on a ground line. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (clockwise from 12.00, not always complete): *maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa*… (of [Wima Takto], King, King of Kings, the Son of the Gods) ; control mark, in right field (before camel): Kharoshthi letter or monogram.

1a control mark: Kharoshthi *bha*.
1b control mark: Kharoshthi monogram *ajhu*.

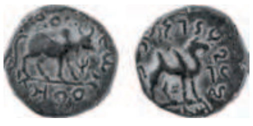

597: B.C5-iii 1u (1a)


600: B.C5-iii 1u (1b)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Rev.
0596	299742	1894,0506.1845	3.83	18	1a
0597*	299744	1894,0506.1847	3.25	19	1a

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Rev.
0598	299743	1894,0506.1848	3.18	19	1a
0599	299745	1857,0813.108	4.14	18	1b
0600*	299746	1894,0506.1846	3.95	17	1b

051 B.C5-iv 1u Kashmir copper centre phase 4 units, bull and camel


602: B.C5-iv 1u

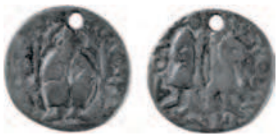
Wima Takto (B), Kashmir region production centre (C5), fourth phase (iv), copper units (1u), on a reduced weight standard *c.* 4g. Design continued from the third phase but reverse in name (off flan) of local ruler.
Obverse: Humped bull, standing facing right, sometimes on a line, nandipada symbol above back. Inscription in Greek (clockwise from 2.00 to 9.00): [… ΒΑΣΙΛ]ΕΩΝ ΟΟΗΜΟ... (...of Kings, Wima…); control mark, in right field (before bull): Kharoshthi *mi*.
Reverse: Bactrian camel, walking facing right on line. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (anticlockwise, visible from 6.00 to 10.00, incomplete): … *japotra mahakṣadavasa* … (Falk 2009: 107–8 suggests this represents: *[mahara]japotra mahakṣadavasa* ... = *Grandson of the King, the Great Satrap*...); control mark, in the right field (before camel): Kharoshthi *pa*.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
0601	299720	2001,1005.17	4.02	14
0602*	299747	1998,1202.18	4.18	15

Unidentified copper production centre in Wima Takto period (B.C6)

The products of this mint are represented by a coin collected in the Hazara region. The coin has an enthroned portrait of the king on the obverse and two standing figures in Kushan dress on the back. The portrait resembles sculptural portraits of the early Kushan period, at Surkh Kotal and Mathura and perhaps reflects the use of an enthroned portrait on some copper coins of Gondophares. The Bactrian inscription on the obverse identifies the king as Wima Takto, but the inscription on the reverse has not yet been understood. The coin bears the three-pronged tamga on the obverse and accordingly is associated with the Soter Megas series. The denomination seems to relate the coin to the Attic standard, and is similar to the issues of the Mathura and Kashmir mints.

052 B.C6-i 1u Unidentified copper mint units, enthroned king type


603: B.C6-i 1u

Cribb 1995/6: Type 8
Wima Takto (B), unidentified mint (C6), first and only phase (i), copper units (1u) (perhaps Attic drachm), *c.* 4g, a novel type, perhaps inspired to the enthroned king copper type of the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares (Senior 2001: 214).
Obverse: King, seated on high-backed throne with lion legs, wearing heavy nomad overcoat, boots and pointed hat, holding illegible object in right hand before chest and resting left hand on lap, head and shoulders surrounded by nimbus. Inscription in Bactrian language, written in Greek script (clockwise, from 10.00 to 7.30): [ÞΑΟ] ΟΟΗΜΟ ΤΑΚ[ΤΟΟ] ([King] Wima Takto…); three-pronged tamga in left field.
Reverse: Two male standing figures, facing forward, with heads turned to face each other, wearing heavy nomad overcoats and boots, headdresses unclear. Figure on right wearing sword at waist. Inscription in Bactrian language, written in Greek script (clockwise, from 1.00 to 10.00): ΤΑΡΟ ΟΑΝΑΧΑΟ [???] (meaning unclear).

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
0603*	299748	1922,0423.27	3.74	17
A	CNG auction 354: 292		3.37	18

* Hole in centre

Balkh gold mint (C.G1)

The Balkh mint was responsible for Wima Kadphises' gold issues. The attribution to Balkh is based on the location of the main Kushan gold mint in Bactria until it was captured by the Kushano-Sasanians at the end of the reign of Vasudeva I. The main denomination is the gold dinar (*c.* 8g, ranging from *c.* 7.8g to 8.1g). This denomination was originated under Wima Kadphises and continued as the main gold denomination throughout the Kushan period, but with gradually reducing gold content. The mint's issues also include double, half and quarter dinars. The gold coinage was issued in five phases, distinguished by their use of designs, denominations and inscriptions. Two Greek versions of his name and titles appear on his gold coins, most use an abbreviated version: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ (King Wima Kadphises), but phase 3 coins use the fuller titles also appearing on his copper coins: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ (King of Kings, Wima Kadphises, the Saviour, the Great). The Gandhari versions are the same as those appearing on his copper coins: *maharajasa rajatirajasa sarvaloga'iśvarasa mahiśvarasa v´ima kathpiśasa tratrara* (of King, King of Kings, Lord of the Whole World, Great Lord, Wima Kadphises, the Saviour), but with some phases omitting parts of these titles.

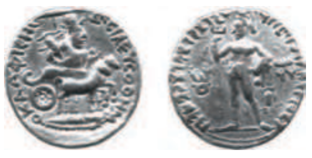
Phase 1 production is of just dinars all with a single type, the king in a chariot on the obverse and a standing figure of Oesho on the reverse. The obverse Greek inscription gives the king's name and simply entitles him 'king'. The reverse inscription was copied from that on Wima Kadphises' copper coins, but with mistakes in the Gandhari inscription, such as omitting the word *sarva*.

Phase 2 production consists of both dinars and half dinars. Both denominations show a half figure of the king on the obverse and a standing figure of Oesho, normally with a bull, on the reverse. The inscriptions are the same as those of phase 1, but the full version of the Gandhari inscription of the copper coins was used. The half dinar of this phase overlaps with phase 4, as one of the reverse dies used is in the style of phase 4.

Phase 3 production consists of just dinars with two types, the king riding on an elephant or seated on a throne on the obverse and a standing figure of Oesho with a bull on the reverse. The Greek inscription on the obverse gives the king the same full titles as on his copper coins: 'King of Kings, the Saviour, the Great'.

Phase 4 represents the main production of Wima Kadphises' gold coinage, including double dinars, dinars and quarters, with each denomination having different designs on obverse and reverse which distinguish the denominations. The double dinars have five different obverse designs: king appearing through window, king seated on mountain, king emerging from mountain, facing right and left, and king seated on throne, all with a standing figure of Oesho with a bull on the reverse. The dinars only have the king emerging from mountain, facing right or left, types, but on the reverse Oesho is without his bull. The quarter dinars have the king appearing through window type and a symbolic representation of Oesho on the reverse, a trident and linga emerging from a thunderbolt. The inscriptions on the double dinars and dinars are the same as used in phase 2, but the quarter dinars have abbreviated inscriptions on the reverse, limiting the king's titles to 'King, King of Kings'.

Phase 5 production is of just dinars, with the same designs and inscriptions as the dinars of phase 4, king emerging from mountain on the obverse and standing figure of Oesho on the reverse, but with the Greek inscription written by a different hand, characterised by a diamond-shaped A.



604: C.G1-i 1d

053 C.G1-i 1d Gold mint phase 1 dinars

Göbl 1984: 5

Wima Kadphises (C), gold mint (G1), first phase (i), dinars (1d), *c.* 8g. King in chariot type with Greek and Gandhari (in Kharoshthi script) inscriptions.

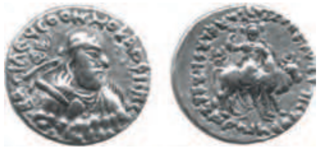
Obverse: King, half figure emerging from two-horse chariot, facing right, bearded, wearing peaked high round cap, diadem with two ties, overcoat held by double clasp at chest, and holding smooth club in his

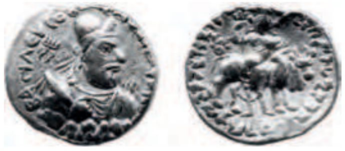
right hand at waist and over right shoulder; chariot is two-wheeled (only one spoked wheel visible) resting on ground line, with dotted decoration along side and curved back and surmounted by an umbrella with dotted pattern, small figure of charioteer holding stick in raised right hand in front of king. Dotted border below chariot, in gap in inscription. Inscription in Greek (clockwise from 1.00): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟΗΜ-Ο ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ (King Wima Kadphises).
Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally, two headed, human face with moustache to left and horned animal head to right, long hair with spiked top knot, naked with erect linga, wearing string of beads across chest from left shoulder, necklace and armlets, holding a trident with axe blade, thunderbolt and crescent on shaft in raised right hand and water pot in left hand, with animal skin (with head and legs) draped over left arm, tamga in right field and nandipada symbol in left field, standing on ground line. Dotted border below god in gap in inscription. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (anticlockwise from 12.00): *maharajasa rajatirajasa loga'iśvaraja maha'iśvarasa vima kathpiśasa* (of King, King of Kings, Lord of the World, Great Lord, Wima Kadphises) the *ja* at the end *loga'isvara* appears to be a mistake for a *sa*.

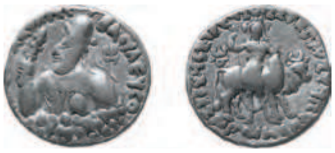
No.	**PRN (COC)**	**Reg. no.**	**Wgt**	**Dia.**	**SG**
0604*	187761	1886,0302.1	7.94	19	19.15

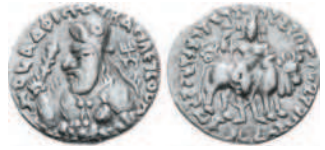
054 C.G1-ii 1d Gold mint phase 2 dinars

Göbl 1984: 1, 2
Wima Kadphises (C), gold mint (G1), second phase (ii), dinars (1d), *c.* 8g. King emerging from mountain top type with Greek and Gandhari (in Kharoshthi script) inscriptions.
Obverse: Bust of king emerging from mountain top, represented by pile of rocks, body positioned frontally, head to right or left, bearded with two or three braids of hair hanging down neck, with flames emanating from shoulders, wearing diadem with triangular tie and two ribbons, holding club in right hand with raised index finger, tamga in field. Inscription in Greek (clockwise from 1.00 or 8.00): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ (King Wima Kadphises).
1A King's head to right, bare headed, ornament on front of diadem, wearing tunic (only sleeve visible) under cloak fastened with single clasp on right shoulder, holding smooth club over right shoulder with right hand, before chest, tamga in left field. Inscription (from 8.00): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ.
1B as 1A, but king wearing peaked high round cap, with circle on side and spike on top, holding knobbed club with right hand with raised index finger. Inscription (from 8.00): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟ-ΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ.
2A king's head to left, wearing peaked high round cap, with circle on side and spike on top, and tunic (only neckline visible), under overcoat fastened with double clasp on chest, holding knobbed club before face in raised right hand and hilt of sword with round pommel in left hand by chest, tamga behind head. Inscription (from 1.00): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ Ο-ΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ.
2B as 2A, but cap with broader peak and inscription: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟΗ-ΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ.
Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally with curved torso (hips thrust to left) before bull, three headed (human face with moustache facing front and indistinct heads to right and left), long hair with spiked top knot, naked, wearing string of beads across chest from left shoulder, necklace and shawl around left arm, looped around back, hanging across legs with end held in left hand and draped over bull's side, holding a trident with short shaft in raised right hand and resting left elbow and hand on hump of bull; bull standing to right, with head turned frontally, nandipada symbol in left field. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (anticlockwise from 12.00), *maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvalogaśvarasa mah[a* or *i] śvarasa v´ima kathpiśasa tratrara* (of King, King of Kings, Lord of the Whole World, Great Lord, Wima Kadphises, the saviour); *i* missing and *ga* inverted in *sarvaloga'isvarasa*.


605: C.G1-ii 1d (1A/1a)


606: C.G1-ii 1d (1B/1b)

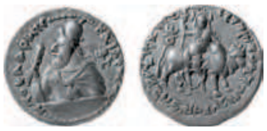

A: C.G1-ii 1d (2A/1b)

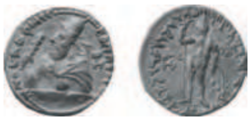

B: C.G1-ii 1d (2B/1a)

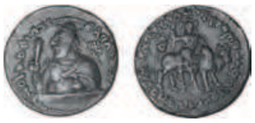
1a Inscription: *mahaśvara*.
1b Inscription: *mahiśvara* and inverted *ga* in *sarvalogaśvara*.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
0605*	187762	IOC.269	7.99	19	19.19	1A	1a
0606*	187763	1855,0820.17	7.95	19	19.15	1B	1b
A*	Taxila; Khan 2008: no.4		8.00	-	-	2A	1b
B*	CNG, Triton XI: 368		7.88	-	-	2B	1a

055 C.G1-ii ½d Gold mint phase 2 half dinars


A: C.G1-ii ½d (1A/1a)

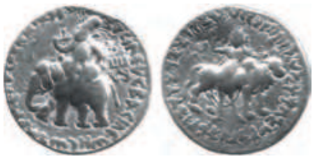

B: C.G1-ii ½d (1A/2a)

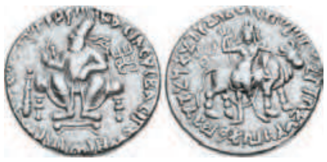

C: C.G1-ii ½d (1B/1a)

Göbl 1984: 6
Wima Kadphises (C), gold mint (G1), second/fourth phase (ii), half dinars (½d), *c.* 4g. King's bust on balcony with Greek and Gandhari (in Kharoshthi script) inscriptions.
Obverse: Bust of king above plain wall (representing balcony?), bearded, body positioned frontally, head to left, bearded with two or three braids of hair hanging down neck, with flames emanating from shoulders, diadem with triangular tie and two ribbons, tunic (only sleeve visible) under cloak over shoulders and fastened on chest, holding knobbed club in raised right hand with raised index finger before face and hilt of sword with round pommel in left hand by chest, tamga in right field. Dotted border in between inscription above head and below wall. Inscription in Greek (clockwise from 2.00): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟ-ΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ (King Wima Kadphises).
1A Wearing peaked high round cap, with circle on side and spike on top.
1B Bare headed.
Reverse: Oesho, mountain god.
1a god standing frontally with curved torso (hips thrust to left) before bull, three headed (human face with moustache facing front and indistinct heads to right and left, long hair with spiked top knot) naked, wearing string of beads across chest from left shoulder, necklace and shawl around left arm, looped around back, hanging across legs with end held in left hand and draped over bull's side, holding a trident with short shaft in raised right hand and resting left elbow and hand on hump of bull; bull standing to right, with head turned frontally, nandipada symbol in left field. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (anticlockwise from 12.00): *maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvalogaśvarasa mahiśvarasa v´ima kathpiśasa tratrara* (*i* missing and *ga* inverted in *sarvaloga'isvarasa*) (of King, King of Kings, Lord of the Whole World, Great Lord, Wima Kadphises, the Saviour).
2a god standing alone, one headed, human face with moustache to left, long hair with spiked top knot, naked with erect linga, wearing string of beads across chest from left shoulder, necklace and armlets, holding a trident with axe blade in raised right hand and water pot in left hand, with animal skin (with head and legs) draped over left arm, standing on ground line, tamga in left field and nandipada symbol in right field. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (anticlockwise from 12.00): *maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga'iśvarasa mahiśvarasa v´ima kathpiśasa tradara*.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Private collection E		-	-	-	1A	1a
B*	Göbl 1984: 6/1		-	-	-	1A	2a
C*	Shown to authors		-	-	-	1B	1a

056 C.G1-iii 1d Gold mint phase 3 dinars

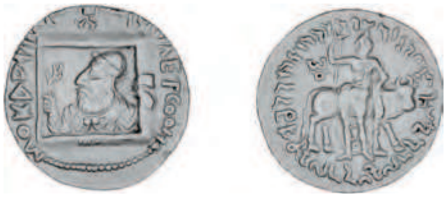

607: C.G1-iii 1d (1A)

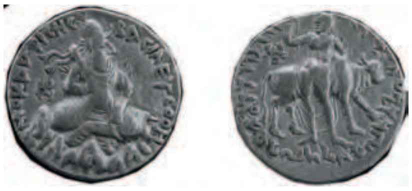

A: C.G1-iii 1d (1B)

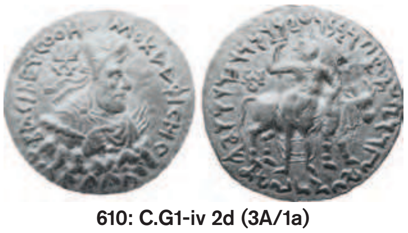
Göbl 1984: 3
Wima Kadphises (C), gold mint (G1), third phase (iii) dinars (1d), 8g. King on elephant and king on throne types with Greek and Gandhari (in Kharoshthi script) inscriptions.
Obverse: King, full figure, seated frontally, either on elephant (1A) or on throne (2A), head to left, bearded with two or three braids of hair hanging down neck, wearing peaked high round cap, with circle on side and spike on top, diadem with triangular tie and two ribbons, tunic belted at waist (hem and belt only visible), trousers and boots under overcoat fastened on chest, tamga in right field. Inscription in Greek (clockwise from 1.00): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ (King of Kings, Wima Kadphises, the Saviour, the Great).
1A king seated on throne-like seat on back of elephant walking to left, holding club in raised right hand and over shoulder, left hand resting on left thigh; elephant tusked with head down and trunk curled back, with raised right fore-foot (other details worn on only surviving specimen), throne-like structure behind king as lines with rounded finials, tamga in right field.
2A king seated on throne, holding branch in raised right hand, with raised index finger, before face, left hand, covered by sleeve, resting on left thigh, feet resting on foot stool; throne high-backed with cushioned seat and ball on mushroom shaped legs, foot stool top with curved ends over spread legs, knobbed club in left field and tamga in right field.
Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally with curved torso (hips thrust to left) before bull, three headed, human face with moustache facing front and bearded human head to right and horned animal head to left, long hair with spiked top knot, naked, wearing string of beads across chest from left shoulder, necklace and shawl around left arm, looped around back, hanging across legs with end held in left hand and draped over bull's side, holding a trident with short shaft in raised right hand and resting left elbow and hand on hump of bull; bull standing to right, with head turned frontally, nandipada symbol in left field. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (anticlockwise from 12.00): *maharajasa rajatirajasa sarvaloga'iśvarasa mahiśvarasa v´ima kathpiśasa tratrara* (of King, King of Kings, Lord of the Whole World, Great Lord, Wima Kadphises, the Saviour).

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.
0607*	187760	1933,0712.1	7.70	20	19.13	1A
A*	CNG Triton XV: 1367		7.85	20	-	2A

057 C.G1-iv 2d Gold mint phase 4 double dinars


A: C.G1-iv 2d (1A/1a)


609: C.G1-iv 2d (2A/1a)


610: C.G1-iv 2d (3A/1a)

Göbl 1984: 8, 10–13
Wima Kadphises (C), gold mint (G1), fourth phase (iv) double dinars (2d), *c.* 16g. Various types showing king seen through window, seated on mountain top, emerging from mountain top or seated on throne, with Greek and Gandhari (in Kharoshthi script) inscriptions.
Obverse: King, see 1A through 4A for various poses. Inscription in Greek: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟΗ-ΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ (King Wima Kadphises).
1A bust of king seen through opening in wall, probably window, bearded, body positioned frontally, head to left, bearded with two or three braids of hair hanging down neck, wearing peaked low round cap, with wave motif on side, diadem with triangular tie and two ribbons, overcoat fastened with double clasp on chest, holding branch in raised right hand before face and resting left hand on window sill, tamga above window. Dotted border in between inscription above head and below wall. Inscription (clockwise from 1.00): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟ-ΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ.
2A king, full figure, frontally seated cross-legged on mountain top, (represented by pile of rocks), head to right, flames emanating from shoulders, bearded with two or three braids of hair hanging down neck, wearing peaked high round cap, with wave motif on side and spiked device on top, diadem with triangular tie and two ribbons, tunic belted at waist with double clasp (hem and belt only visible), trousers and boots and sword with curved hilt worn along left thigh, all under overcoat fastened on chest with double clasp, holding knobbed club in right hand, with

raised index finger, before chest and over right shoulder, left hand covered with sleeve and resting on left thigh, tamga in left field. Inscription (clockwise from 1.00): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟΗ-ΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ.

2B bust of king emerging from mountain top, represented by pile of rocks, body positioned frontally, head to left, bearded with two or three braids of hair hanging down neck, with flames emanating from right shoulder, wearing peaked high round cap, with wave motif on side and spiked device on top, diadem with triangular tie and two ribbons, tunic neckline only visible, overcoat fastened with double clasp on chest, holding knobbed club before face in raised right hand with raised index finger, and curved hilt of sword in left hand before chest, tamga in left field. Inscription (clockwise from 1.00): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟΗ-ΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ.

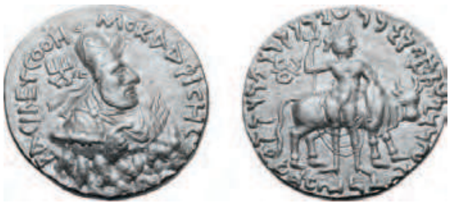
3A bust of king emerging from mountain top (represented by pile of rocks), body positioned frontally, head to right, bearded with two or three braids of hair hanging down neck, with flames emanating from left shoulder, wearing peaked high round cap, with wave motif on side and spiked device on top, diadem with triangular tie and two ribbons, wearing tunic (only sleeve visible) under cloak over shoulders and fastened with single clasp on chest, holding knobbed club over right shoulder in raised right hand with raised index finger, tamga in left field. Inscription (clockwise from 8.00): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟΗ-ΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ.

4A king seated frontally on throne, head to left, bearded with two or three braids of hair hanging down neck, wearing peaked high round cap, with wave motif on side and spiked device on top, diadem with triangular tie and two ribbons, tunic belted at waist (hem and double clasped belt only visible), trousers and boots under overcoat fastened on chest, holding branch in raised right hand, with raised index finger, before face, left hand, covered by sleeve, resting on left thigh, feet resting on foot stool; throne with cushioned seat and balls on mushroom shaped legs, foot stool top resting on spread legs, knobbed club in left field and tamga in right field. Inscription (clockwise from 1.00): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟΗ-ΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ.

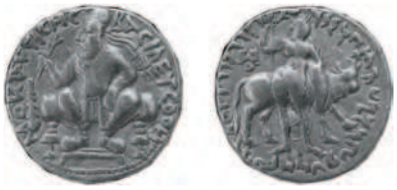
Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally with curved torso (hips thrust to left) before bull, one or two headed, naked with erect linga, wearing string of beads across chest from left shoulder, necklace, armlets and shawl around left arm, looped around back, hanging across legs with end held in left hand and draped over bull's side, holding a trident with short shaft in raised right hand and resting left elbow and hand on hump of bull; bull standing to right, with head turned frontally, nandipada symbol in left field. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (anticlockwise from 12.00): *maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga'iśvarasa mahiśvarasa v'ima kathpiśasa tratara or tradara* (of King, King of Kings, Lord of the Whole World, Great Lord, Wima Kadphises, the Saviour).

1a god one headed, human face with moustache to left, long hair with spiked top knot, inscription: *tradara*.

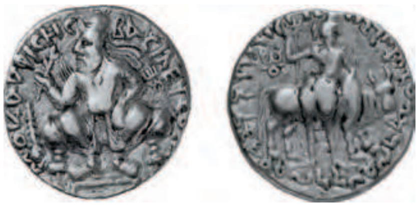
1b god two headed, human face with moustache to right, long hair with spiked top knot and horned animal head to left, inscription: *tratara*.



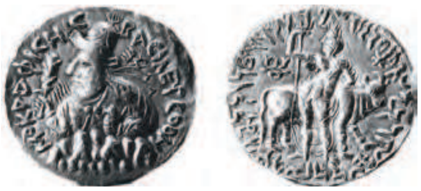
B: C.G1-iv 2d (3A/1b)



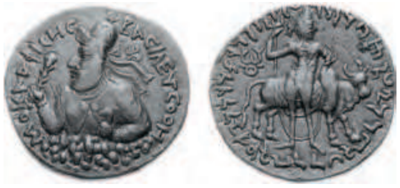
611: C.G1-iv 2d (4A/1a)



C: C.G1-iv 2d (4A/1b)



612: C.G1-iv 2d (5A/1a)



D: C.G1-iv 2d (5A/1b)

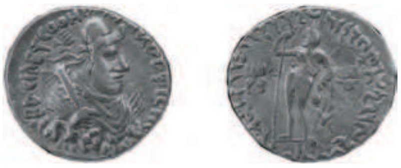
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	ANS (1953.147.1)		15.34	26	-	1A	1a
0608	187782	1894.0506.2	-	-	19.18	2A	1a
0609*	187781	1867.1218.10	15.83	24	19.09	2A	1a
0610*	187784	1888.1208.533	15.95	26	19.23	3A	1a
B*	Gemini Sale V, 6/1/2009: 669		15.88	-	-	3A	1b
0611*	187779	IOC.268	15.83	24	18.99	4A	1a
C*	Künker 158, 28/09/2009: 1074		15.78	-	-	4A	1b
0612*†	25330	1888.1208.532	15.95	24	19.09	5A	1a
0613	187787	1894.0506.1	15.89	24	19.13	5A	1a
D*	Busso Peus 380, 3/11/2004: 646		15.83	-	-	5A	1b

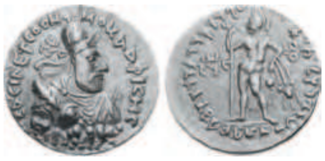
† Shroff mark on the reverse.

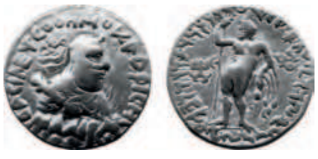
058 C.G1-iv 1d Gold mint phase 4 dinars

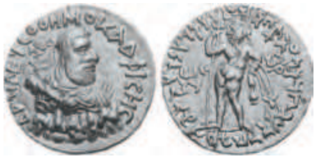
Göbl 1984: 14–17
Wima Kadphises (C), gold mint (G1), fourth phase (iv) dinars (1d), *c.* 8g. King emerging from mountain top types, with Greek and Gandhari (in Kharoshthi script) inscriptions; the Greek written with a triangular A.
Obverse: Bust of king emerging from mountain top (represented by pile of rocks), body positioned frontally, head to right or left, bearded with two or three braids of hair hanging down neck, with flames emanating from right or left shoulder, wearing cap or bareheaded, diadem with triangular tie and two ribbons, wearing tunic under overcoat or cloak, holding knobbed club in right hand with raised index finger, tamga in field. Inscription in Greek (clockwise): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ (King Wima Kadphises).
1A king's head to right, flames emanating from left shoulder, wearing peaked high round cap, with wave motif on side and spiked device on top, wearing tunic (only sleeve visible) under cloak over shoulders and fastened with single clasp on chest, holding knobbed club in right hand, with raised index finger, before chest and over right shoulder, tamga in left field. Inscription (clockwise from 8.00 to 4.00): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟΗ-ΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ.
1B as 1A, but king bareheaded, with an ornament on diadem. Inscription (clockwise from 8.00 to 4.00): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ.
2A king's head to left, flames emanating from right shoulder, wearing peaked high round cap, with wave motif on side and spiked device on top, diadem with triangular tie and two ribbons, wearing tunic (only neckline visible) under overcoat fastened with double clasp on chest, holding knobbed club before face in raised right hand with raised index finger, and curved hilt of sword in left hand before chest, tamga in right field. Inscription (clockwise from 1.00 to 4.00 and 6.00 to 12.00): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟΗ-ΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ.
2B as 2A, but king bareheaded, with an ornament on diadem.
Reverse: Oesho, mountain god standing standing frontally with curved torso (hips thrust to left), one or two headed, naked with erect linga, wearing string of beads across chest from left shoulder, necklace and armlets, holding a trident with axe blade on shaft in raised right hand and water pot in left hand, with animal skin (with head and legs) draped over left arm, standing on ground line, tamga in left field and nandipada symbol in right field. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (anticlockwise from 12.00): *maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga'iśvarasa mahiśvarasa v´ima kathpiśasa tradara* (of King, King of Kings, Lord of the Whole World, Great Lord, Wima Kadphises, the Saviour).
1a god one headed, human face with moustache to left, long hair with spiked top knot.
1b god two headed, human face with moustache to left, long hair with spiked top knot and horned animal head to right

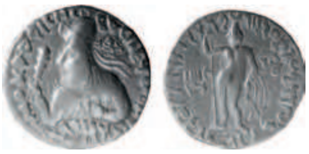
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
0614*	187785	1847,1201.129	7.96	21	19.11	1A	1a
A*	CNG mailbid 79, 17/9/2008: 518		7.97	-	-	1A	1b
0615*	187759	IOC.270	7.78	19	19.02	1B	1a
B*	CNG mailbid 79, 17/9/2008: 520		7.96	-	-	1B	1b
0616*	187791	1838,EIC.1	7.89	19	19.04	2A	1a
0617*	256400	1894,0506.4	7.94	20	19.16	2A	1b
0618	187790	1894,0506.3	7.79	20	19.14	2A	1b
0619*	187788	1888,1208.535	7.98	20	19.10	2B	1b

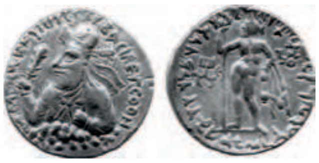

614: C.G1-iv 1d (1A/1a)

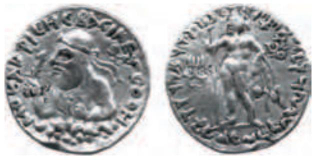

A: C.G1-iv 1d (1A/1b)


615: C.G1-iv 1d (1B/1a)


B: C.G1-iv 1d (1B/1b)


616: C.G1-iv 1d (2A/1a)


617: C.G1-iv 2d (2A/1b)


619: C.G1-iv 2d (2B/1b)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.
0624*	187792	1894,0506.5	7.98	19	19.02	2A
0625	187793	IOC.271	7.91	20	19.01	2A
0626	187794	1894.0506.6	7.96	20	19.06	2A

Begram copper production centre (C.C1)

The Begram copper mint appears to have been responsible for producing all of Wima Kadphises' copper coins. The attribution of the mint to this city is based on this coinage being a continuation of the previous reigns' Soter Megas series coins issued there. The main denomination is the copper unit, an Attic weight standard tetradrachm (*c.* 17g), a new denomination which continued as the standard unit of the Kushan copper coinage until the end of the dynasty, but gradually reducing in weight standard. The mint also issued half and quarter unit denominations. All denominations used the same design, showing the standing king making an offering at a small altar on the obverse and the standing figure of the Kushan god Oesho accompanied by a bull on the reverse. The coinage was issued in two phases, distinguished by their use of inscriptions. The Greek inscriptions give the king the following titles: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ (King of Kings Wima Kadphises, the Saviour, the Great); the same as appear on his phase 3 gold coins, but the Gandhari inscriptions give him a different set of titles: *maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga'iśvarasa mahiśvarasa v´ima kathpiśasa tratara* (of King, King of Kings, Lord of the Whole World, Great Lord, Wima Kadphises, the Saviour), as on his gold coins.

Phase 1 production coins have a Greek inscription on the obverse and no inscription on the reverse. Only tetradrachms and drachms have been recorded for this phase, but their rarity suggests that didrachms might eventually be discovered.

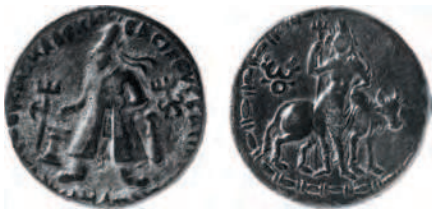
Phase 2 production coins are the same as Phase 1 coins, but with an added Gandhari inscription in Kharoshthi on the reverse. Tetradrachms, didrachms and drachms have been recorded for this phase, but the tetradrachms are by far the most plentiful. As this phase progresses letters disappear from the Greek inscription, e.g. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ becoming ΒΑΣΛΕΥΣ, suggesting miscopying by the die engravers. There is also a variation in the sequence of the titles in the Gandhari inscription, the transposition of the titles: *sarvaloga'iśvarasa* and *mahiśvarasa*, which seems to happen later in this phase.

Two miscellaneous coins, which are so far unique, seem to have been produced at the Begram copper mint. C.C1-ii-misc ¼u seems to be a silver trial coin, showing design features identical to this mint's copper coinage of phase 2, but with the title ΣΩΤΗΡ (the Saviour) omitted. It cannot be determined whether this was a silver striking from a die intended for production of copper coins of phase 2 or an example of an abandoned silver issue. C.C1-misc ¼u represents a completely different design from the main copper issue of this mint. The only known example is very worn, so it is difficult to determine whether this is an abandoned early design or an attempt at a new design late in Wima Kadphises' reign.

061 C.C1-i 1u Copper mint phase 1 tetradrachms

Göbl 1984: 760

Wima Kadphises (C) copper mint (C1) first phase (i) tetradrachms (1u). Standing king type, with inscription in Greek only.



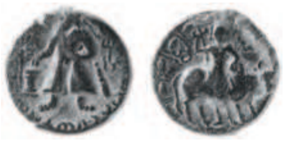
627: C.C1-i 1u

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, bearded with two or three braids of hair hanging down neck, wearing peaked high round cap, with circle on side and spike on top with diadem with two ribbons, knee-length tunic held by belt with double buckle at waist, trousers and boots, long sword with round pommel or curved hilt in scabbard, suspended on left thigh under coat, all under overcoat fastened at chest with double clasp, holding hilt of sword in left hand and making offering with extended right hand over small altar. Altar with slab above and below and central column, marked with two lines, tamga and knobbed club in right field and trident, with axe blade on shaft in left field.

Inscription in Greek (clockwise from 1.00): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ (King of Kings Wima Kadphises, the Saviour, the Great).

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally with curved torso (hips thrust to left) before bull, three headed, human face with moustache facing front and bearded human head to right and horned animal head to left, long hair with spiked top knot, naked with erect linga, wearing string of beads across chest from left shoulder, necklace and shawl around left arm, looped around back, hanging across legs with end held in left hand and draped over bull's side, holding a trident with long shaft in raised right hand and resting left elbow and hand on hump of bull; bull standing to right, with head turned frontally, nandipada symbol in left field. Reel and pellet border surrounds design.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
0627*	299923	1922,0424.3596	16.94	27
0628	299924	1919,0612.2	17.24	26
0629	299925	1888,1208.536	17.05	25



630: C.C1-i ¼u

062 C.C1-i ¼u Copper mint phase 1 drachms

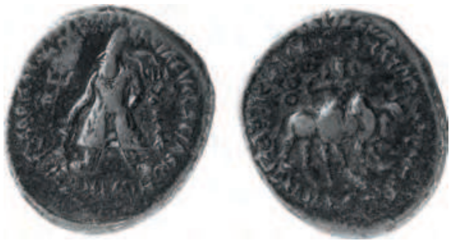
Göbl 1984: 761

Wima Kadphises (C) copper mint (C1) first phase (i) drachms (¼u). Standing king type, with inscription in Greek only.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, bearded with two or three braids of hair hanging down neck, wearing peaked high round cap, with circle on side and spike on top with diadem with two ribbons, knee-length tunic held by belt with double buckle at waist, trousers and boots, long sword with round pommel or curved hilt in scabbard, suspended on left thigh under coat, all under overcoat fastened at chest with double clasp, holding hilt of sword in left hand and making offering with extended right hand over small altar. Altar with slab above and below and central column, marked with two lines, tamga and knobbed club in right field and trident, with axe blade on shaft in left field. Inscription in Greek (clockwise from 1.00): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ (King of Kings Wima Kadphises, the Saviour, the Great), normallly truncated.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally with curved torso (hips thrust to left) before bull, three headed, human face with moustache facing front and bearded human head to right and horned animal head to left, long hair with spiked top knot, naked with erect linga, wearing string of beads across chest from left shoulder, necklace and shawl around left arm, looped around back, hanging across legs with end held in left hand and draped over bull's side, holding a trident with long shaft in raised right hand and resting left elbow and hand on hump of bull; bull standing to right, with head turned frontally, nandipada symbol in left field. Reel and pellet border surrounds design.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
0630*	299993	1847,1201.148	4.28	17



632: C.C1-ii 1u (1A/1a)

063 C.C1-ii 1u Copper mint phase 2 tetradrachms

Göbl 1984: 762

Wima Kadphises (C) copper mint (C1) second phase (ii) tetradrachms (1u), *c.* 17g. Standing king type, with Greek and Gandhari (in Kharoshthi script) inscriptions. (For the general difficulty of constructing a typology of Wima Kadphises copper tetradrachms readers should consult Bracey (2011) and Perkins (2007)).

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, bearded with two or three braids of hair hanging down neck, wearing peaked high round cap, with circle on side and spike on top with diadem with two ribbons, knee-length tunic held by belt with double buckle at waist, trousers and boots, long sword with round pommel or curved hilt in scabbard, suspended on left thigh under coat, all under overcoat fastened at chest with double clasp, holding hilt of sword in left hand and making offering with extended right hand over small altar. Altar with slab above and below and central column, marked with two lines, tamga and knobbed club in right field and trident, with axe blade on shaft in left field. Inscription in Greek (clockwise from 1.00): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ (King of Kings Wima Kadphises, the Saviour, the Great) with varieties of letter form and spelling.

1A ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ; eta is the shape of a lower case 'h', and upsilon V shaped.

2A ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΟΟΗΜ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ; eta is H shaped, and upsilon Y shaped.

2B ΒΑΣΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΛΕΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΟΟΗΜ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ; eta is H shaped, and upsilon Y shaped.

3A ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΟΟΗΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ; eta is H shaped, and upsilon Y shaped.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally with curved torso (hips thrust to left) before bull, three headed, human face with moustache facing front (bearded human head to right and horned animal head to left), long hair with spiked top knot, naked with erect linga, wearing string of beads across chest from left shoulder, necklace and shawl around left arm, looped around back, hanging across legs with end held in left hand and draped over bull's side, holding a trident with short shaft in raised right hand and resting left elbow and hand on hump of bull; bull standing to right, with head turned frontally, nandipada symbol in left field. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (anticlockwise from 12.00): *maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga'iśvarasa mahiśvarasa v´ima kathpiśasa tratara* (of King, King of Kings, Lord of the Whole World, Great Lord, Wima Kadphises, the saviour) with varieties of letter form and spelling.

1a inscription: *maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga'iśvarasa mahiśvarasa v´ima kathpiśasa tratara*.

1b as 1a, but *i* omitted in *sarvaloga'iśvarasa*, on some examples the *v´i* in *v´ima* is written as *vi* without the footmark.

1c as for 1a but the inscription has been truncated.

1? examples where the legend is unclear and they could be 1a or 1b, or 1*c*.

2a inscription: *maharajasa rajadirajasa mahiśvarasa sarvaloga'iśvarasa v´ima kathpiśasa tratara* (the word order differing from 1a: of King, King of Kings, Great Lord, Lord of the Whole World, Wima Kadphises, the saviour), on most examples the the *v´i* in *v´ima* is written with footmark drawn upwards at 45 degrees.

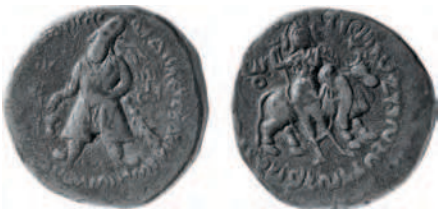
2b as for 2a but truncated or with letters missing.

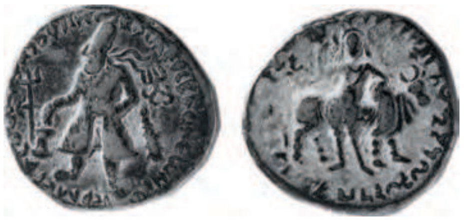
2? examples where the legend is unclear and they could be 2a or 2b.

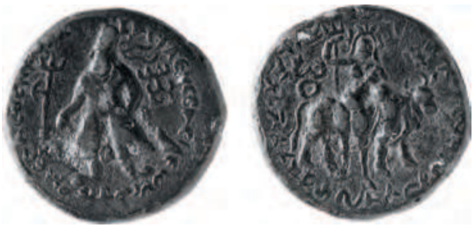
3a as for 1b but with no foot on *ja* in *maharajasa rajadirajasa* and the *v´i* in *v´ima* is written as *vi* without the footmark.

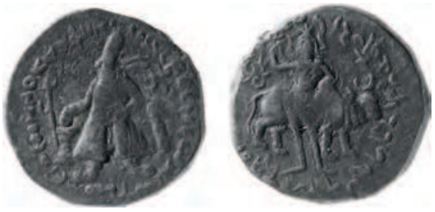
? it is common for the coin to be so worn the inscription cannot be identified.

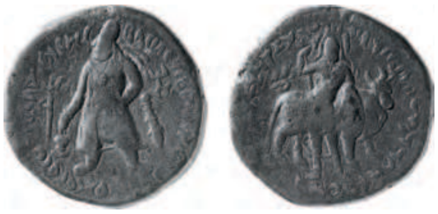
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
0631	299940	1847.1201.141	17.95	28	1A	1a
0632*	299941	1866.1201.4091	17.62	31	1A	1a
0633	299942	1996.1030.22	17.53	28	1A	1a
0634*	299939	1889.0105.1122	17.26	27	1A	1a
0635*	299937	1894.0506.1870	17.23	28	1A	1a
0636	299926	1894,0506.1867	16.95	27	1A	1a
0637	299983	1889,0105.1126	16.76	29	1A	1a
0638	299938	1894.0506.1864	16.63	28	1A	1a
0639	299945	1847,1201.153	16.88	28	1A	1a
0640	299928	1894,0506.1873	17.76	26	1A	1b
0641*	299988	1894,0506.1863	17.44	29	1A	1b
0642*	299936	1992,0231.15	17.23	27	1A	1b
0643	299934	1992,0231.13	17.22	26	1A	1b
0644	299927	IOC.277	17.17	26	1A	1b
0645	299932	1845,0613.69	16.98	26	1A	1b
0646	299935	1992,0231.14	16.78	.5	1A	1b
0647	299933	1894,0506.1869	16.66	27	1A	1b

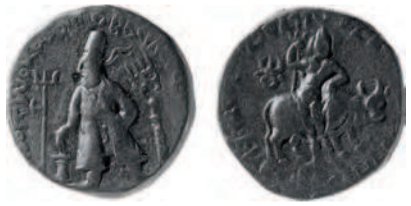

634: C.C1-ii 1u (1A/1a)

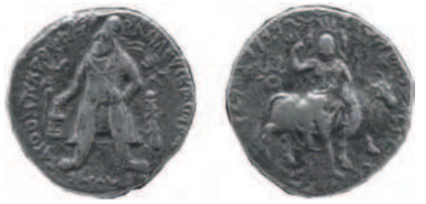

635: C.C1-ii 1u (1A/1a)

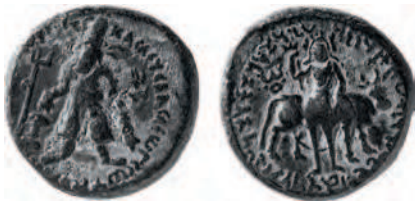

641: C.C1-ii 1u (1A/1b)

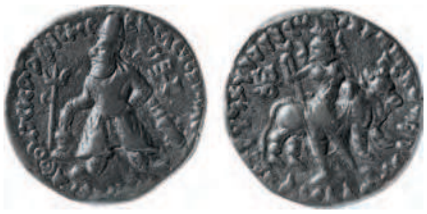

642: C.C1-ii 1u (1A/1b)

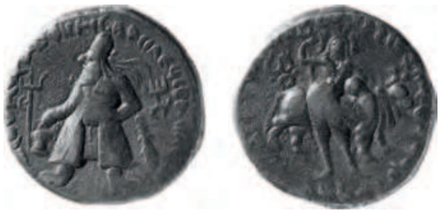

660: C.C1-ii 1u (2a/1b)

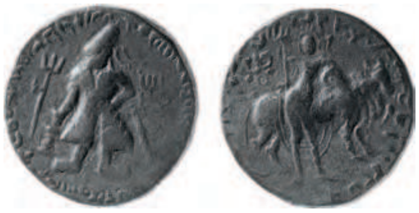

661: C.C1-ii 1u (2a/1b)


672: C.C1-ii 1u -2a/?


675: C.C1-ii 1u (2b/2b)


680: C.C1-ii 1u -2b/3


688: C.C1-ii 1u -3/3


700: C.C1-ii 1u -?/?

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
0648	299929	1850,0305.168	16.45	29	1A	1b
0649	190613	IOC.275	17.82	28	1A	1?
0650	299930	1894,0506.1872	17.08	27	1A	1?
0651	299943	1894,0506.1871	16.98	27	1A	1?
0652	299944	1847,1201.131	16.64	29	1A	1?
0653	299931	1894,0506.1876	16.47	30	1A	1?
0654	299946	1889,0105.1129	16.22	26	1A	1?
0655	190614	1838,EIC.98	16.67	26	1A	?
0656	299989	1847,1201.133	16.52	24	1A	?
0657	26357	1979,0215.24	16.16	26	1A	?
0658	25354	1979,0215.21	15.57	26	1A	?
0659	25355	1979,0215.22	15.23	27	1A	?
0660*	299960	1894,0506.1862	17.09	27	2A	1b
0661*	299947	1992,0231.17	16.76	26	2A	1b
0662	299970	1894,0506.1865	16.87	26	2A	2a
0663	299968	1992,0231.1	16.44	26	2A	2a
0664	299969	1992,0231.2	17.24	26	2A	2b
0665	299975	1894,0506.1875	17.22	27	2A	2b
0666	299966	IOC.276	16.55	26	2A	2b
0667	299967	1894,0506.1874	15.87	27	2A	2b
0668	299952	1992,0231.11	17.23	27	2A	3
0669	299976	1889,0105.1123	16.90	27	2A	3
0670	299973	1894,0506.1866	16.99	27	2A	2?
0671	299974	1992,0231.3	17.05	26	2A	?
0672*	221981	1859,0301.92	16.55	26	2A	?
0673	299964	1992,0231.5	17.57	27	2B	2a
0674	299953	1992,0231.12	17.04	26	2B	2a
0675*	299962	OR.9425	17.80	26	2B	2b
0676	299965	1992,0231.6	17.42	26	2B	2b
0677	299971	1992,0231.4	16.29	26	2B	2b
0678	299948	1850,0305.166	17.58	26	2B	3
0679	299951	1992,0231.10	16.80	28	2B	3
0680*	299950	IOC.274	16.79	27	2B	3
0681	299949	1889,0105.1124	16.52	28	2B	3
0682	299977	1922,0424.3597	17.50	26	2B	?
0683	299958	1894,0506.1868	17.10	26	2B	?
0684	299963	1889,0105.1132	17.47	25	2?	2a
0685	299957	1992,0231.9	17.55	27	3	2b
0686	299961	1976,1015.1	17.40	25	3	2b
0687	299955	1845,0613.68	17.75	27	3	3
0688*	299956	1992,0231.8	17.73	27	3	3
0689	299954	1992,0231.16	17.17	27	3	3
0690	299982	1889,0105.1125	16.03	26	?	1?
0691	299980	1889,0105.1128	17.32	26	?	2a
0692	299978	1889,0105.1127	16.91	27	?	?
0693	299959	1894,0506.1861	16.65	25	?	?
0694	190612	OR.317	16.49	26	?	?
0695	299979	1889,0105.1130	16.00	27	?	?
0696	299986	1902,0608.397	15.70	25	?	?
0697	299985	OR.322	15.43	27	?	?
0698	299981	1889,0105.1131	15.09	25	?	?
0699	299984	1902,0608.396	11.90	25	?	?
0700*†	299987	1992,0231.7	16.49	27	?	?
0701	25356	1979,0215.23	15.49	27	?	?

† Contemporary copy

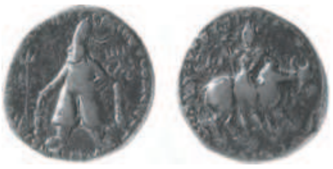
064 C.C1-ii ½u Copper mint, phase 2 didrachms

Göbl 1984: 763

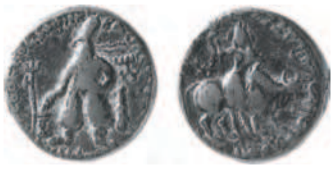
Wima Kadphises (C) copper mint (C1) first phase (i) didrachms (½u), *c.* 8.5g. Standing king type, with Greek and Gandhari (in Kharoshthi script) inscriptions.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, bearded with two or three braids of hair hanging down neck, wearing peaked high round cap, with circle on side and spike on top with diadem with two ribbons, knee-length tunic held by belt with double buckle at waist, trousers and boots, long sword with round pommel or curved hilt in scabbard, suspended on left thigh under coat, all under overcoat fastened at chest with double clasp, holding hilt of sword in left hand and making offering with extended right hand over small altar. Altar with slab above and below and central column, marked with two lines, tamga and knobbed club in right field and trident, with axe blade on shaft in left field. Inscription in Greek (clockwise from 1.00): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ (King of Kings, Wima Kadphises, the Saviour, the Great); H is lower case h-shaped, and Y is V-shaped.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally with curved torso (hips thrust to left) before bull, three headed (human face with moustache facing front and bearded human head to right and horned animal head to left), long hair with spiked top knot, naked with erect linga, wearing string of beads across chest from left shoulder, necklace and shawl around left arm, looped around back, hanging across legs with end held in left hand and draped over bull's side, holding a trident with short shaft in raised right hand and resting left elbow and hand on hump of bull; bull standing to right, with head turned frontally, nandipada symbol in left field. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (anticlockwise from 12.00): *maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga'iśvarasa mahiśvarasa v´ima kathpiśasa tratara* (of King, King of Kings, Lord of the Whole World, Great Lord, Wima Kadphises, the Saviour), the *i* of *iśvarasa* is sometimes missing but this is rarely identifiable.



702: C.C1-ii ½u



704: C.C1-ii ½u

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
0702*	299990	1922,0424.3603	8.71	21
0703	299991	1850,0305.174	8.65	21
0704*	299992	1933.1003.1	8.65	21

065 C.C1-ii ¼u Copper mint drachms, bilingual

Göbl 1984: 764

Wima Kadphises (C), copper mint (C1) second phase (ii) drachms (¼u), *c.* 4.25g. Standing king type, with Greek and Gandhari (in Kharoshthi script) inscriptions.

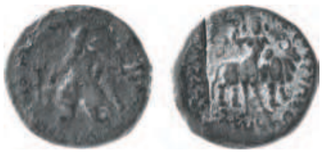
Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, bearded with two or three braids of hair hanging down neck, wearing peaked high round cap, with circle on side and spike on top with diadem with two ribbons, knee-length tunic held by belt with double buckle at waist, trousers and boots, long sword with round pommel or curved hilt in scabbard, suspended on left thigh under coat, all under overcoat fastened at chest with double clasp, holding hilt of sword in left hand and making offering with extended right hand over small altar. Altar with slab above and below and central column, marked with two lines, tamga and knobbed club in right field and trident, with axe blade on shaft in left field. Inscription in Greek (clockwise from 1.00): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ (King of Kings Wima Kadphises, the Saviour, the Great) with varieties of letter form and spelling.

1A inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ; eta is h shaped, and upsilon V shaped.

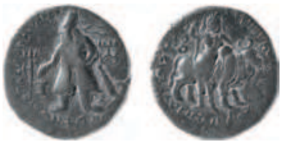
2A inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΟΟΗΜ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ; eta is H shaped, and upsilon Y shaped.

2B inscription ΒΑΣΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΛΕΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΟΟΗΜ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ; eta is H shaped, and upsilon Y shaped.

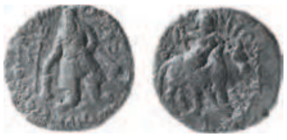
Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally with curved torso (hips



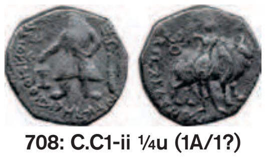
705: C.C1-ii ¼u (1A/1a)



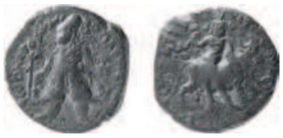
706: C.C1-ii ¼u (1A/1b)

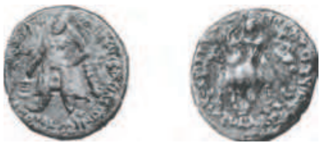


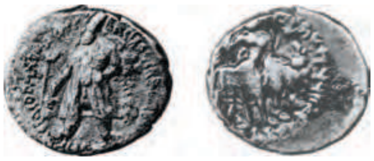
707: C.C1-ii ¼u (1A/1c)

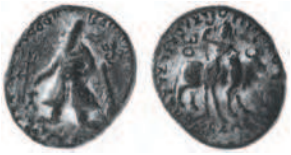


708: C.C1-ii ¼u (1A/1?)


711: C.C1-ii ¼u (1A/?)


A: C.C1-ii ¼u (2a/2a)


B: C.C1-ii ¼u (2a/2b)


713: C.C1-ii ¼u (?/1b)

thrust to left) before bull, three headed (human face with moustache facing front and bearded human head to right and horned animal head to left), long hair with spiked top knot, naked with erect linga, wearing string of beads across chest from left shoulder, necklace and shawl aroaund left arm, looped around back, hanging across legs with end held in left hand and draped over bull’s side, holding a trident with short shaft in raised right hand and resting left elbow and hand on hump of bull; bull standing to right, with head turned frontally, nandipada symbol in left field. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (anticlockwise from 12.00): *maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga’iśvarasa mahiśvarasa v´ima kathpiśasa tratara* (of King, King of Kings, Lord of the Whole World, Great Lord, Wima Kadphises, the Saviour) or variations.

1a inscription: *maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga’iśvarasa mahiśvarasa v´ima kathpiśasa tratara*.

1b as 1a, but *i* omitted in *sarvaloga’iśvarasa*.

1? could be 1a or 1b.

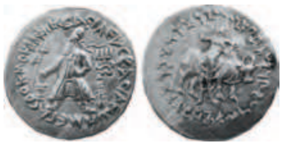
1c as above but truncated.

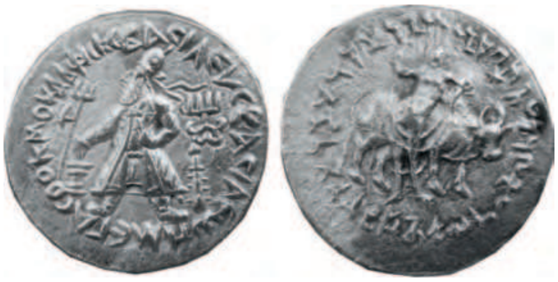
2a inscription: *maharajasa rajadirajasa mahiśvarasa sarvaloga’iśvarasa v´ima kathpiśasa tratara* (of King, King of Kings, Great Lord, Lord of the Whole World, Wima Kadphises, the Saviour).

2b as for 2a but truncated or with letters missing.

? Usually the inscription is too worn to be identified

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
0705*	299995	1852,0903.9	4.73	19	1A	1a
0706*	299994	IOC.281	4.07	18	1A	1b
0707*	300000	1894,0507.1827	3.90	17	1A	1c
0708*	190615	IOC.279	4.40	16	1A	1?
0709	300001	1922,0424.3598	3.97	18	1A	1?
0710	299998	1847,1201.146	4.30	17	1A	?
0711*	300002	1847,1201.147	4.15	17	1A	?
0712	300003	1845,0613.77	4.08	17	2A	1c
A*	246236	IOLC.2596	4.10	18	2A	2a
B*	246230	IOLC.2590	3.70	20	2A	2b
0713*	299999	IOC.280	4.46	20	?	1b
0714	299996	1845,0613.74	3.87	16	?	?
0715	299997	1835.BUR.73	3.50	18	?	?


716: C.C1-ii-misc ¼u


200% enlargement of 716

066 C.C1-ii-misc ¼u Copper mint phase 2, silver trial piece

Göbl 1984: 4

Wima Kadphises (C) copper mint (C1) second phase (ii-misc), silver coin (¼u) with designs and style similar copper drachms C.C1-ii 1/4u (1A/1a), but struck from dies with errors in the legends. Purchased from a copper smith at Chankar, near Begram, by Charles Masson, this was probably a trial piece.*

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, bearded with two or three braids of hair hanging down neck, wearing peaked high round cap, with circle on side and spike on top with diadem with two ribbons, knee-length tunic held by belt with double buckle at waist, trousers and boots, long sword with curved hilt in scabbard, suspended on left thigh under coat, all under overcoat fastened at chest with double clasp, holding hilt of sword in left hand and making offering with extended right hand over small altar. Altar with slab above and below and central column, marked with two lines, tamga and knobbed club in right field and trident, with axe blade on shaft in left field. Inscription in Greek (clockwise from 12.00): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΣΗΣ (King of Kings Wima Kadphises, the Great), ΣΩΤΗΡ (the Saviour) which is normal on the copper is missing.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally with curved torso (hips thrust to left) before bull, three headed, human face with moustache facing front and unclear heads to left and right, long hair with spiked top knot, naked with erect linga, wearing string of beads across chest from left shoulder, necklace and shawl around left arm, looped around back, hanging across legs with end held in left hand and draped over bull’s side, holding trident with long shaft in raised right hand and resting left elbow and hand on hump of bull; bull standing to right, with head turned frontally. Inscription in Gandhari, written in Kharoshthi script (anticlockwise from 12.00): *maharajasa rajatirajasa sarvaloga'iśvara mahiśvara v´ima kathpiśasa tratara* (of King, King of Kings, Lord of the Whole World, Great Lord, Wima Kadphises, the Saviour).

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
0716*	187764	IOC.273	3.61	18

* A gold example from the same dies has been shown to the authors.

067 C.C1-misc ¼u Copper mint miscellaneous drachms, bust of Wesho

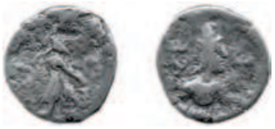
Göbl 1984: 765

Wima Kadphises (C1) copper mint (C1) exceptional issue (misc) drachms (¼u) with standing king and bust of Oesho types.

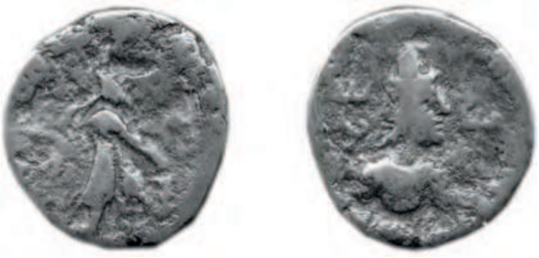
Obverse: King, full figure standing facing to right, head to right, wearing high cap, with diadem with two ribbons, wearing overcoat, making offering with extended right hand over small altar before king. Traces of Greek inscription.

Reverse: Oesho, bust of god, with two faces, beardless to right and bearded to left, hair dressed in linga shape, holding trident in left hand, tamga in left field. Traces of Gandhari inscription written in Kharoshthi script.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
0717*	187802	1894,0507.1828	3.06	17



717: C.C1-misc ¼u



200% enlargement of 717

Series D

Kanishka I

4th Kushan Emperor *c.* AD 127–51

Gold and Copper Coins

Kanishka I’s coinage

Under Kanishka I coins were issued in gold and copper. Wima Kadphises reign’s centralisation of minting began to break down under Kanishka I. By the end of his reign subsidiary gold and copper mints had been opened, and the local mint in Kashmir had been reopened.

His coins have a representation of the king on the obverse as a standing figure, making an offering at a small altar, and on a few issues as a bust emerging from a mountain top, or enthroned. All have an inscription naming Kanishka and giving his main titles. The reverses show images of deities, normally standing, but a few seated and one on horseback. Each image is accompanied by an inscription identifying the deity, an innovation of this reign which continues until the end of the Kushan coinage. The first issues were inscribed in Greek, but subsequently all were inscribed in Bactrian, written in Greek script.

The gold coins represent a continuation of the monetary system based on the gold dinar introduced in the previous reign, but simplified to two gold denominations: dinar and quarter dinar. The copper coinage initially consisted of just half units at the main copper mint, but subsequently tetradrachm units became the main production. Smaller denominations were rarely issued except at the Kashmir mint, which only issued quarters and eighths.

Gold issues

The majority of Kanishka I’s gold coins were made at the main mint at Balkh. Its production can be divided broadly into three phases. In the first the inscriptions were in Greek. In the second phase and third phase the inscriptions were in Bactrian. The third phase was distinguished by the addition of a brim to the king’s headdress. The production of the subsidiary mint was concurrent with the third phase, but distinguished from it by style.

Copper issues

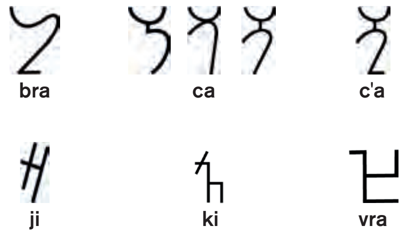
The copper coins were issued from three mints. The main copper mint at Begram mostly produced tetradrachm units, but early in the reign didrachm half units were also issued. A few exceptional drachms and hemidrachms, quarter and eighth units were also issued. A subsidiary copper mint was opened in Gandhara late in Kanishka I’s reign. Its products were distinguished by the position of the king’s sword and the addition of an obverse tamga on some issues. It produced tetradrachm units and a small issue of hemidrachms. The third mint in Kashmir produced drachms and a few hemidrachms, distinguished from the other mints’ coins by Kharoshthi control marks on their obverse.

Worn tetradrachms of the main mint are often found in northern India where they appear to have circulated long after Kanishka I’s reign. Imitations of these worn coins were also made in northern India, distinguished from the genuine coins by their low weight, poor style and lack of inscriptions. A second series of imitations was made further to the east, in Orissa and Bihar, cast in imitation of the first series of imitations (Ch. 3 §D.7).

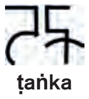
Reverse designs

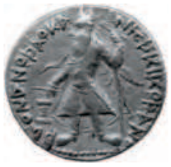
The gold and copper coins used a variety of repeating reverse designs. For this reason reverse designs are here numbered sequentially for the mint rather than within a type. Where a reverse type appears in an earlier phase of production it is marked with an asterisk. For a full list and discussions see Ch. 3 §D.4, §D.5, §E,3 and §E.5.

Kharoshthi control marks

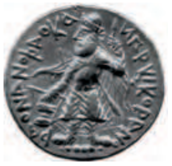


Brahmi inscription

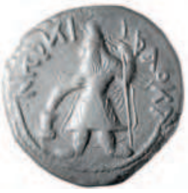




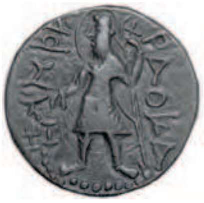
*** D.G1-i 1d 1B/5b**



*** D.G1-iii 1d 12a**



*** D.C1-ii 1u 1A/3a**
Sword over coat



*** D.C2-ii 1u 1B/2a**
Sword to right

Kanishka main gold mint Balkh (D.G1)

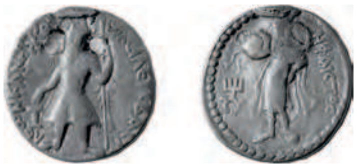
The Balkh gold mint was responsible for the majority of Kanishka I's gold coins. They were issued in two denominations, gold dinars (*c.* 8g) and quarter dinars (*c.* 2g). The gold dinars all use a standing king obverse design, which became the standard design for all Kushan gold coins after the reign of his successor Huvishka. The quarters initially use a bust of the king emerging from a mountain top obverse design, but then change to the same design as the dinars. The obverse inscriptions give the king's name and titles. The following deities are featured in the reverses used by this mint: Athsho (1), Mao (2), Miiro (3), Nana and Nanashao (4), Oado (5), Oesho (6), Ardochsho (7), Boddo (8), Lrooaspo (9), Manaobago (10), Mozdooano (11), Orlagno (12) and Pharro (13). The reverse inscriptions name the depicted deity. The royal tamga appears in the reverse field.

The issues of this mint were produced in three phases:

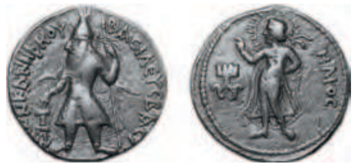
Phase 1 production consists of dinars and quarters. The dinars show the king standing wearing two different headdresses: Iranian cap or a crescent. The quarters use the bust wearing the Iranian cap emerging from the mountain obverse type. The inscriptions on both denominations are in Greek, on a few coins the inscriptions are recut into the Bactrian language, still written in Greek script. Reverse designs in this phase include: Athsho (1), Mao (2), Miiro (3), Nana (4), Oado (5) and Oesho (6).

Phase 2 uses the same designs as phase 1, but the inscriptions are in Bactrian (a few Greek reverses survive from phase 1). The obverse designs mostly show the king wearing the Iranian cap, as the crescent is dropped early in the phase. The quarters initially continue the bust type but this is then replaced by the same standing king type as the dinars. Reverse designs in this phase include: Athsho (1), Mao (2), Miiro (3), Nana and Nanashao (4) and Oesho (6).

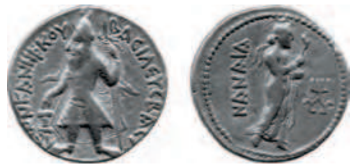
Phase 3 only uses the standing king type on both dinar and quarter dinar as on phase 2, but with his sword projecting away from his thigh, rather than lying along the thigh, and wearing a different headdress, a cap with a laddered rim. All inscriptions are in Bactrian. The reverse designs featured include: Mao (2), Miiro (3), Nanashao (4), Oesho (6), Ardochsho (7), Boddo (8), Lrooaspo (9), Manaobago (10), Mozdooano (11), Orlagno and Orlagno Oazo (12) and Pharro (13).



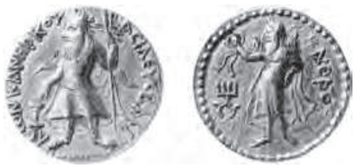
718: D.G1-i 1d (1A/1a)



A: D.G1-i 1d (1A/3a)



719: D.G1-i 1d (1A/4a)



B: D.G1-i 1d (2A/1b)

068 D.G1-i 1d Main gold mint phase 1 dinars, Greek inscriptions

Göbl 1984: 25–8

Kanishka I (D), main gold mint (G1) first phase (i) dinars (1d), *c.* 8g, with Greek inscriptions (engraved by the artists who produced Wima Kadphises' last phase of coinage). The dies were recut with Bactrian inscriptions after a very short period of issue.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, circular mark on cheek, bearded, wearing Iranian cap or crescent, with diadem with triangular tie and two ribbons, flames emanate from right shoulder, wearing knee-length tunic held by belt with double buckle at waist, trousers and boots, all under cloak over shoulders with upper part of cloak depicted as pointed extensions and tied on chest with double clasp, long sword with curved hilt in scabbard, suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, holding spear in raised left hand and making offering with extended right hand over small altar. Altar, with slab above and below, and central column, marked with two lines. Dotted border below king's feet, in gap in inscription. Inscription in Greek (clockwise, from 1.00): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙ-ΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΗϷΚΟΥ (King of Kings Kanishka)

1A King wearing a peaked Iranian cap with a multi-pronged device above, circular motif on side.

2A King wearing a crescent on diadem, with two additional ribbons below diadem tie.

Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, all contained in dotted border. Inscription in Greek script in field: deity's name in Greek or Bactrian (replacing the Greek).

1a Athsho, fire god, standing frontally, with head to left, bearded, flames emanating from shoulders, raised flame-like hair and wearing diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist under cloak tied on chest with double clasp, left hand on hip, holding diadem in extended right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Greek (clockwise in right field) ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ.

1b as 1a, but Greek inscription recut in Bactrian ΑΘÞΟ.

2a Mao, moon god, standing frontally, with head to left flanked by crescent, emanating from shoulders, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, all under cloak tied on chest with double clasp, sword in scabbard suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, making two fingers gesture with extended right hand, holding ribboned sceptre diagonally with left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Greek (clockwise in right field): ΣΑΛΗΝΗ.

3a Miiro, sun god, standing frontally, with head to left surrounded by radiating halo, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, all under cloak tied on chest with double clasp, sword in scabbard suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, making two fingers gesture with extended right hand, holding hilt of sword with left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Greek (clockwise in right field): ΗΛΙΟΣ.

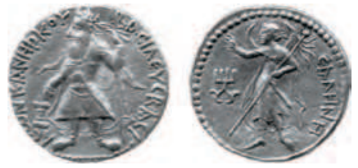
4a Nana, moon goddess, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with crescent on top, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind and hair bun at back, earring, sleeved ankle-length gown and shawl around waist and draped over left forearm, holding wand tipped with lion-forepart in right hand, and bowl in left hand at waist, tamga in right field. Greek Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): ΝΑΝΑΙΑ.

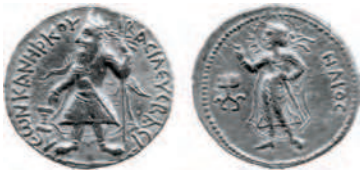
5a Oado, wind god, running to left, with head to left, bearded and with wind-blown hair, with extended wings emerging horizontally from back of shoulders, wearing thigh-length dhoti, holding large cloak in both raised hands above head and dropping to feet, tamga to left. Inscription in Greek (anticlockwise, read from lower edge): ΑΝΕΜΟΣ.

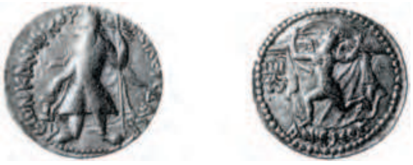
6a Oesho, mountain god, four armed standing frontally head to left surrounded by halo, with erect linga, hair in top-knot, with moustache, wearing calf-length dhoti and string of beads across chest from left shoulder and armlets and bracelets on each arm, holding trident diagonally in upper left hand, horned animal (goat?) in lower left hand at waist, thunderbolt in upper right hand and water-pot and elephant goad in extended lower right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Greek (clockwise in right field): ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ. This reverse die was made by the mint (Cribb 1997: 57), but so far no coin struck with it has been found. It is only known from the recut version (6b). It is possible that it was the sixth design in the sequence, but was recut from Greek to Bactrian before it came into production.

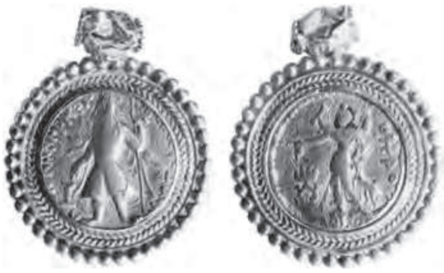
6b as 6a, but Greek inscription recut in Bactrian: ΟΗÞΟ.

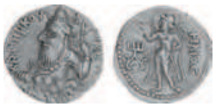
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
0718*	187840	1888,1208.538	8.02	21	-	1A	1a
A*	Private collection B		-	-	-	1A	3a
0719*	187841	1929,0725.1	7.92	21	-	1A	4a
B*	Private collection F; Cribb 1998: 6		-	-	-	2A	1b
0720	187813	IOC.282	7.89	-	-	2A	2a
0721*	187838	1888,1208.539	7.98	21	19,02	2A	2a
0722*	187839	1888,1208.537	8.00	22	18.93	2A	3a
C*	Tanabe, 1993: No.51		-	-	-	2A	5a
D*	Private collection F; Cribb 1998: 7		-	-	-	2A	6b


721: D.G1-i 1d (2A/2a)

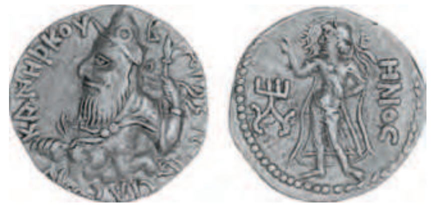

722: D.G1-i 1d (2A/3a)


C: D.G1-i 1d (2A/5a)


D: D.G1-i 1d (2A/6b)



A: D.G1-i ¼d (2a)



200% enlargement of A

069 D.G1-i ¼d Main gold mint phase 1 quarter dinars, Greek inscription

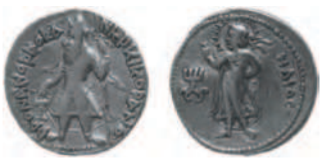
Kanishka I (D), main gold mint (G1), first phase (i), gold quarter dinars (¼d), *c.* 2g. With Greek inscriptions, bust of king wearing Iranian cap.

Obverse: King, bust, facing left, emerging from mountain top, represented by pile of rocks, bearded, wearing peaked Iranian cap with circular motif on side, with diadem with triangular tie and two ribbons, flames emanate from right shoulder, wearing cloak fastened by double clasp on chest, holding spear in left hand and resting right hand on mountain in front of chest. Inscription in Greek (clockwise from 1.00): Β-ΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ - ΚΑΝΗÞΚΟΥ.

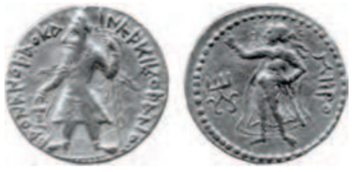
Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, all contained in dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian: deity's name in Greek, same designs as D.G1-i 1d.

3a Miiro as D.G1-i 1d with Greek inscription: ΗΛΙΟΣ.

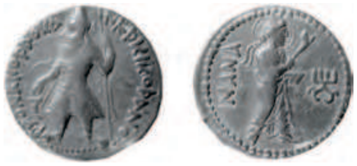
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Rev.
A*	Private collection G		2.00	13	-	3a



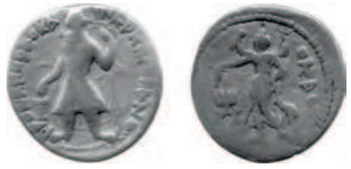
A: D.G1-i 1d (1A/3a)



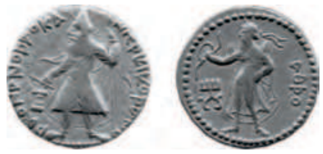
723: D.G1-i 1d (1A/3b)



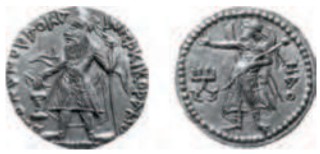
B: D.G1-i 1d (1A/4b)



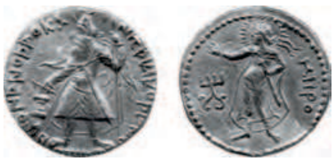
724: D.G1-i 1d (1A/6b)



725: D.G1-i 1d (1B/1c)



C: D.G1-i 1d (1B/2b)



726: D.G1-ii 1d (1B/3b)

070 D.G1-ii 1d Main gold mint phase 2 dinars, Bactrian inscriptions

Göbl 1984: 31–7

Kanishka I (D), main gold mint (G1), second phase (ii), gold dinars (1d), *c.* 8g with Bactrian inscription, standing king with Iranian cap or crescent on diadem.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, circular mark on cheek, bearded, wearing Iranian cap or crescent, with diadem with triangular tie and two ribbons, flames emanate from right shoulder, knee-length tunic held by belt with double buckle at waist, trousers and boots, all under cloak over shoulders with upper part of cloak depicted as pointed extensions and tied on chest with double clasp, long sword with curved hilt in scabbard, suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, holding spear in raised left hand and making offering with extended right hand, holding elephant goad, over small altar. Altar with slab above and below and central column, which is marked with two lines. Dotted border below king's feet, between inscription. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 7.00): ÞΑΟΝΑΝΟ ÞΑΟ ΚΑ-ΝΗÞΚΙ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ (King of Kings Kanishka Kushan).

1A king wearing a peaked Iranian cap with a multi-pronged device above, circular motif on side, recut Bactrian version of D.G1-i 1d Greek obverse 1A.

1B as 1A, but inscription cut in Bactrian.

2A king wearing a crescent on diadem, with two additional ribbons below diadem tie, recut Bactrian version of D.G1-i 1d Greek obverse 2A.

2B as 2A, but inscription cut in Bactrian, second small ribbons below diadem ribbons missing.

Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, all contained in dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian: deity's name in Greek or Bactrian in field, same designs as D.G1-ii 1d dinars.

1b* Athsho, as D.G1-i 1d, inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΑΘÞΟ, recut from the Greek inscription.

1c Athsho, fire god, standing frontally, with head to left, bearded, flames emanating from shoulders, raised flame-like hair and wearing diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist under cloak tied on chest with double clasp, holding tongs in left hand on chest and diadem in extended right hand, left hand on hip, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΑΘÞΟ.

2b Mao, moon god, standing frontally, with head to left flanked by crescent emanating from shoulders, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, all under cloak tied on chest with double clasp, sword in scabbard suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, making two fingers gesture with extended right hand, holding ribboned sceptre diagonally with left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΜΑΟ.

3a* Miiro as D.G1-i 1d Greek inscription: ΗΛΙΟΣ.

3b Miiro, sun god, standing frontally, with head to left surrounded by radiating halo, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, all under cloak tied on chest with double clasp, sword in scabbard suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, making two fingers gesture with extended right hand, holding hilt of sword with left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΜΙΙΡΟ.

4b Nana, moon goddess, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with crescent on top, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind and hair bun at back, earring, sleeved ankle-length gown and shawl around waist and draped over left forearm, holding wand tipped with lion-forepart in right hand, and bowl in left hand at waist, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): ΝΑΝΑ.

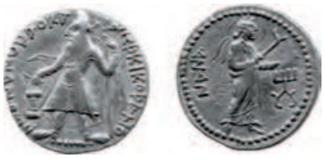
4c Royal Nana as 4b, but sword in scabbard suspended from strap tied with single clasp on left thigh. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): ΝΑΝΑÞΑΟ.

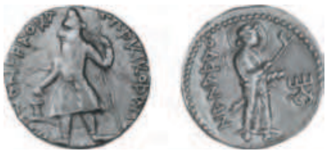
6b* Oesho, as for D.G1-i 1d, Greek inscription ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ recut in Bactrian: ΟΗÞΟ.

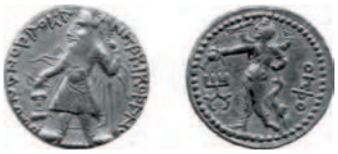
6c Oesho, mountain god, four armed standing frontally head to left surrounded by halo, with erect linga, hair in top-knot, with moustache, wearing calf-length dhoti and string of beads across chest from left shoulder and armlets and bracelets on each arm, holding trident diagonally in upper left hand, horned animal (goat?) in lower left hand at waist, thunderbolt in upper right hand and water-pot and elephant goad in extended lower right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΟΗÞΟ.

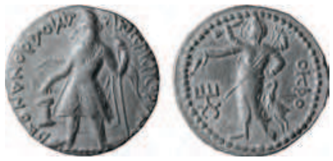
6d as 6c, but without elephant goad.

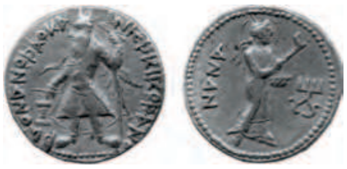
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Göbl 1984 32/1		-	-	-	1A	3a
0723*	187854	1894,0506.16	7.93	21	18.96	1A	3b
B*	IMC; Smith 1906: Kanishka 7; Göbl 1984: 35/5		7.86	21	-	1A	4b
0724*	187860	1894,0506.28	7.55	20	18.99	1A	6b
0725*	187844	1879,0501.1	7.90	19	-	1B	1c
C*	Göbl 1984: G34/1; Sotheby (Zurich), 27/5/1974: 337;		7.96	-	-	1B	2b
0726*	187853	1925,1109.1	7.97	20	-	1B	3b
0727*	187856	1874,0504.1	7.97	19	19.00	1B	4b
0728	187855	1894,0506.18	7.89	21	-	1B	4b
D*	Göbl 1984: 36/3		7.93	-	-	1B	4c
0729*	187859	OR.4012	7.99	19	18.90	1B	6c
0730	187861	1860,1220.197	7.97	20	18.94	1B	6c
0731	187867	1922,0424.64	7.98	19	-	1B	6c
E*	Private collection E		-	-	-	1B	6d
0732*	187843	1894,0506.19	7.98	21	-	2A	4b
0733*	187842	1860,1220.209	7.96	19	-	2B	1c
F*	Göbl 1984: 31/1		-	-	-	2B	3b
G*	Private collection B		-	-	-	2B	4b
H*	Göbl 1984: 37/2		7.95	-	-	2B	6c

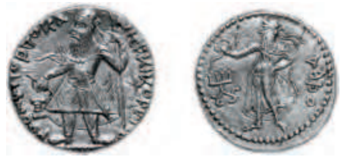

727: D.G1-ii 1d (1B/4b)

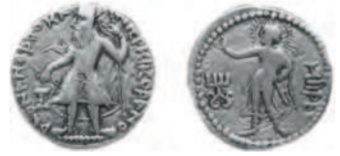

D: D.G1-ii 1d (1B/4c)

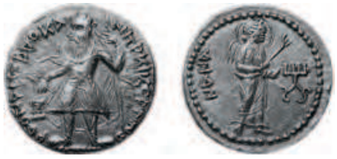

729: D.G1-ii 1d (1B/6c)

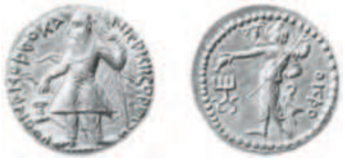

E: D.G1-ii 1d (1B/6d)

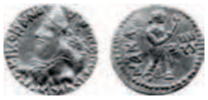

732: D.G1-ii 1d (2A/4b)


733: D.G1-ii 1d (2B/1c)

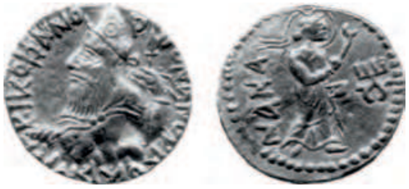

F: D.G1-ii 1d (2B/3b)


G: D.G1-ii 1d (2B/4b)

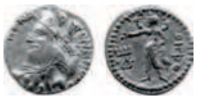

H: D.G1-ii 1d (2B/6c)



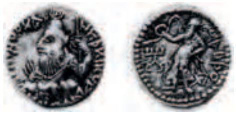
737: D.G1-iia ¼d (1A/4b)



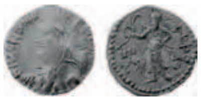
200% enlargement of 737



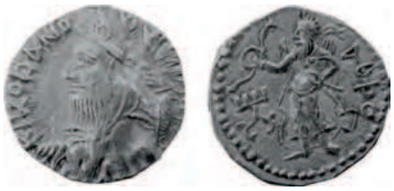
740: D.G1-iia ¼d (1A/6d)



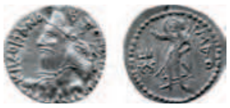
A: D.G1-iia ¼d (1B/1c)



735: D.G1-iia ¼d (1A/1c)



200% enlargement of 735



736: D.G1-iia ¼d (1A/2b)

071 D.G1-iia ¼d Main gold mint phase 2a quarter dinars, bust type

Göbl 1984: 41–5

Kanishka I (D), main gold mint (G1), second phase, sub phase a (iia), quarter dinars (¼d), *c.* 2g. Inscription in Bactrian, bust of king wearing Iranian cap.

Obverse: Bust of King, facing left, emerging from mountain top (represented by pile of rocks) bearded, wearing peaked Iranian cap with circular motif on side, with diadem with triangular tie and two ribbons, flames emanate from right shoulder, wearing cloak fastened by double clasp on chest, holding spear in left hand and resting right hand on mountain in front of chest. Inscription in Bactrian: ÞAONANO ÞAO KANHÞKI KOÞANO (King of Kings Kanishka Kushan).

1A recut Bactrian version of Greek obverse D.G1-i ¼d, (inscription clockwise from 1.00): Þ-AONANO ÞAO KANHÞKI KOÞANO

1B version with inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 6.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO KA-NHÞKI KOÞANO.

Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, all contained in dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian: deity's name in Bactrian in field, same designs as dinars.

1c Athsho, fire god, standing frontally, with head to left, bearded, flames emanating from shoulders, raised flame-like hair and wearing diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist under cloak tied on chest with double clasp, holding tongs in left hand on chest and diadem in extended right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): AΘÞO.

2b Mao, moon god, standing frontally, with head to left flanked by crescent emanating from shoulders, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, all under cloak tied on chest with double clasp, sword in scabbard suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, making two fingers gesture with extended right hand, holding ribboned sceptre diagonally with left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MAO.

4b Nana, moon goddess, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with crescent on top, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind and hair bun at back, earring, sleeved ankle-length gown and shawl around waist and draped over left forearm, holding wand tipped with lion-forepart in right hand, and bowl in left hand at waist, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): NANA.

6d Oesho, mountain god, four armed standing frontally head to left surrounded by halo, with erect linga, hair in top-knot, with moustache, wearing calf-length dhoti and string of beads across chest from left shoulder and armlets and bracelets on each arm, holding trident diagonally in upper left hand, horned animal (goat?) in lower left hand at waist, thunderbolt in upper right hand and water-pot in extended lower right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): OHÞO.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
0734	187845	1894,0506.37	1.98	12	-	1A	1c
0735*	187848	IOC.294	1.98	12	-	1A	1c
0736*	187850	1894,0506.14	2.01	13	-	1A	2b
0737*	187857	1894,0506.20	1.98	13	-	1A	4b
0738	187858	1894,0506.21	1.97	13	-	1A	4b
0739	187862	1851,0205.1	1.96	12	-	1A	6d
0740*	187863	1894,0506.29	1.99	12	-	1A	6d
A*	Göbl 1984: 41/1		-	-	-	1B	1c

072 D.G1-iib ¼d Main gold mint phase 2b quarter dinars, transitional issues

Göbl 1984: 46–8, 50–1

Kanishka I (D), main gold mint (G1), second phase, sub-phase b (transition to third phase) (iib), gold quarter dinars (¼d) with inscription in Bactrian, standing king with Iranian cap (This group is part of phase 2 as is clear from the king's Iranian cap and its die links with the bust type D.G1-ii ¼d, but the king's sword extends to the right, rather than over his coat, as in phase 3).

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, circular mark on cheek, bearded, wearing a peaked Iranian cap with a multi-pronged device above, circular motif on side, with diadem with two ribbons, flames emanate from right shoulder, knee-length tunic held by belt with double buckle at waist, trousers and boots, all under cloak over shoulders with upper part of cloak depicted as pointed extensions and tied on chest with double clasp, long sword with curved hilt in scabbard, suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, holding spear in raised left hand and making offering with extended right hand, holding elephant goad, over small altar. Altar with slab above and below and central column, which is marked with two lines. Dotted border below king's feet, between inscription. Inscription in Bactrian clockwise from 7.00: ÞΑΟΝΑΝΟ ÞΑΟ ΚΑ-ΝΗÞΚΙ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ (King of Kings Kanishka Kushan).

Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, all contained in dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian: deity's name in Bactrian in field, same designs as D.G1-ii 1d dinars.

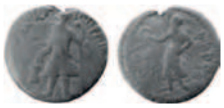
1c Athsho, fire god, standing frontally, with head to left, bearded, flames emanating from shoulders, raised flame-like hair and wearing diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist under cloak tied on chest with double clasp, holding tongs in left hand on chest and diadem in extended right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΑΘÞΟ.

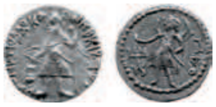
2b Mao, moon god, standing frontally, with head to left flanked by crescent emanating from shoulders, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, all under cloak tied on chest with double clasp, sword in scabbard suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, making two fingers gesture with extended right hand, holding ribboned sceptre diagonally with left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΜΑΟ.

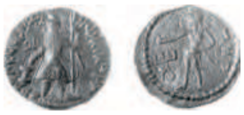
3b Miiro, sun god, standing frontally, with head to left surrounded by radiating halo, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, all under cloak tied on chest with double clasp, sword in scabbard suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, making two fingers gesture with extended right hand, holding hilt of sword with left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΜΙΙΡΟ, most examples have the inscription error ΜΙΙΡ.

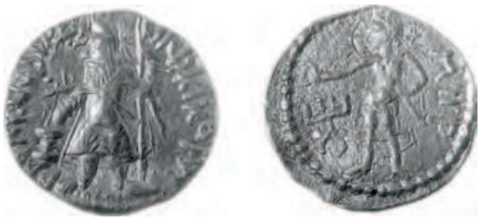
4c Royal Nana, moon goddess, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with crescent on top, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind and hair bun at back, earring, sleeved ankle-length gown and shawl around waist and draped over left forearm, sword in scabbard suspended from strap tied with single clasp on left thigh, holding wand tipped with lion-forepart in right hand, and bowl in left hand at waist, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): ΝΑΝΑÞΑΟ.

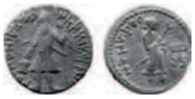
6d Oesho, mountain god, four armed standing frontally head to left surrounded by halo, with erect linga, hair in top-knot, with moustache, wearing calf-length dhoti and string of beads across chest from left shoulder and armlets and bracelets on each arm, holding trident diagonally in upper left hand, horned animal (goat?) in lower left hand at waist, thunderbolt in upper right hand and water-pot in extended lower right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΟΗÞΟ.

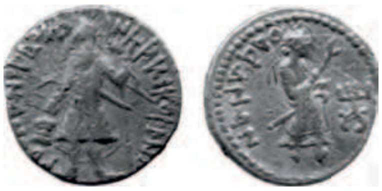

741: D.G1-iib ¼d (1c)

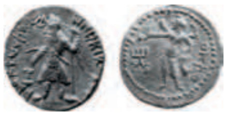

742: D.G1-iib ¼d (2b)

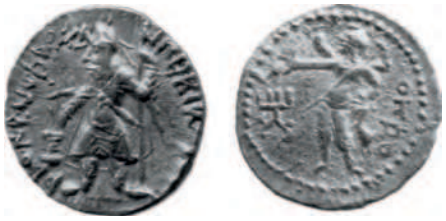

A: D.G1-iib ¼d (3b)


200% enlargement of A

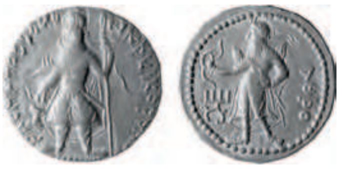

744: D.G1-iib ¼d (4c)

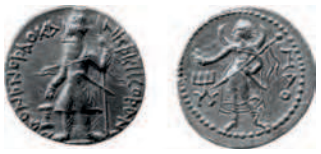

200% enlargement of 744

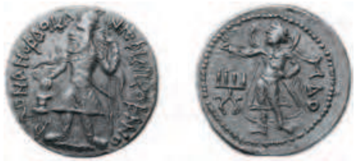

745 D.G1-iib ¼d (6d)

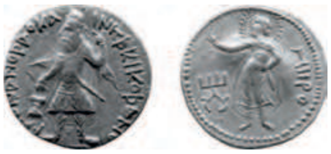

200% enlargement of 745

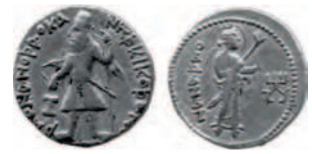
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Rev.
0741*	187849	IOC.287	1.78	13	-	1c
0742*	187851	1888,1208.541	1.97	13	-	2b
A*	Bern; Göbl 1993a: 124; Göbl 1984: 46/2		1.97	14	-	3b
0743*	187896	IOC.290	1.96	12	-	4c
0744*	187864	1894,0506.30	1.97	14	-	6d
0745	187866	IOC.293	1.87	12	-	6d

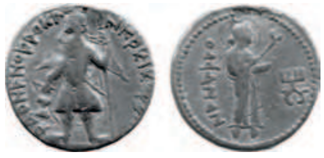

A: D.G1-iii 1d (1A/1c)

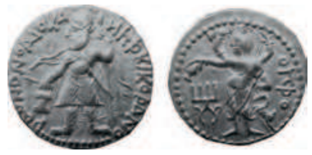

746: D.G1-iii 1d (1A/2b)

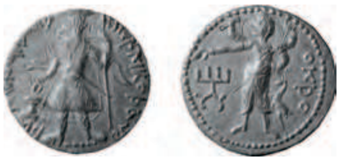

B: D.G1-iii 1d (1A/2c)


750: D.G1-iii 1d (1A/3b)


753: D.G1-iii 1d (1A/4c)


755: D.G1-iii 1d (1A/4d)


757: D.G1-iii 1d (1A/6c)


C: D.G1-iii 1d (1A/6d)

073 D.G1-iii 1d Main gold mint phase 3 dinars, ornate crowns

Göbl 1984: 52–72

Kanishka I (D), main gold mint (G1), third phase (iii), dinars (1d), *c.* 8g, with inscriptions in Bactrian, standing king with brimmed cap and projecting sword.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, circular mark on cheek, bearded, wearing cap with laddered brim, wave motif on side and pronged ornament above, with diadem with two ribbons, flames emanate from right shoulder, knee-length tunic held by belt with double buckle at waist, trousers and boots, all under cloak over shoulders with upper part of cloak depicted as pointed extensions and tied on chest with double clasp, long sword with curved hilt in scabbard, suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, holding spear or staff in raised left hand and making offering with extended right hand, holding elephant goad, over small altar. Altar with slab above and below and central column, which is marked with two lines. Dotted border below king's feet, between inscription. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 7.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO KA-NHÞKI KOÞANO (King of Kings Kanishka Kushan).

1A king holding spear.

1B king holding sceptre with animal finial (possibly a bird or lion).

Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, all contained in dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian: deity's name in Bactrian in field, same designs as D.G1-ii 1d, with additional designs introduced.

1c Athsho, fire god, standing frontally, with head to left, bearded, flames emanating from shoulders, raised flame-like hair and wearing diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist under cloak tied on chest with double clasp, holding tongs in left hand on chest and diadem in extended right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): AΘÞO.

2b Mao, moon god, standing frontally, with head to left flanked by crescent emanating from shoulders, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, all under cloak tied on chest with double clasp, sword in scabbard suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, making two fingers gesture with extended right hand, holding ribboned sceptre diagonally with left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MAO.

2c as 2b, but without sceptre and holding sword in left hand.

3b Miiro, sun god, standing frontally, with head to left surrounded by radiating halo, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, all under cloak tied on chest with double clasp, sword in scabbard suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, making two fingers gesture with extended right hand, holding hilt of sword with left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MIIPO.

4c Royal Nana, moon goddess, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with crescent on top, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind and hair bun at back, earring, sleeved ankle-length gown and shawl around waist and draped over left forearm, sword in scabbard suspended from strap tied with single clasp on left thigh, holding wand tipped with lion-forepart in right hand, and bowl in left hand at waist, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): NANAÞAO.

4d as 4c, but without sword.

6c Oesho, mountain god, four armed standing frontally head to left surrounded by halo, with erect linga, hair in top-knot, moustache, calf-length dhoti and string of beads across chest from left shoulder and armlets and bracelets on each arm, holding trident diagonally in upper left hand, horned animal (goat?) in lower left hand at waist, thunderbolt in upper right hand and water-pot and elephant goad in extended lower right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΟΗÞΟ.

6d as 6c, but without elephant goad.

6e as 6d, but water emerging from mouth of water pot.

7a Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with polos head-dress on top, wearing hair held in diadem with two ribbons behind and roll of curls below diadem and hair bun at back, earring, necklace and sleeved ankle-length gown, holding cornucopia with both hands, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (anticlockwise in left field): ΑΡΔΟΧÞΟ.

8a Boddo, the Buddha, standing frontally, with head to front surrounded by halo, circular mark on forehead, lengthened ears, hair in top knot and moustache, Wearing three part monastic robes (calf-length garment tied at waist, thigh-length tunic, all covered by large cloak over both shoulders and held in left hand), holding bunched end of shawl in left hand at waist and making gesture of reassurance with open right hand (circular mark on palm) before chest, body surrounded in nimbus, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (anticlockwise in left field): ΒΟΔΔΟ.

8b as 8a, but with double halo.

9a Lrooaspo, god of animals, standing frontally with upper torso and head turned to right, bearded, wearing broad diadem with projection at front and two ribbons, sleeved calf-length tunic, with shawl tied round waist, holding diadem in raised right hand before face; horse standing with front left foot raised, with saddle (?), reins, bridles and body straps, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΛΡΟΟΑΣΠΟ.

10a Manaobago, god of 'good mind', four armed, seated on throne frontally, with head to right flanked by crescent emanating from shoulders, wearing helmet with flat brim, dotted line on side and spiked ornament on top, diadem with two ribbons, earring with three balls, short-sleeved calf-length tunic, bracelets on all arms and mid-calf boots holding sceptre with plough emblem in raised left hand, wheel with dotted rim in extended lower left hand, ribboned bag (or thunderbolt) in upper right hand at waist and diadem in lower right hand extended across upper torso; stool with lion legs and covered with square cloth, king's feet resting on low footstool, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): ΜΑΝΑΟΒΑΓΟ.

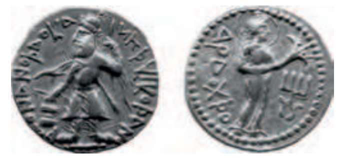
11a Mozdooano, benevolent god, on horseback, facing right, bearded, with curled hair, wearing Iranian cap and diadem with two ribbons, tunic, trousers and boots under an open knee-length coat, holding reins in his left hand resting on horse's back and trident-like sceptre before face in raised right hand; horse standing with front left foot raised, two headed, with reins, bridles and body straps, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΜΟΖΔΟΟΑΝΟ.

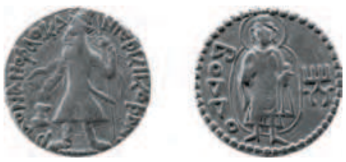
12a Orlagno, god of victory and royal glory, standing frontally, with head to right with hbefore face, wearing bird cap with diadem with two ribbons, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist, trousers and boots, all under cloak tied on chest with double clasp, sword with curved hilt in scabbard suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, holding hilt of sword with left hand at waist, holding spear in with raised right hand, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): ΟΡΛΑΓΝΟ.

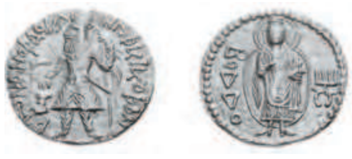
12b as 12a with halo before face.

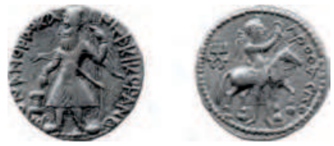
12c as 12b, but inscription clockwise in left and upper right field from 7.00: ΟΡΛΑΓΝΟ-ΟΑΖΟ.

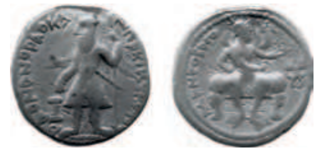
13a Pharro, god of royal glory, standing frontally, with head to right surrounded by halo, with bird wings on top, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist, calf-high

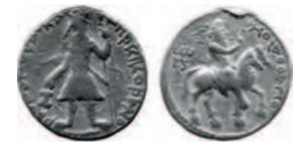

759: D.G1-iii 1d (1A/7a)

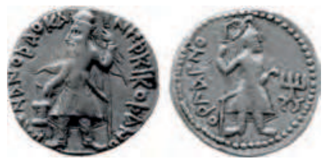

760: D.G1-iii 1d (1A/8a)

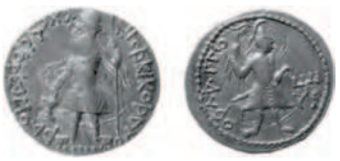

D: D.G1-iii 1d (1A/8b)

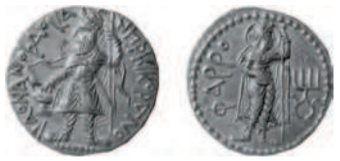

761: D.G1-iii 1d (1A/9a)

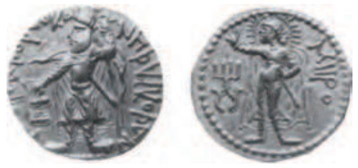

762: D.G1-iii 1d (1A/10a)

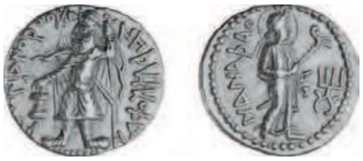

764; D.G1-iii 1d (1A/11a)

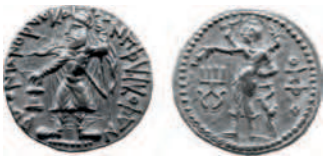

765: D.G1-iii 1d (1A/12a)

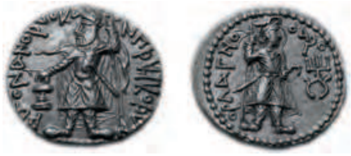

E: D.G1-iii 1d (1A/12b)


F: D.G1-iii 1d (1A/13a)


G: D.G1-iii 1d (1B/3b)


H: D.G1-iii 1d (1B/4d)


768: D.G1-iii 1d (1B/6e)


I: D.G1-iii 1d (1B/12c)

boots, all under cloak tied on chest with double clasp, holding ribboned sceptre with raised left hand and money bag in with right hand before waist, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): ΦΑΡΡΟ.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Private collection Q		-	-	-	1A	1c
0746*	187882	1894,0506.13	7.91	19	-	1A	2b
0747	187883	1879,0501.4	7.91	19	-	1A	2b
0748	187884	1894,0506.12	7.95	20	-	1A	2b
0749	187886	2000,0111.1	7.90	20	-	1A	2b
B*	Private collection B		-	-	-	1A	2c
0750*	187888	1879,0501.2	7.93	19	18.88	1A	3b
0751	187889	1894,0506.17	7.92	19	-	1A	3b
0752	187892	1894,0506.22	7.96	19	-	1A	4c
0753*	187893	1894,0506.23	7.93	19	19.01	1A	4c
0754	188717	1860,1220.201	7.92	19	-	1A	4c
0755*	187894	1879,0501.5	7.80	19	-	1A	4d
0756	187897	IOC.292	7.95	20	-	1A	6c
0757*	187898	1894,0506.8	7.84	19	-	1A	6c
0758	187899	1894,0506.26	7.97	19	-	1A	6c
C*	Private collection E		-	-	-	1A	6d
0759*	187873	1894,0506.10	7.99	20	-	1A	7a
0760*	187870	IOC.289	7.07‡	20	-	1A	8a
D*	CNG Triton XII: 428		7.93	-	-	1A	8b
0761*	187878	1894,0506.11	7.94	18	-	1A	9a
0762*	187880	1888,1208.540	7.67	19	-	1A	10a
0763	187881	1890,1110.1	7.92	19	-	1A	10a
0764* §	187891	1888,1208.542	7.89	18	-	1A	11a
0765*	187901	1890,0102.1	7.97	19	-	1A	12a
0766	187902	1857,0813.73	7.87	20	-	1A	12a
0767	187903	1894,0506.31	7.96	21	-	1A	12b
E*	IMC; Smith, 1906: 10; Göbl 1984: 63/14				18.94°	1A	12b
F*†	Private collection E		-	-	-	1A	13a
G*	Göbl 1984: 68/2		-	-	-	1B	3b
H*	Spink, 9026, Oct 2009: 1252		7.98	-	-	1B	4d
0768*	187900	1981,0322.19	7.94	19	-	1B	6e
I*	Private collection B				-	1B	12c

† The British Museum has two examples of this type (1860, 1220.203 & 1894,0506.32), one of which was included by Gardner in his catalogue (BMC 29). Both were identified as fakes by Göbl (F69/2).
‡ The weight is unusually low because the coins has a thinner flan than normal. It is quite worn, but not sufficiently to explain the missing weight (compare COC187870 which is similarly worn but has lost only 0.3g). There is no reason to believe the coin is a forgery and the light flan is probably a mint error.
§ This coin may be a cast copy.
° SG measurement from tests other than those done by the British Museum Scientific Research Department.

074 D.G1-iii ¼d Main gold mint phase 3 quarter dinars

Göbl 1984: 73–4, 74A

Kanishka I (D), main gold mint (G1), third phase (iii), quarter dinars (¼d) with Inscription in Bactrians, standing king with brimmed cap and projecting sword.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, circular mark on cheek, bearded, wearing cap with laddered brim, wave motif on side and pronged ornament above, with diadem with two ribbons, flames emanate from right shoulder, knee-length tunic held by belt with double buckle at waist, trousers and boots, all under cloak over shoulders with upper part of cloak depicted as pointed extensions and tied on chest with double clasp, long sword with curved hilt in scabbard, suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, holding spear in raised left hand and making offering with extended right hand, holding elephant goad, over small altar. Altar with slab above and below and central column, which is marked with two lines. Dotted border below king's feet, between inscription. Inscription in Bactrian clockwise from 7.00: ÞAONANO ÞAO KA-NHÞKI KOÞANO (King of Kings Kanishka Kushan)

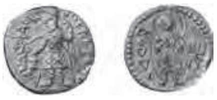
Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, all contained in dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian: deity's name in Bactrian in field, same designs as for dinars (D.G1-iii 1d).

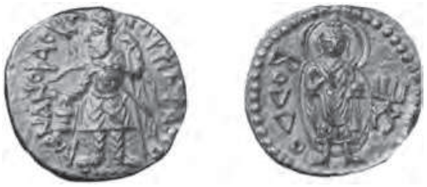
8b Boddo, the Buddha, standing frontally, with head to front surrounded by double halo, circular mark on forehead, lengthened ears, hair in top knot and moustache, wearing three part monastic robes (calf-length garment tied at waist, thigh-length tunic, all covered by large cloak over both shoulders and held in left hand), holding bunched end of shawl in left hand at waist and making gesture of reassurance with open right hand (circular mark on palm) before chest, body surrounded in nimbus, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (anticlockwise in left field): BOΔΔO.

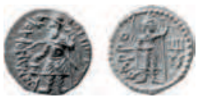
13a Pharro, god of royal glory, standing frontally, with head to right surrounded by halo, with bird wings on top, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist, calf-high boots, all under cloak tied on chest with double clasp, holding ribboned sceptre with raised left hand and money bag in right hand before waist, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): ΦAPPO.

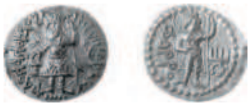
13b as 13a, but inscription anticlockwise.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Rev.
A*	Cribb 1999/2000: 5		-	-	-	8b
0769*	187907	1894,0506.33	1.94	12	-	13a
B*	Bern; Göbl 1993a: 136; Göbl 1984; 74/2		1.99	-	-	13b


A: D.G1-iii ¼d (8b)


200% enlargement of A


769: D.G1-iii ¼d (13a)


B: D.G1-iii ¼d (13b)

Subsidiary gold mint, Gandhara (D.G2)

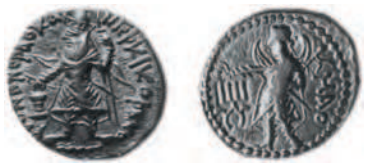
The subsidiary gold mint (G2) commenced its operations during phase 3 of the main mint and only issued coins during a single phase. Its production includes dinars and quarter dinars. The location of the mint is uncertain, but it appears to have been located in Gandhara, as it shows links with the Gandharan copper mint during the following reign. The obverse designs of both denominations copied the main mint's third phase, but are distinguished from them by their poor engraving. The reverse designs are also based on the main mint's third phase, but with some confused iconography, featuring the following gods: Mao (2), Miiro (3), Nana (4), Oesho (6) and Ardochsho (7).

075 D.G2-i 1d Subsidiary gold mint phase 1 dinars

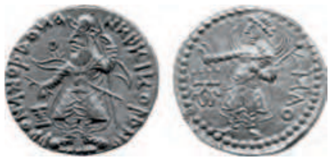
Göbl 1984: 75–8

Kanishka I (D), subsidiary gold mint (G2), first and only phase (i), dinars (1d), *c.* 8g. With inscription in Bactrian, standing king with brimmed cap and projecting sword.

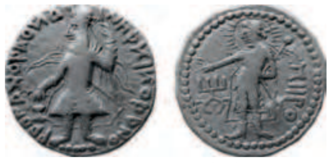
Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, circular mark on cheek, bearded, wearing cap with laddered brim, wave motif on side and pronged ornament above, with diadem with two ribbons, flames



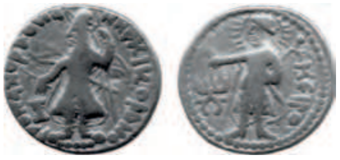
A: D.G2-i 1d (2b)



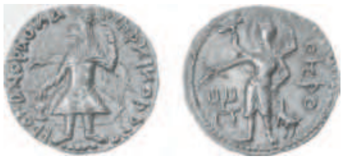
770: D.G2-i 1d (2d)



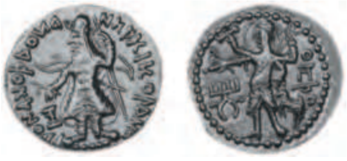
B: D.G2-i 1d (3c)



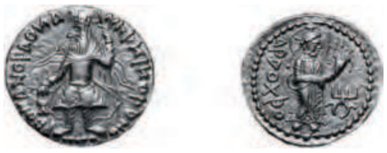
771: D.G2-i 1d (3d)



772: D.G2-i 1d (6c)



C: D.G2-i 1u (6c)



774: D.G2-i 1u (7b)

emanate from right shoulder, knee-length tunic held by belt with double buckle at waist, trousers and boots, all under cloak over shoulders with upper part of cloak depicted as pointed extensions and tied on chest with double clasp, long sword with curved hilt in scabbard, suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, holding spear in raised left hand and making offering with extended right hand, holding elephant goad, over small altar. Altar with slab above and below and central column, which is marked with two lines. Dotted border below king's feet, between inscription. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 7.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO KA-NHÞKI KOÞANO (King of Kings Kanishka Kushan).

Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, all contained in dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian: deity's name in Bactrian, same designs as the second phase of the main mint (D.G1-ii 1d) with additional designs introduced.

2b Mao, moon god, standing frontally, with head to left flanked by crescent emanating from shoulders, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, all under cloak tied on chest with double clasp, sword in scabbard suspended on left thigh, making two fingers gesture with extended right hand, holding ribboned sceptre diagonally with left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, in right field): MAO.

2d as 2b but without sword.

3c Miiro, sun god, standing frontally, with head to left surrounded by radiating halo, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, all under cloak tied on chest with double clasp, sword in scabbard suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, making two fingers gesture with extended right hand, holding hilt of sword and ribboned sceptre diagonally with left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, in right field): MIIPO.

3d as 3c but inscription MEIPO.

4e Nana, moon goddess, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with crescent on top, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind and hair bun at back, earring, sleeved ankle-length gown and shawl around waist and draped over left forearm, sword in scabbard suspended from strap tied with single clasp on left thigh, holding wand tipped with lion-forepart in right hand, and bowl in left hand at waist, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, in left field): NANA.

6c Oesho, mountain god, four armed standing frontally head to left surrounded by halo, with erect linga, hair in top-knot, with moustache, wearing calf-length dhoti and string of beads across chest from left shoulder and armlets and bracelets on each arm, holding trident diagonally in upper left hand, horned animal (goat?) in lower left hand at waist, thunderbolt in upper right hand and water-pot and elephant goad in extended lower right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): OHÞO.

7b Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with polos head-dress on top, curls of hair held by diadem with single ribbons behind and hair bun at back, earring, necklace, sleeved ankle-length gown and shawl over right arm, holding cornucopia in right hand, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (anticlockwise in left field): APΔOXÞO.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Rev.
A*	Göbl 1984: 76/3; Glendining (Seaby), Dec. 74: 160;		7.97	-	-	2b
0770*	187885	1860,1220.208	7.94	20	19.07	2d
B*	Zeno.ru, 62085		7.80	20	-	3c
0771*	188402	1879,0501.3	7.66	20	19.13	3d
0772*	25311	IOC.291	7.94	-	-	6c
C*	Bern (88.129); Göbl 1993a: 139		7.88	-	-	6c
0773	187871	1894,0506.9	7.91	19	-	7b
0774*	25315	1860,1220.195	7.95	19	-	7b

076 D.G2-i ¼d Subsidiary gold mint phase 2 quarter dinars

Göbl 1984: 79–80

Kanishka (D), subsidiary gold mint (G2), first and only phase (i), quarter dinars (¼d), *c.* 2g.

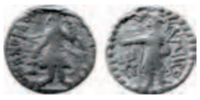
Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, circular mark on cheek, bearded, wearing cap with laddered brim, wave motif on side and pronged ornament above, with diadem with two ribbons, flames emanate from right shoulder, knee-length tunic held by belt with double buckle at waist, trousers and boots, all under cloak over shoulders with upper part of cloak depicted as pointed extensions and tied on chest with double clasp, long sword with curved hilt in scabbard, suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, holding spear in raised left hand and making offering with extended right hand, holding elephant goad, over small altar. Altar with slab above and below and central column, which is marked with two lines. Dotted border below king's feet, between inscription. Inscription in Bactrian clockwise from 7.00: ÞAONAO ÞAO KA-NHÞKI KOÞANO (King of Kings Kanishka Kushan).

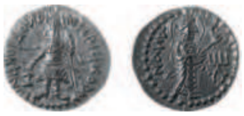
Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, all contained in dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian: deity's name in Bactrian in field, same designs as D.G2ia dinars.

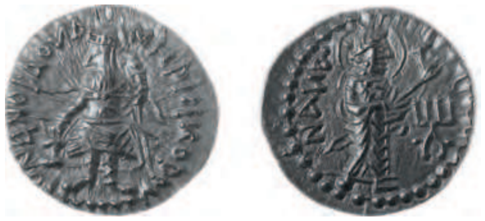
3c Miiro, sun god, standing frontally, with head to left surrounded by radiating halo, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, all under cloak tied on chest with double clasp, sword in scabbard suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, making two fingers gesture with extended right hand, holding hilt of sword and ribboned sceptre diagonally with left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MIIPO.

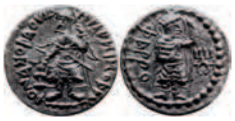
4e Nana, moon goddess, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with crescent on top, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind and hair bun at back, earring, sleeved ankle-length gown and shawl around waist and draped over left forearm, sword in scabbard suspended from strap tied with single clasp on left thigh, holding wand tipped with lion-forepart in right hand, and bowl in left hand at waist, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): NANA.

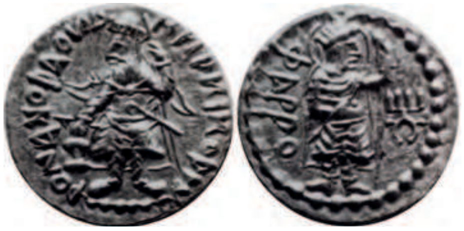
13b Pharro, god of royal glory, standing frontally, with head to right surrounded by halo, with bird wings on top, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist, calf-high boots, all under cloak tied on chest with double clasp, holding ribboned sceptre with raised left hand and money bag in with right hand before waist, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (anticlockwise in left field): ΦAPPO.


775: D.G2-i ¼d (3c)


A: D.G2-i ¼d (4e)


200% enlargement of A


B: D.G2-i ¼d (13b)

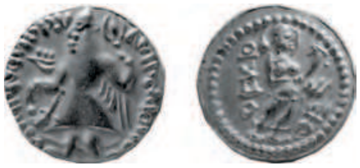

200% enlargement of B

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Rev.
0775*	187890	1922,0424.2753	1.82	12	-	3c
A*†	Bern (88.133); Göbl 1993a: 142; Göbl 1984: 80/1		1.97	14	-	4e
B*	Spink (Taisei) 9, Feb. 1991: 15		1.96	13	-	13b

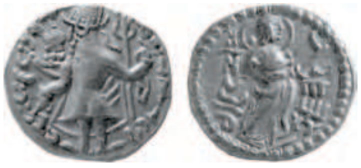
† As noted by Göbl (1984: 80) this reverse die is used again in the reign of Huvishka.

East Bengal imitations (D-imit.G1)

In the 3rd to 4th century imitations of Kanishka I gold dinars were made in the east Bengal kingdom of Samatata. The weight standard of these imitations was *c.* 6.7g. Both obverse and reverse are poorly executed copies of Kanishka I's coin designs, with added symbols and altered attributes. The inscriptions are either blundered Bactrian or an unidentified script. The reverses feature blundered images of Nana (2) and Ardochsho (7), often confusing their attributes. During the 4th century these imitations were replaced by imitations of Gupta gold coins, which retained some aspects of the Kushan style reverses.



776: D-imit.G1-i 1d (1a)



777: D-imit.G1-i 1d (1b)

077 D-imit.G1-i 1d Samatata, Eastern Bengal, gold dinars

Imitations of Kanishka (D-imit) issued in Bengal (G1) first and only phase (i) dinars (1d) on a reduced standard, *c.* 6.7g. The coinage of Samatata is treated in full elsewhere (Mitchiner 2004: 1240–47; Rhodes 2016; Bose & Nasir 2016: 142–84). The Museum has only two Kushan-style examples, both illustrated here.

Obverse: Standing King based on coins of Kanishka I.

1A king, simplified version of standing king, but holding trident in raised left hand and dropping offering with extended right hand onto absent altar. Inscription in corrupt Bactrian (from 1.00).

1B king, simplified version of standing king, but holding trident in raised left hand and srivatsa symbol before face. Inscription in unidentified script (from 1.00).

Reverses: Standing goddess based on elements of Ardochsho and Nana types of Kanishka I.

1a reverse goddess facing right, holding a cornucopia (attribute of Ardochsho) in right hand and bowl (attribute of Nana) in left hand, Kushan tamga in right field. Inscription in corrupt Bactrian (left field).

1b goddess facing right, holding wand tipped with lion forepart in right hand and bowl in left hand (attributes of Nana), Kushan tamga in right field. Inscription in unidentified script (left field).

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
0776*	297339	1999,0609.1	6.72	21	-	1A	1a
0777*	297340	1898,1102.1	6.64	21	-	1B	1b

Main copper mint, probably at Begram (D.C1)

The majority of Kanishka's copper coins were made at this mint. Its products circulated throughout Kushan territory. The mint issued four denominations, tetradrachm unit (*c.* 17g), didrachm half units (*c.* 8.5g), drachm quarter units (*c.* 4.25g) and hemidrachm eighth units (*c.* 2.1g), but only the tetradrachms and didrachms were issued in quantity. All its products feature an image of the king, normally a standing figure, on the obverse and a deity on the reverse: Athsho (1), Mao (2), Miiro (3), Nana and Nanashao (4), Oado (5), Oesho (6) and the historical Buddha Sakyamuni (14) and the future Buddha Maitreya (15). Their inscriptions are in Greek or in Bactrian (written in Greek script). The coinage was produced in three phases distinguished by their use of Greek or Bactrian inscriptions, the denominations issued, details of their obverse portraits and the deities featured. Three miscellaneous coin types seem to be occasional issues of the main mint, but cannot be located within the main phases.

Phase 1 production consists of only didrachms with Greek inscriptions. They show the king standing wearing two different headdresses: Iranian cap or a crescent. Their reverses feature the deities: Miiro (2) and Nana (4), with their Greek names ΗΛΙΟΣ and ΝΑΝΑΙΑ.

Phase 2 production is more extensive than phase 1 and includes tetradrachms and didrachms, all with inscriptions in Bactrian. The king is shown in the same way as on phase 1 coins, but his crescent headdress is dropped soon after the phase begins. The reverses feature the following deities: Athsho (1), Mao (2), Miiro (3), Nana (4), Oado (5) and Oesho (6). The didrachms are scarce and appear to have only been issued early in this phase.

Phase 3 production mostly consists of tetradrachms and a few rare drachms, but towards the end of the phase there is a special issue which includes tetradrachms, didrachms and drachms with Buddha images. All issues are inscribed in Bactrian and are distinguished from phase 2 issues by the king's headdress, now a tall cap with a laddered brim. The main issue of the phase features the following deities: Athsho (1), Mao (2), Miiro (3), Oado (5) and Oesho (6). The Buddha issues feature two designs: the historical Buddha Sakyamuni (14) on tetradrachms, didrachms and drachms and the future Buddha Maitreya (15) only on tetradrachms.

Miscellaneous issues associated with this mint depart from the regular designs. Misc-i has two denominations, drachm and hemidrachm, with king's bust obverse with inscription in Bactrian. The bust type suggests an association with phases 1 and 2 quarter dinars of the main gold mint (D.G1-i and ii). Two deities are featured on their reverses: Athsho (1) and Nana (4). Misc-ii consists of drachms with a design reminiscent of the regular issues of Wima Kadphises' copper mint (C.C1), featuring the king standing between a club and trident. This suggests they were issued early in the reign. All examples have the same deity on the reverse: Nanashao (4). Misc-iii has two denominations, drachm and hemidrachm, with the same standing king obverse type as phase 2 tetradrachms (D.C1-ii), but have the longer inscription: ÞΑΟΝΑΝΟ ÞΑΟ ΚΑΝΗÞΚΙ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ, (King of Kings Kanishka Kushan) as used on Kanishka's gold coins. The only drachm recorded has Oesho (6) on its reverse. The hemidrachm has Nanashao (4) on its reverse.

078 D.C1-i ½u Main copper mint phase 1 didrachms, Greek inscriptions

Göbl 1984: 766–7

Kanishka (D), main copper mint (C1), first phase (i), copper didrachms (½u), *c.* 8.5g, with Greek inscriptions, standing king with Iranian cap or crescent.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, bearded, wearing Iranian cap or crescent, diadem with two ribbons, knee-length tunic held by belt with double buckle at waist, trousers and boots, all under a cloak over both shoulders with pointed extensions from shoulders and tied on chest with double clasp, long sword with curved hilt in scabbard, suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, holding spear in raised left hand and making offering with extended right hand over small altar. Altar with slab above and below central column, which is marked with two lines. Dotted border below king's feet, in gap in inscription. Inscription clockwise from 1.00: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙ-ΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΝΗÞΚΟΥ (King of Kings Kanishka).

1A king wearing Iranian cap with peak, dot on side and dot on top.

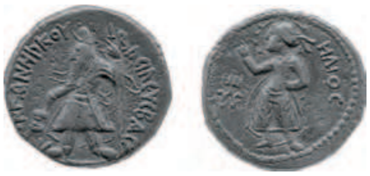
2A king wearing crescent on front of diadem.

Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, within dotted border. Inscription in Greek: deity's name in field.

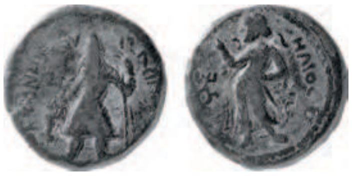
3a Miiro, sun god standing frontally, with head to left surrounded by radiating halo, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist, boots, all under long cloak tied on chest with clasp, sword in scabbard suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, making two fingers gesture with extended right hand, holding hilt of sword with left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΗΛΙΟΣ.

4a Nana, moon goddess, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with crescent on top, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind and hair bun at back, earring, sleeved ankle-length gown and shawl around waist and draped over left forearm, holding wand tipped with lion-forepart in right hand, and bowl in left hand at waist, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): ΝΑΝΑΙΑ.

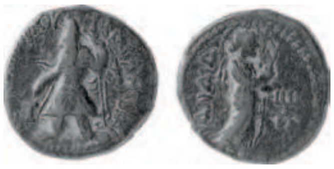
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
0778*	221980	1922,0424.2982	8.45	22	1A	3a
0779	300004	1844,0916.4	8.36	22	1A	3a
0780	300005	1894,0506.1419	7.77	21	1A	3a
0781	300006	1889,0105.1133	8.08	21	1A	3a
0782*	300007	OR.9030	8.16	22	1A	3a
0783	300008	1843,0718.6	7.82	21	1A	3a
0784	300009	1894,0506.1417	8.32	23	1A	3a
0785	300010	1894,0506.1416	8.18	21	1A	3a
0786*	300011	1894,0506.1443	8.39	21	1A	4a
0787	300012	1894,0506.1444	7.98	22	1A	4a
0788*	280333	IOC.286	8.54	22	1A	4a
0789	300013	1847,1201.187	8.37	21	1A	4a
0790	300014	1889,0105.1135	8.22	21	1A	4a



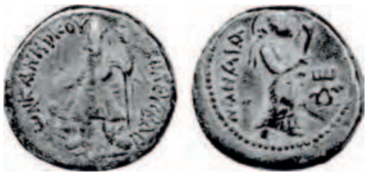
778; D.C1-i ½u (1A/3a)



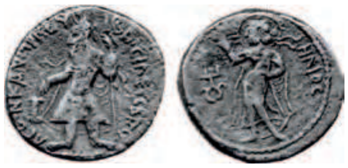
782: D.C1-i ½u (1A/3a)



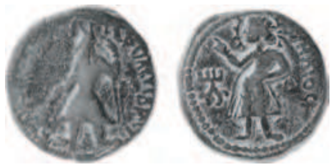
786: D.C1-i ½u (1A/4a)



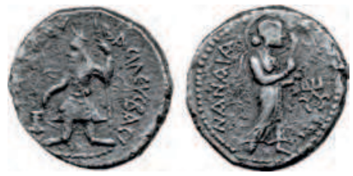
788: D.C1-i ½u (1A/4a)

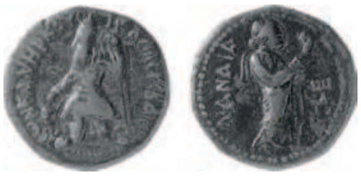


798: D.C1-i ½u (2A/3a)

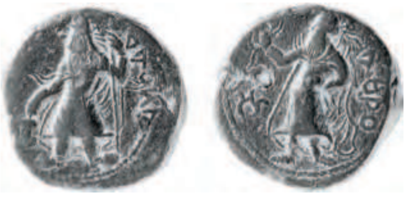


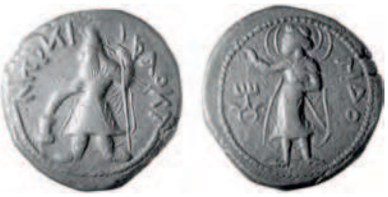
800: D.C1-i ½u (2A/3a)

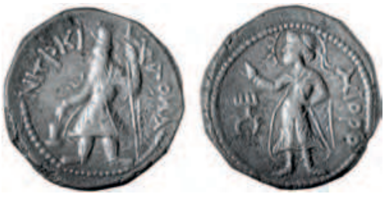

804: D.C1-i ½u (2A/4a)

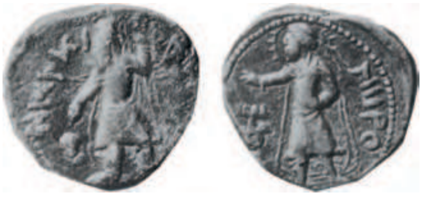

805: D.C1-i ½u (2A/4a)

0791	300015	1920,0421.6	8.31	21	1A	4a
0792	280322	IOC.284	7.80	22	1A	4a
0793	300016	1894,0506.1445	8.02	21	1A	4a
0794	300017	1894,0506.1446	8.51	22	1A	4a
0795	300018	1894,0506.1449	8.37	21	1A	4a
0796	300019	1894,0506.1418	8.15	21	1A	4a
0797	300032	OR.321	8.08	22	1A	4a
0798*	190616	IOC.283	7.74	21	2A	3a
0799	300020	OR.9031	8.34	21	2A	3a
0800*	300021	1894,0506.1420	8.20	21	2A	3a
0801	300022	1894,0506.1432	7.72	22	2A	3a
0802	300023	1855,0608.22	8.19	23	2A	3a
0803	300024	1889,0105.1134	7.15	21	2A	3a
0804*	190628	IOC.285	8.44	22	2A	4a
0805*	300025	1846,1027.6	8.44	22	2A	4a
0806	300026	1894,0506.1447	8.13	21	2A	4a
0807	300027	1922,0424. 2978	8.67	22	2A	4a
0808	300029	1847,1201.177	7.81	21	?	3a
0809	300297	1835,BUR.77	7.50	22	?	3a
0810	300031	OR.320	8.27	22	?	4a
0811	300030	1981,0324.2	7.57	21	?	4a
0812	300028	1889,0105.1159	7.42	21	?	4a


813: D.C1-ii 1u (1A/1a)


A: D.C1-ii 1u (1A/2a)


B: D.C1-ii 1u (1A/3a)


C: D.C1-ii 1u (1A/3b)

079 D.C1-ii 1u Main copper mint phase 2 tetradrachms, Bactrian inscriptions

Göbl 1984: 768, 770, 772, 774, 776, 777, 781 and 783
Kanishka (D), main copper mint (C1), second phase (ii), copper tetradrachms (1u) *c.* 17g with Bactrian inscription in Bactrian, standing king with Iranian cap or crescent.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, bearded, wearing Iranian cap or crescent, diadem with two ribbons, knee-length tunic held by belt with double buckle at waist, trousers and boots, all under a cloak over both shoulders with pointed extensions from shoulders and tied on chest with double clasp, long sword with curved hilt in scabbard, suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, holding spear in raised left hand and making offering with extended right hand over small altar. Altar with slab above and below central column, which is marked with two lines. Dotted border below king's feet, in gap in inscription. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00): ÞAO KA-NHÞKI (King Kanishka).

1A king wearing Iranian cap with peak, dot on side and dot on top.

2A king wearing crescent on front of diadem.

Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, all contained in dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian: deity's name in field.

1a Athsho, fire god, standing frontally, with head to left, bearded, flames emanating from shoulders, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist under cloak tied on chest, holding tongs in left hand on chest and offering diadem in extended right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΑΘÞΟ.

2b Mao, moon god, standing frontally, with head to left flanked by crescent emanating from shoulders, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, all under cloak tied on chest with double clasp, sword in scabbard suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, making two fingers gesture with extended right hand, holding hilt of sword with left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MAO.

3b Miiro, sun god standing frontally, with head to left surrounded by radiating halo, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist, boots, all under long cloak tied on chest with clasp, sword in scabbard suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, making two fingers gesture with extended right hand, holding hilt of sword with left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MIOPO

3c as 3b, but inscription MIIPO.

4b Nana, moon goddess, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with crescent on top, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind and hair bun at back, earring, sleeved ankle-length gown and shawl around waist and draped over left forearm, holding wand tipped with lion-forepart in right hand, and bowl in left hand at waist, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): NANA.

4c as 4b, but inscription anticlockwise.

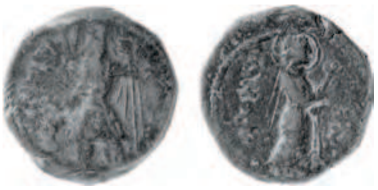
5a Oado, wind god running to left, with head to left, bearded and with wind-blown hair, wearing thigh-length dhoti, holding large cloak in both raised hands above head and dropping to feet, tamga in left field. Inscription: clockwise in right field: OAΔO.

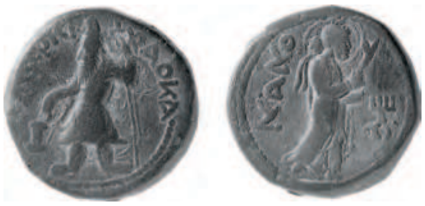
6a Oesho, mountain god, four armed standing frontally head to left surrounded by halo, with erect linga, wearing hair hanging down from small top-knot, with moustache, calf-length dhoti and string of beads across chest from left shoulder and armlets and bracelets on each arm, holding trident vertically in upper left hand, water pot in lower left hand at waist, thunderbolt in upper right hand and offering diadem with extended lower right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): OHÞO.

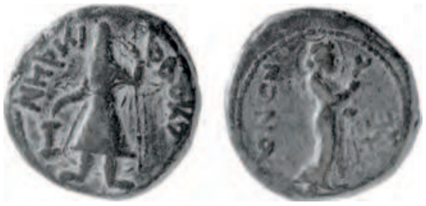
6b as 6a, but with linga-shaped top-knot.

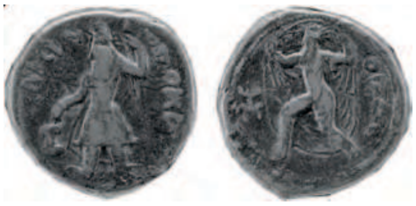
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
0813*	300036	1922,0424.3610	15.43	25	1A	1a
0814	300037	1894,0506.1439	17.00	26	1A	1a
0815	300038	1835,0901.10	16.89	26	1A	1a
A*	Bern; Göbl 1993a: 156		17.17	25	1A	2a
0816	300049	1894,0506.1428	17.11	24	1A	2a
0817	300050	OR.9032	16.76	26	1A	2a
0818	300059	1835,0901.11	16.62	25	1A	3a
0819	300061	1922,0424.4554	16.26	26	1A	3a
0820	300060	1894,0506.1436	16.02	27	1A	3a
B*	Berne DB151, 88_0054		16.94	25	1A	3a
0821	190619	1838,EIC.93	16.86	27	1A	3b
C*	Ashmolean; Göbl 1984: 768/2		17.31		1A	3b
0822*	300073	1894,0506.1441	17.51	24	1A	4b
0823	300066	1853,0301.1341	17.27	24	1A	4b
0824*	300072	1989,0904.4013	16.85	26	1A	4b
0825*	300068	1922,0424.4556	16.79	26	1A	4c
0826	300078	1894,0506.1422	16.94	25	1A	5a
0827	25365	1979,0215.31	15.80	27	1A	5a
0828	300079	1922,0424.2977	16.39	26	1A	5a
0829*	222639	IOC.299	17.51	26	1A	5a
0830	300080	1922,0424.3607	16.61	24	1A	5a
0831	300085	1989,0904.4011	15.55	26.5	1A	5a
0832*	300094	1894.0506.1454	17.12	25	1A	6a
0833	300090	1989,0904.4012	16.58	26	1A	6b
0834*	300096	1894,0506.1455	16.77	26	1A	6b
0835	300098	IOC.300	16.91	25	1A	6b
D*	Ashmolean (de Shortt no. 22)†		17.27	28	1B	3b
E*	Tandon 2011: fig. 6b		-	-	1B	4b

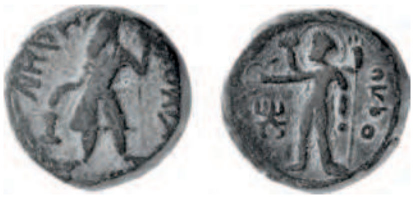
† This coin was collected in Rawalpindi

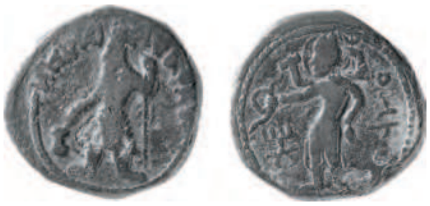

822: D.C1-ii 1u (1A/4b)

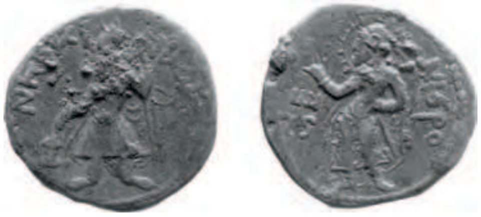

824: D.C1-ii 1u (1A/4b)

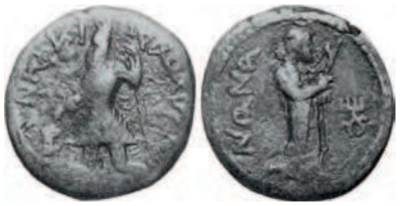

825: D.C1-ii 1u (1A/4c)

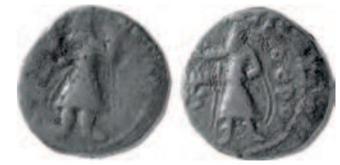

829: D.C1-ii 1u (1A/5a)

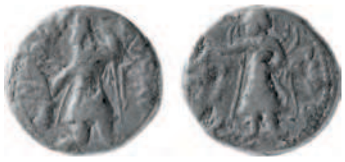

832: D.C1-ii 1u (1A/6a)

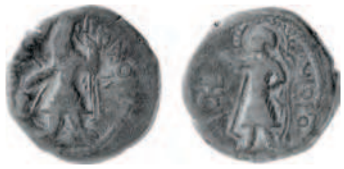

834: D.C1-ii 1u (1A/6b)

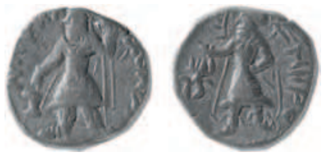

D: D.C1-ii 1u (1B/3b)

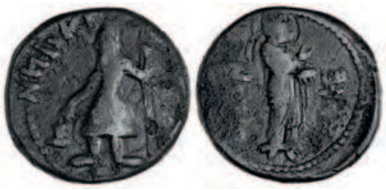

E: D.C1-ii 1u (1B/4b)

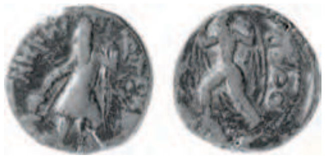

836: D.C1-ii ½u (1a)

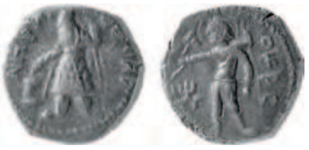

837: D.C1-ii ½u (2a)


839: D.C1-ii ½u (3b)


841: D.C1-ii ½u (3c)


A: D.C1-ii ½u (4c)


843: D.C1-ii ½u (5a)


848: D.C1-ii ½u (6a)

080 D.C1-ii ½u Main copper mint phase 2 didrachms, Bactrian

Göbl 1984: 769, 771, 773, 775, 778, 782 and 784

Kanishka (D), main copper mint (C1), second phase (ii), copper didrachms (½u), *c.* 8.5g, with Bactrian inscription, standing king with Iranian cap.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, bearded, wearing Iranian cap with peak, dot on side and dot on top, diadem with two ribbons, knee-length tunic held by belt with double buckle at waist, trousers and boots, all under a cloak over both shoulders with pointed extensions from shoulders and tied on chest with double clasp, long sword with curved hilt in scabbard, suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, holding spear in raised left hand and making offering with extended right hand over small altar. Altar with slab above and below central column, which is marked with two lines. Dotted border below king's feet, in gap in inscription. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00): ÞAO KA-NHÞKI (King Kanishka)

Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, all contained in dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian: deity's name in field, same designs as D.C1-ii 1u.

1a Athsho, fire god, standing frontally, with head to left, bearded, flames emanating from shoulders, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist under cloak tied on chest, holding tongs in left hand on chest and offering diadem in extended right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): AΘÞO.

2a Mao, moon god, standing frontally, with head to left flanked by crescent emanating from shoulders, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, all under cloak tied on chest with double clasp, sword in scabbard suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, making two fingers gesture with extended right hand, holding hilt of sword with left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MAO.

3b Miiro, sun god standing frontally, with head to left surrounded by radiating halo, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist, boots, all under long cloak tied on chest with clasp, sword in scabbard suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, making two fingers gesture with extended right hand, holding hilt of sword with left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MIOPO.

3c as 3b, but inscription MIIPO.

4c Nana, moon goddess, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with crescent on top, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind and hair bun at back, earring, sleeved ankle-length gown and shawl around waist and draped over left forearm, holding wand tipped with lion-forepart in right hand, and bowl in left hand at waist, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (anticlockwise in left field): NANA.

5a Oado, wind god running to left, with head to left, bearded and with wind-blown hair, wearing thigh-length dhoti, holding large cloak in both raised hands above head and dropping to feet, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): OAΔO.

6a Oesho, mountain god, four armed standing frontally head to left surrounded by halo, with erect linga, wearing hair hanging down from small top-knot, with moustache, calf-length dhoti and string of beads across chest from left shoulder and armlets and bracelets on each arm, holding trident vertically in upper left hand, water pot in lower left hand at waist, thunderbolt in upper right hand and offering diadem with extended lower right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): OHÞO.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Rev.
0836*†	300102	1922,0424.4558	8.80	20	1a
0837*	300111	1894,0506.1421	8.06	20	2a
0838	300112	OR.331	8.69	21	2a
0839*	300108	1894,0506.1438	8.88	21	3b
0840	300109	1847,1201.192	8.59	20	3b
0841*	300110	1849,1107.62	8.34	19	3c

0842	280328	1838,EIC.95	7.26	22	3c
A*	ANS (1944.100.63636)		8.14	22	4c
0843*	300106	1894,0506.1424	8.71	20	5a
0844	300107	1847,1201.200	8.11	20	5a
0845	300114	1847,1201.183	8.59	19	6a
0846	300115	1894,0506.1456	8.48	20	6a
0847	300116	1922,0424.3605	8.79	20	6a
0848*	300117	IOC.301	8.74	19	6a
0849	301062	1843,0718.5	8.51	20	6a

† Overstruck on a coin of Soter Megas

081 D.C1-iii 1u Main copper mint phase 3 tetradrachms, Bactrian

Göbl 1984: 768, 770, 772, 774, 781, 783, 785–6, 790–3
Cribb 2000
Kanishka (D), main copper mint (C1), third phase (iii), copper tetradrachms (1u), *c.* 17g, with Bactrian inscription, standing king with brimmed cap.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, bearded (but occasionally beardless with long sideburns, particularly on the coins with Buddhist reverses; Ch. 3 §D.3), wearing cap with laddered brim, diadem with two ribbons, knee-length tunic held by belt with double buckle at waist, trousers and boots, all under a cloak over both shoulders with pointed extensions from shoulders and tied on chest with double clasp, long sword with curved hilt in scabbard, suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, holding spear in raised left hand and making offering with extended right hand over small altar. Altar with slab above and below central column, which is marked with two lines (some dies have flames visible on top of altar). Dotted border below king's feet, in gap in inscription. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00): ÞAO KA-NHÞKI (King Kanishka).

Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, within dotted border. Inscription: name of deity in Bactrian, types as D.C1-ii 1u and additional.

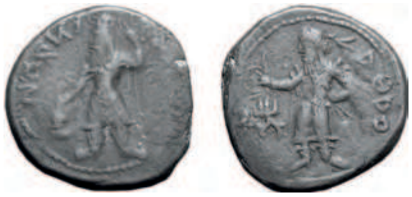
1a Athsho, fire god, standing frontally, with head to left, bearded, flames emanating from shoulders, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist under cloak tied on chest, holding tongs in left hand on chest and offering diadem in extended right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΑΘÞΟ.

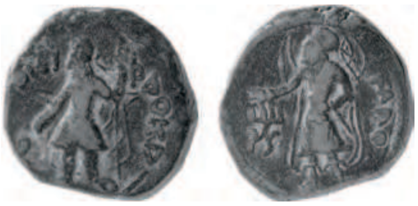
2a Mao, moon god, standing frontally, with head to left flanked by crescent emanating from shoulders, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, all under cloak tied on chest with double clasp, sword in scabbard suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, making two fingers gesture with extended right hand, holding hilt of sword with left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΜΑΟ.

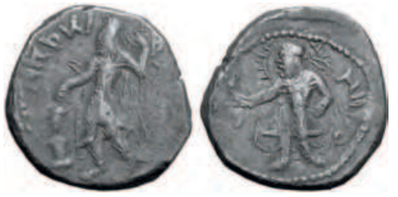
3c Miiro, sun god standing frontally, with head to left surrounded by radiating halo, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist, boots, all under long cloak tied on chest with clasp, sword in scabbard suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, making two fingers gesture with extended right hand, holding hilt of sword with left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΜΙΙΡΟ.

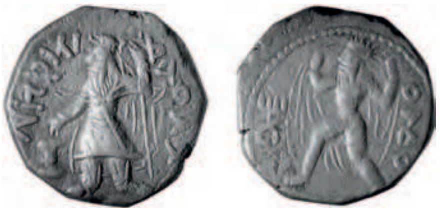
5a Oado, wind god running to left, with head to left, bearded and with wind-blown hair, wearing thigh-length dhoti, holding large cloak in both raised hands above head and dropping to feet, tamga in left field. Inscription: clockwise in right field: ΟΑΔΟ.

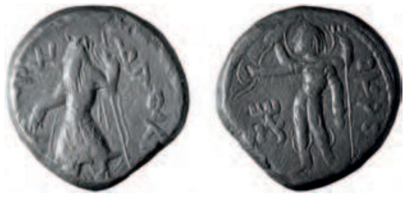
6a Oesho, mountain god, four armed standing frontally head to left surrounded by halo, with erect linga, wearing hair hanging down from small top-knot, with moustache, calf-length dhoti and string of beads across chest from left shoulder and armlets and bracelets on each arm,

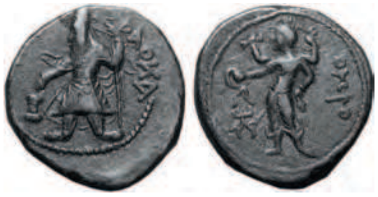

A: D.C1-iii 1u (1a)

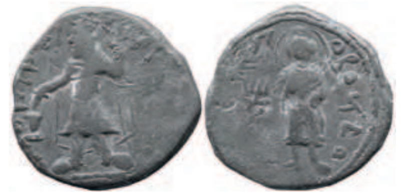

850: D.C1-iii 1u (2a)


B: D.C1-iii 1u (3c)

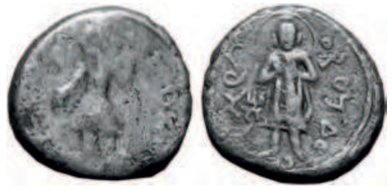

C: D.C1-iii 1u (5a)


D: D.C1-iii 1u (6a)

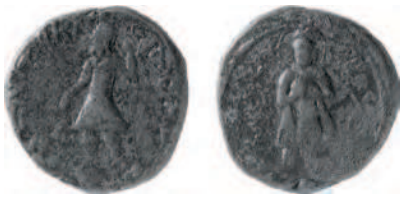

E: D.C1-iii 1u (6c)



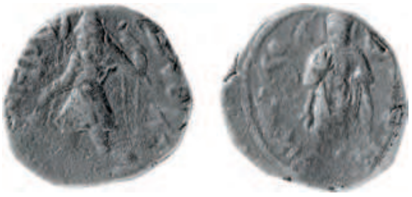
F: D.C1-iii 1u (14a)



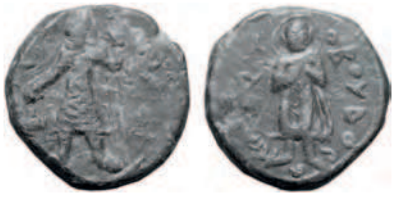
G: D.C1-iii 1u (14b)



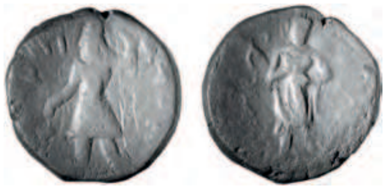
859: D.C1-iii 1u (14c)



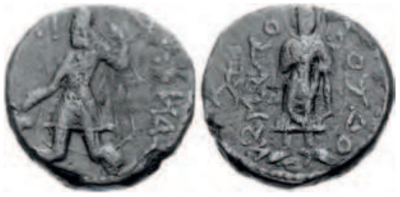
860: D.C1-iii 1u (14d)



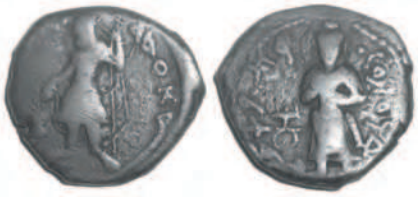
H: D.C1-iii 1u (14e)



I: D.C1-iii 1u (14f)



J: D.C1-iii 1u (14g)



K: D.C1-iii 1u (14h)

holding trident vertically in upper left hand, water pot in lower left hand at waist, thunderbolt in upper right hand and offering diadem with extended lower right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΟΗÞΟ.

6c as 6a, but god holding trident diagonally across chest.

Buddha images: Kanishka's Buddha coins, featuring both a standing (Shakyamuni 14a-n) and seated (Maitreya 15a-g) Buddha, exhibit a wide variation in the arrangement of their inscriptions. The varieties are listed here, but a discussion of their designs can be found in Ch.3 §D.4 and Ch.2 §5.D.5.1.

14a Sakamano Boudo, Shakyamuni Buddha, standing frontally with head to front surrounded by halo, lengthened ears, hair in top-knot, Wearing three part monastic robes (calf-length garment tied at waist, thigh-length tunic, all covered by large cloak over both shoulders and held in left hand), making gesture of reassurance with open right hand before chest, tamga in left field inside inscription. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 7.00): ΣΑΚΑΜΑΝ-Ο ΒΟΥΔΟ (Cribb 2000: die 4).

14b as 14a, but left hand held above waist and inscription from 6.00: ΣΑ-ΚΑΜΑΝ-Ο ΒΟΥΔΟ (Cribb 2000: die 5).

14c as 14a, but left hand held above waist and inscription from 5.00: Σ-Α-ΚΑΜΑΝ-Ο ΒΟΥΔΟ (Cribb 2000: die 8).

14d as 14a, but left hand held at waist and inscription from 5.00: Σ-Α-ΚΑΜΑΝ-Ο ΒΟΥΔΟ (Cribb 2000: die 10).

14e as 14a, but left hand held above waist, tamga outside inscription in left field and inscription from 5.00: Σ-Α-ΚΑΜΑΝΟ- ΒΟΥΔΟ (Cribb 2000: die 6).

14f as 14a, but left hand held at waist, tamga outside inscription in left field and inscription from 6.00: Σ-ΑΚΑΜΑΝΟ- ΒΟΥΔΟ (Cribb 2000: die 7).

14g as 14a, but left hand held at waist, tamga outside inscription in left field and inscription from 6.00 to 5.00: ΣΑ-ΚΑΜΑΝΟ- ΒΟΥΔΟ (die not previously recorded).

14h as 14a, but left hand held at waist and inscription from 7.00: ΣΑΚΑΜΑ-ΝΟ ΒΟΥΔΟ (Cribb 2000: die 9).

14i as 14a, but left hand held at waist and inscription from 7.00: ΣΑΚΑΜΑ-ΝΟ ΒΟΥΔΟ, Σ reversed (Cribb 2000: die 15).

14j as 14a, but left hand held at waist and inscription from 7.00: ΣΑΚΑΜΑ-ΝΟ ΒΟΥΟΔ (sic) (Cribb 2000: die 16).

14k as 14a, but left hand held above waist and inscription from 1.00: ΣΑΚΑΜΑ-Ν-Ο ΒΟΥΔΟ (Cribb 2000: die 12).

14l as 14a, but rayed halo, hand held above waist, tamga outside inscription in left field and inscription anticlockwise from 11.00: ΣΑΚΑΜΑ-ΝΟ ΒΟΥΔΟ (Cribb 2000: die 11).

14m as 14a, but curved torso (right hip thrust out), hand held at waistand inscription anticlockwise from 10.00: ΣΑΚΑΜΑ-ΝΟ ΒΟΥΔΟ (Cribb 2000: die 13).

14n as 14a, but hand held at waist and inscription anticlockwise from 10.00: ΑΚΑΜΑ-ΝΟ ΒΟΥΔΟ (sic) (Cribb 2000: die 14).

15a Metrago Boudo, Maitreya Buddha seated frontally cross-legged on low throne, head to front surrounded by halo, wearing earrings, armlets and bracelets, two part princely robes (calf-length garment tied at waist, scarf over shoulders and wrapped around left arm), making gesture of reassurance with open right hand before chest, holding water pot in left hand resting on thigh. Throne covered in striped cloth and with curved feet, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 5.00): ΜΗ-ΤΡΑΓΟ Β-ΟΥΔΟ (Cribb 2000: die 20).

15b as 15a, but hair dressed in top-knot and no tamga (Cribb 2000: die 21).

15c as 15b, but inscription from 5.00: ΜΗΤ-ΡΑΓΟ Β-ΟΥΔΟ (die not previously recorded).

15d as 15a, but hair dressed in top knot, left hand at hip and inscription from 6.00 Μ-ΗΤΡΑΓ-Ο ΒΟΥΔΟ (Cribb 2000: dies 24 and 26).

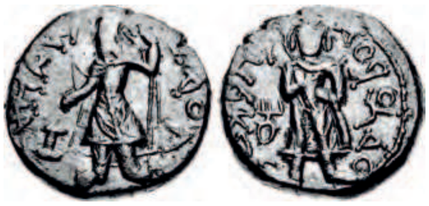
15e as 15a, but hair dressed in top-knot, left hand at hip, throne with rounded feet and inscription from 1.00: ΜΗΤΡΑΓΟ- ΒΟΥΔ-Ο (Cribb 2000: die 25).

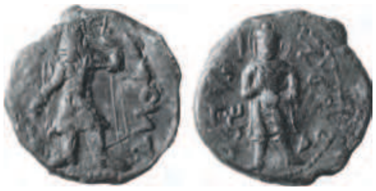
15f as 15a, but no tamga and inscription anticlockwise from 11.00: ΜΗΤ-ΡΑ-ΓΟ- ΒΟΥΔ (sic) (Cribb 2000: die 22).

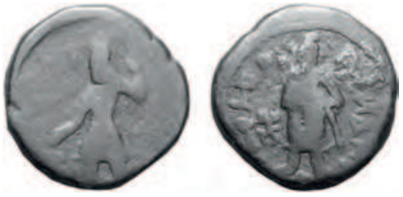
15g as 15a, but hair dressed in small top-knot, tamga (badly drawn) in right field and inscription anticlockwise from 6.00: ΜΗΤΡΑ[Γ]Ο-ΒΟΥΔΟ (some letters reversed and Γ disappearing into side of Buddha's head) (Cribb 2000: die 23).

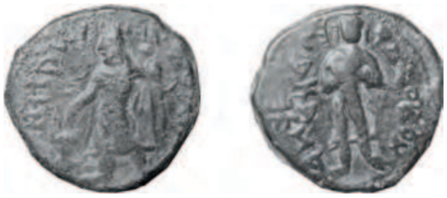
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Rev.
A*	Private collection B		-	-	1a
0850*	300046	1894,0506.1427	16.89	26	2a
0851	300047	1894,0506.1426	16.33	26	2a
0852	300048	1844,0921.27	16.09	26	2a
0853	300051	OR.9033	15.91	26	2a
0854	300063	1847,1201.191	16.86	24	3c
0855	300053	1894,0506.1437	17.83	25	3c
B†	Private collection B		-	-	3c
C*	Bern; Göbl 1993a: 168		18.24	27	5a
D*	Bern; Göbl 1993a: 164		18.27	25	6a
0856	204316	OR.7190	15.27	24	6a
0857	300091	1894,0506.1453	16.94	25	6a
0858	300095	OR.329	15.91	24	6a
E*	Private collection B		-	-	6c
F†	Fitzwilliam (T227 (1918))		16.53	-	14a
G†	Private collection B		-	-	14b
0859†	300045	1844,0921.29	16.82	25	14c
0860†	300044	1922,0424.3585	15.07	25	14d
H†	Private collection B		-	-	14e
I†	Bern; Göbl 1993a: 175		17.01	24	14f
J†	CNG Sale 78, 14/5/2008:1051		16.39	-	14g
K†	Shown to authors A		16.6	-	14h
L†	CNG Triton XV, 12/01/2003: 1370		16.59	26	14i
M†	Cribb, 1999/2000: 43		-	24	14j
N†	Private collection B		-	-	14k
O†	Ashmolean (Kreitman 188d)		18.84	-	14l
P†	Hess Divo 317, 27/10/2010: 297		16.90		14m
Q†	248387	IOLC.2739	16.04	26	14n
0860.1†	300040	1922,0424.3608	16.39	25	15a
R†	Ashmolean (Kreitman 189a)		17.35	-	15a
S†	Berlin (Prokesch-Osten 1875: 18206899)		16.58	26	15b
T†	CNG e-auction 126, 9/11/2005: 120		17.29	25	15c
0860.2†	300043	OR.323	17.26	25	15d
0861†	300042	1894,0506.1458	14.58	23	15d
0862†	228588	2000,0509.1	15.96	24	15d
U†	Bern (88.56); Göbl 1993a: 178		17.16	25	15e
0863†	300041	1894,0506.1457	16.08	25	15f
V†	Ashmolean (Kreitman 226)		17.23	-	15g

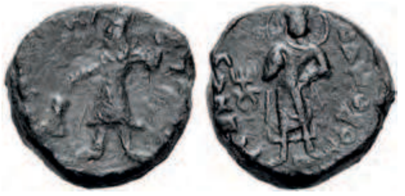
† These coins have beardless portraits

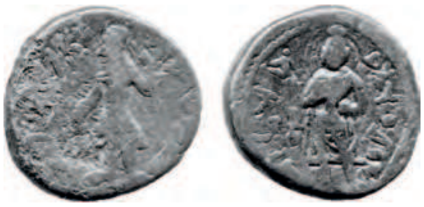

L: D.C1-iii 1u (14i)

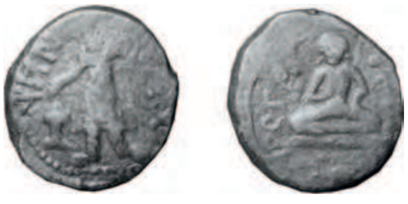

M: D.C1-iii 1u (14j)

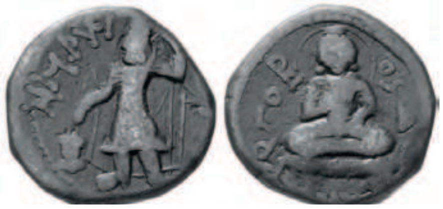

N: D.C1-iii 1u (14k)

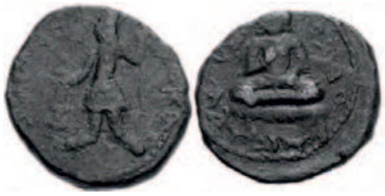

O: D.C1-iii 1u (14l)


P: D.C1-iii 1u (14m)

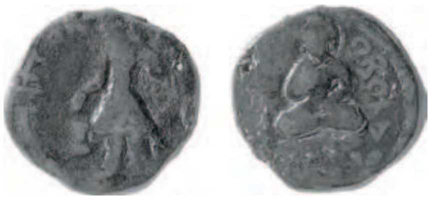

Q: D.C1-iii 1u (14n)


R: D.C1-iii 1u (15a)

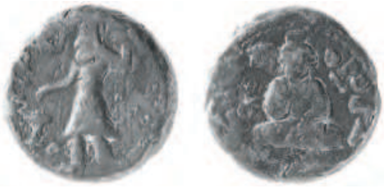

S: D.C1-iii 1u (15b)



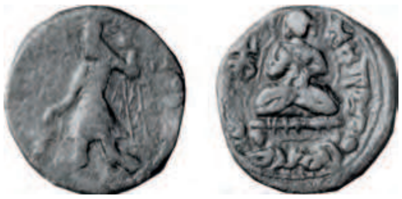
T: D.C1-iii 1u (15c)



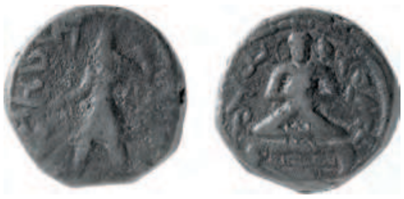
861: D.C1-iii 1u (15d)



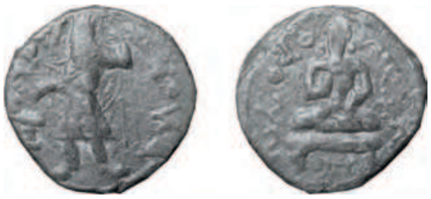
862: D.C1-iii 1u (15d)



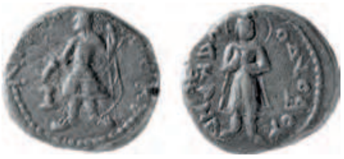
U: D.C1-iii 1u (15e)



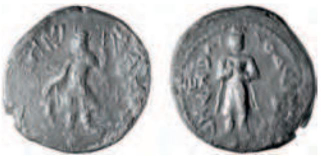
863: D.C1-iii 1u (15f)



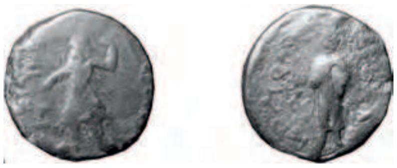
V: D.C1-iii 1u (15g)



865: D.C1-iii ½u (14o)



A: D.C1-iii ½u (14o)



B: D.C1-iii ½u (14p)

082 D.C1-iii ½u Main copper mint phase 3 didrachms, Buddha types

Göbl 1984: 787
Cribb 2000
Kanishka (D), main copper mint (C1), third phase (iii), copper didrachms (½u), *c.* 8.5g with Bactrian inscription, standing king with brimmed cap.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, beardless, with sideburns, wearing cap with laddered brim, diadem with two ribbons, knee-length tunic held by belt with double buckle at waist, trousers and boots, all under a cloak over both shoulders with pointed extensions from shoulders and tied on chest with double clasp, long sword with curved hilt in scabbard, suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, holding spear in raised left hand and making offering with extended right hand over small altar. Altar with slab above and below central column, which is marked with two lines. Dotted border below king's feet, in gap in inscription. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00): ÞAO KANHÞKI (King Kanishka).

Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, all contained in dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian: deity's name in field, types as D.C1-iii 1u.

14o Sakamano Boudo, Shakyamuni Buddha, standing frontally with head to front surrounded by halo, lengthened ears, hair in top-knot, wearing calf-length robe with shawl around shoulders and hanging from left arm, left hand resting at waist, making gesture of reassurance with open right hand before chest, tamga in left field outside inscription. Inscription anticlockwise from 11.00: ΣΑΚΑΜΑ-ΝΟ ΒΟΥΔΟ (Cribb 2000: die 17).

14p as 14o, but inscription from 10.00: ΣΑΚΑΜ-ΑΝΟ ΒΟΥΔΟ (unrecorded die).

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Rev.
0864	190617	IOC.296	8.25	22	14o
0865*	300103	1847,1201.175	8.17	20	14o
0866	300104	1922,0424.3586	7.83	22	14o
0867	300105	1990,0520.1	7.13	21	14o
A*	Bern (88.69); Göbl 1993a: 176		7.73	22	14o
B*	Ashmolean (Kreitman 199g)		7.61	-	14p

083 D.C1-iii ¼u Main copper mint phase 3 drachms

Göbl 1984: 782A, 788

Kanishka (D), main copper mint (C1), third phase (iii), copper drachms (¼u), *c*. 4.25g. Bactrian nscription in field, standing king with brimmed cap.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, beardless, with sideburns, wearing cap with laddered brim, diadem with two ribbons, knee-length tunic held by belt with double buckle at waist, trousers and boots, all under a cloak over both shoulders with pointed extensions from shoulders and tied on chest with double clasp, long sword with curved hilt in scabbard, suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, holding spear in raised left hand and making offering with extended right hand over small altar. Altar with slab above and below central column, which is marked with two lines. Dotted border below king's feet, in gap in inscription. Inscription in Bactria (clockwise from 1.00): ÞAO KA-NHÞKI (King Kanishka).

Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, all contained in dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian with deity's name in field, the types are the same as D.C1-iii 1u.

2a Mao, moon god, standing frontally, with head to left flanked by crescent emanating from shoulders, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, all under cloak tied on chest with double clasp, sword in scabbard suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, making two fingers gesture with extended right hand, holding hilt of sword with left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MAO.

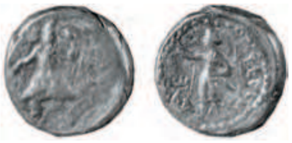
5a Oado, wind god running to left, with head to left, bearded and with wind-blown hair, wearing thigh-length dhoti, holding large cloak in both raised hands above head and dropping to feet, tamga in left field. Inscription: clockwise in right field: OAΔO.

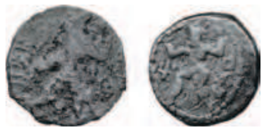
6a Oesho, mountain god, four armed standing frontally head to left surrounded by halo, with erect linga, wearing hair hanging down from small top-knot, with moustache, calf-length dhoti and string of beads across chest from left shoulder and armlets and bracelets on each arm, holding trident vertically in upper left hand, water pot in lower left hand at waist, thunderbolt in upper right hand and offering diadem with extended lower right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): OHÞO.

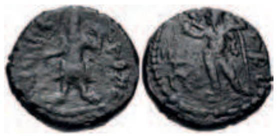
14q Sakamano Boudo, Shakyamuni Buddha, standing frontally with head to front surrounded by halo, lengthened ears, hair in top-knot, Wearing three part monastic robes (calf-length garment tied at waist, thigh-length tunic, all covered by large cloak over both shoulders and held in left hand), left hand at waist, making gesture of reassurance with open right hand before chest, no tamga. Inscription anti-clockwise from 10.00: ΣAK- within clockwise from 6.00 outside: A-MANO B-OYΔO (Cribb 2000, die 19).

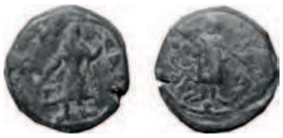
14r as 14q, but radiating halo, inscription clockwise from 2.00: ΣAK- within clockwise from 6.00: A-MANO –BOYΔO (Cribb 2000, die 18).

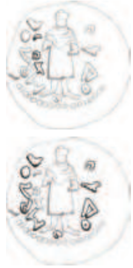
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Rev.
A*	Private collection Q		4.06	-	2a
B*	248618	IOLC.2969	3.39	16	5a
C*	CNG e-auction 226: 27/1/2010: 330		4.57	-	6a
D*	Ashmolean (Senior 5225)		3.81	-	14q
0868	300122	1994,0710.1	3.55	18	14q
0869	300120	1922,0424.3587	4.28	18	14r
0870*	300121	1922,0116.23	4.09	17	14r

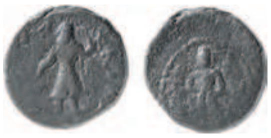

A: D.C1-iii ¼u (2a)

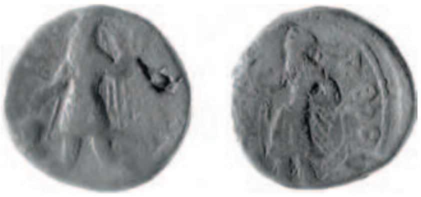

B: D.C1-iii ¼u (5a)


C: D.C1-iii ¼u (6a)

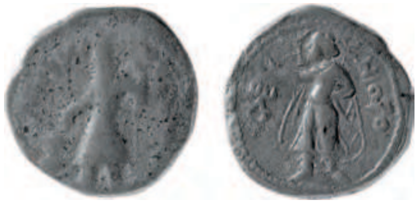

D: D.C1-iii ¼u (14q)


Coin D reverse with inscription elements ΣAK and A-MANO B-OYΔO highlighted

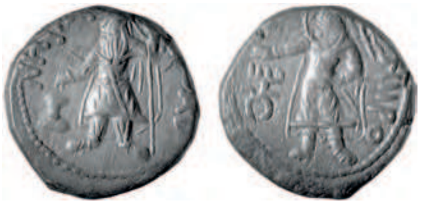

870: D.C1-iii ¼u (14r)



872: D.C1-ii 1u/D.C1-iii 1u (1a)



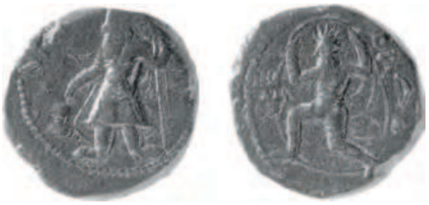
879: D.C1-ii 1u/D.C1-iii 1u (3b)



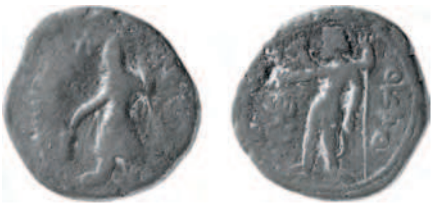
A: D.C1-ii 1u/D.C1-iii 1u (3c)

891: D.C1-ii 1u/D.C1-iii 1u (4b)

894: D.C1-ii 1u/D.C1-iii 1u (4c)



899: D.C1-ii 1u/D.C1-iii 1u (5a)



914: D.C1-ii 1u/D.C1-iii 1u (6a)

084 D.C1-ii 1u/D.C1-iii 1u Copper mint phase 3 tetradrachms, illegible

Kanishka (D), main copper mint (C1), second (ii) or third phase (iii), copper tetradrachms (1u) *c.* 17g with Bactrian inscriptions, standing king with unclear headdress. Copper coins of Kanishka I remained in circulation for a long period and are frequently too worn for the obverse design to be identified. These are examples in the British Museum (with one piece from Bern Museum in much better condition) that cannot be accurately assigned to one of the categories above because the obverse design is unclear or the distinguishing characteristics are off the edge of the flan.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, bearded, wearing unclear headdress, knee-length tunic held by belt with double buckle at waist, trousers and boots, all under a cloak over both shoulders with pointed extensions from shoulders and tied on chest with double clasp, long sword with curved hilt in scabbard, suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, holding spear in raised left hand and making offering with extended right hand over small altar. Altar with slab above and below central column, which is marked with two lines. Dotted border below king's feet, in gap in inscription. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00): ÞAO KA-NHÞKI (King Kanishka).

Reverses: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, all contained in dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian: deity's name in field as for D.C1-ii 1u and D.C1-iii 1u.

1a Athsho, fire god, standing frontally, with head to left, bearded, flames emanating from shoulders, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist under cloak tied on chest, holding tongs in left hand on chest and offering diadem in extended right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): AΘÞO.

2a Mao, moon god, standing frontally, with head to left flanked by crescent emanating from shoulders, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, all under cloak tied on chest with double clasp, sword in scabbard suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, making two fingers gesture with extended right hand, holding hilt of sword with left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MAO.

3b Miiro, sun god standing frontally, with head to left surrounded by radiating halo, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist, boots, all under long cloak tied on chest with clasp, sword in scabbard suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, making two fingers gesture with extended right hand, holding hilt of sword with left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MIOPO.

3c as 3b, but inscription MIIPO.

4b Nana, moon goddess, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with crescent on top, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind and hair bun at back, earring, sleeved ankle-length gown and shawl around waist and draped over left forearm, holding wand tipped with lion-forepart in right hand, and bowl in left hand at waist, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): NANA.

4c as 4b, but inscription anticlockwise.

5a Oado, wind god running to left, with head to left, bearded and with wind-blown hair, wearing thigh-length dhoti, holding large cloak in both raised hands above head and dropping to feet, tamga in left field. Inscription: clockwise in right field: OAΔO.

6a Oesho, mountain god, four armed standing frontally head to left surrounded by halo, with erect linga, wearing hair hanging down from small top-knot, with moustache, calf-length dhoti and string of beads across chest from left shoulder and armlets and bracelets on each arm, holding trident vertically in upper left hand, water pot in lower left hand at waist, thunderbolt in upper right hand and offering diadem with extended lower right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): OHÞO.

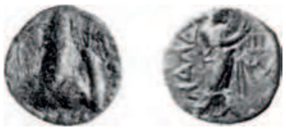
6b as 6a, but with linga-shaped top-knot.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Rev.
0871	25361	1979,0215.27	17.08	25	1a
0872*	25362	1979,0215.28	16.52	25	1a
0873†	300039	1847,1201.208	16.29	25	1a
0874	300288	1865,0810.19	14.62	25	1a
0875	300295	1889,0105.1141	14.66	23	1a
0876	300296	1889,0105.1142	15.72	24	1a
0877	301068	1838,EIC.94	16.39	26	1a
0878	300035	1922,0424.4555	14.98	25	1a
0879*	300058	1847,1201.194	16.84	26	3b
0880	300052	1889,0105.1138	16.69	24	3b
0881	204315	OR.7189	16.63	25	3b
0882	25358	1979,0215.25	16.15	26	3b
0883	300054	OR.274	17.15	25	3c
0884	25360	1979,0215.41	17.07	24	3c
A*	Bern (88.56); Göbl 1993a: 148		16.87	26	3c
0885	25359	1979,0215.26	16.18	25	3c
0886	300056	1928,0108.11	15.55	24	3c
0887	300062	1928,0108.13	15.51	25	3c
0888	300057	1928,0108.12	14.67	24	3c
0889	300521	1982,1117.30	14.62	26	3c
0890	300055	1895,0704.33	14.61	24	3c
0891*	300067	1933,0703.1	13.99	25	4b
0892	190618	IOC.297	16.86	26	4c
0893	300069	1850,0305.188	17.25	25	4c
0894*	300070	OR.325	15.49	23	4c
0895	300071	1928,0108.14	15.25	25	4c
0896	300074	1894,0506.1423	17.10	25	5a
0897	280327	1838,EIC.96	15.76	23	5a
0898	300076	1847,1201.199	16.44	24	5a
0899*	300077	OR.326	17.04	24	5a
0900	300081	1892,1008.182	17.17	26	5a
0901	300082	1928,0108.15	15.38	23	5a
0902	300083	1928,0108.16	15.86	25	5a
0903	300084	1996,1030.23	16.43	25	5a
0904	300301	1894,0507.1203	11.81	25	5a
0905	300305	1982,1117.29	15.80	24	5a
0906	300349	1895,0704.34	10.91	24	5a
0907	300293	1889,0105.1139	17.18	24	6a
0908	280335	OR.330	16.93	25	6a
0909	280321	1838,EIC.91	16.76	23	6a
0910	25363	1979,0215.29	16.55	25	6a
0911	25364	1979,0215.30	16.47	25	6a
0912	300089	1847,1201.185	16.22	27	6a
0913	280323	1838,EIC.92	16.13	24	6a
0914*	300093	1922,0424.4553	15.99	26	6a
0915	300092	OR.327	15.90	24	6a
0916	300101	1928,0108.18	15.51	26	6a
0917	300100	1928,0108.17	15.03	24	6a
0918	229196	OR.328	14.88	25	6a

† This coin is pierced

Main copper mint miscellaneous issues (D.C1-misc)

Issues, associated with the main mint (C1), but with non-standard features.



A: D.C1-misc-i 1u (4b)

085 D.C1-misc-i 1u main copper mint phase 2 drachms, bust type

Göbl 1984: 779
Zeymal 1967: 70, fig.16

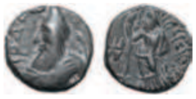
Kanishka I (D), main copper mint (C1), miscellaneous issue (misc) first phase (i) copper drachms (1u), *c.* 4.25g, with Bactrian inscriptions, bust of king wearing Iranian cap. The use of Bactrian (rather than Greek) with the bust type of the first quarter dinars (D.G1-i ¼d and D.G1-ii ¼d) suggests these were issued at the same time as the second phase of the main mint (D.C1-ii).

Obverse: King, bust facing left, emerging from mountain top, head surrounded by halo, bearded, wearing peaked Iranian cap (detail not visible), diadem with two ribbons, tunic under cloak over both shoulders and tied on chest with clasp, holding spear in raised left hand. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 9.00): [ÞAO]- KAN[HÞKI] (King Kanishka), the inscription is only partially visible on the known example.

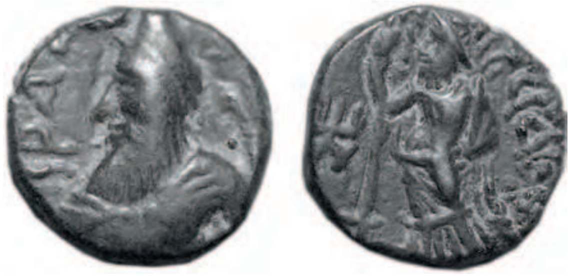
Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, all contained in dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian: deity's name in field.

4b Nana, moon goddess, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with crescent on top, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind and hair bun at back, earring, sleeved ankle-length gown and shawl around waist and draped over left forearm, holding wand tipped with lion-forepart in right hand, and bowl in left hand at waist, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): NANA.

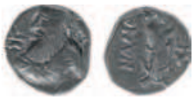
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Rev.
A*	Hermitage (70)		4.07	16	4b



A: D.C1-misc-i 1/8u (1b)



300% enlargement of A



919: D.C1-misc-i 1/8u (4b)

086 D.C1-misc-i ⅛u main copper mint phase 2 hemidrachms, bust type

Göbl 1984 779

Kanishka I (D), main copper mint (C1), miscellaneous issues (misc), first type (i), copper hemidrachms (⅛u), *c.* 2.1g. Inscription in Bactrian, bust of king wearing Iranian cap.

Obverse: King, bust facing left, emerging from mountain top, head, bearded, wearing peaked Iranian cap (detail not visible), diadem with two ribbons, tunic under cloak over both shoulders and tied on chest with double clasp, holding spear in raised left hand. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 9.00): ÞA[O- KANHÞK]I (King Kanishka), only partially visible on the known example.

Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, all contained in dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian: deity's name in field.

1b Athsho, fire god standing frontally, with head to left, bearded, flames emanating from shoulders, wearing short hair held in diadem and roll of curls below diadem, calf-length tunic, scarf draped across waist over shoulders and hung from left shoulder and hanging from left hand at waist, holding tongs in left hand at waist and across left shoulder, holding sceptre with extended right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): AΘÞO.

4b Nana, moon goddess, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with crescent on top, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind and hair bun at back, earring, sleeved ankle-length gown and shawl around waist and draped over left forearm, holding wand tipped with lion-forepart in right hand, and bowl in left hand at waist, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): NANA.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Rev.
A*	Private collection B		2.40	-	1b
0919*	300227	1894,0507.1830	2.15	12	4b

087 D.C1-misc-ii ¼u main copper mint phase 2 drachms, standing king with club

Göbl 1984: 810

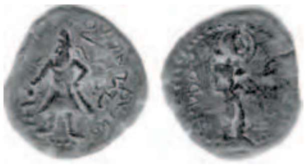
Kanishka I (D), main copper mint (C1), miscellaneous issue (misc), second type (ii) copper drachms (¼u), *c.* 4.25g. Inscription in Bactrian, standing king with Iranian cap holding club, copying obverse of Wima Kadphises copper coins (C.C1).

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, bearded, wearing peaked Iranian cap, diadem with two ribbons, knee-length tunic, held by belt at waist, trousers and boots, all under a cloak over both shoulders with pointed projections from shoulders tied on chest, long sword in scabbard suspended from strap on left thigh, holding club at waist in left hand and making offering with extended right hand, holding elephant goad, over small altar. Altar with slab above and below central column, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 9.00): [ÞAON]ANO ÞAO KANHÞKI KO[ÞANO] (King of Kings Kanishka Kushan).

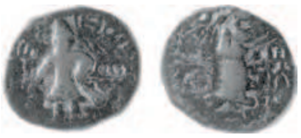
Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, all contained in dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian: deity's name in field.

4d Royal Nana, moon goddess, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo, wearing short hair held by diadem with ribbon behind, roll of hair below diadem and bun behind, long ankle-length dress, with shawl around waist and draped over left arm, sword in scabbard suspended from strap tied with single clasp on left thigh, holding wand tipped with lion forepart in right hand and bowl in left hand at waist, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): NANAÞAO.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Rev.
A*	Private collection H		-	-	4d
0920*	300119	1922,0213.26	3.84	17	4d



A: D.C1-misc-ii ¼u (4d)



920: D.C1-misc-ii ¼u (4d)

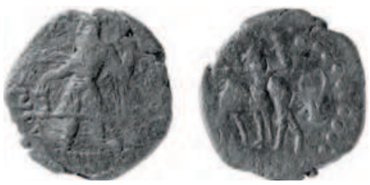
088 D.C1-misc-iii ½u main copper mint phase 2 didrachms, extended inscription

Kanishka I (D), main copper mint (C1), miscellaneous issue (misc), third type (iii), copper didrachms (a), *c.* 8.5g. Inscription in Bactrians, standing king with Iranian cap and extended obverse inscription (the weight of the only example is below standard, perhaps an ancient imitation).

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, bearded, wearing Iranian cap with peak, diadem with two ribbons, knee-length tunic, trousers and boots, all under cloak over both shoulders(?), long sword with curved hilt in scabbard, suspended from strap on left thigh, holding spear in raised left hand and making offering with extended right hand over small altar. Altar with slab above and below central column. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 7.00): [Þ]AON[ANO ÞAO KANHÞKI KOÞAN]O (King of Kings Kanishka Kushan), the only example is unclear and this reading is uncertain.

Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, all contained in dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian: deity's name.

6d Oesho, mountain god, two armed standing, in front of bull facing right, facing frontally, head to right, wearing armlets and bracelets on arms, calf-length dhoti, holding trident (?) in raised left hand, resting right hand on rump of bull, tamga not visible. Inscription not visible.



921: D.C1-misc-iii 1u (6d)

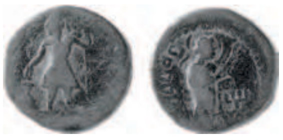
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Rev.
0921*	300306	1994.0710.2	6.19	23	6d

089 D.C1-misc-iii ¼u main copper mint phase 2 drachms, extended inscription

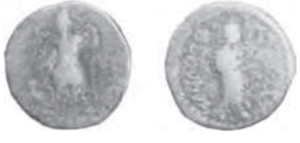
Göbl 1984: 779A

Kanishka I (D), main copper mint (C1), miscellaneous issues (misc), third type (iii), second phase, copper drachms (½u) *c.* 4.25g, with Bactrian inscription, standing king with Iranian cap and extended obverse inscription.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, beardless, with sideburns. wearing Iranian cap with peak, diadem with two ribbons, knee-length tunic, trousers and boots, all under cloak over both



922: D.C1-misc-iii ½u (4e)



A: D.C1-misc-iii ½u (4e)

shoulders(?), long sword with curved hilt in scabbard, suspended from strap on left thigh, holding spear in raised left hand and making offering with extended right hand over small altar. Altar with slab above and below central column. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00) [ÞAO] NANOÞ[AO KANHÞKI KOÞANO] (King of Kings, Kanishka, Kushan) the two examples known are unclear and this reading is uncertain.

Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, all contained in dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian: deity's name in field.

4e Royal Nana, moon goddess, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo, wearing short hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, roll of hair below diadem and bun behind, long ankle-length dress, with shawl around waist and draped over left arm, holding wand tipped with lion forepart in right hand and bowl in left hand at waist, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): NANAÞAO (initial N and Þ reversed).

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Rev.
0922*	300134	1981,0324.3	3.36	17	4e
A*	Mitchiner 1978: 3136		4.30	-	4e

Subsidiary copper mint, probably Peshawar in Gandhara (D.C2)

The issues of the subsidiary copper mint appear to have been produced towards the end of Kanishka's reign. Its issues are rare, suggesting that its production levels were low. Two denominations were issued from this mint, tetradrachm units (*c.* 17g) and hemidrachm eighth units (*c.* 2.1g). The hemidrachms are very rare. All issues use the standard standing king type as used at the main mint, but the king's sword projects from his waist alongside his left thigh, instead of resting on the thigh. The reverses feature the following deities: Athsho (1), Mao (2), Miiro (3), Nana (4), Oado (5), Oesho (6), Ardochsho (7), Manaobago (10) and Pharro (13). The inscriptions are all in Bactrian, giving the king's name and title(s).

The issues of this mint were produced in four phases distinguished by the treatment and style of the obverse design, by their inscriptions and the inclusion of a tamga on the obverse:

Phase 1 is a brief episode and its coins are rare. Its issues are all tetradrachms (but mostly underweight) in the same style and inscription as the tetradrachms of the main copper mint, phase 3 (D.C1-iii), but are distinguished from them by the position of the king's sword. The reverses are exceptional and feature the following deities: Mao (2), Nana (4), Ardochsho (7), Manaobago (10) and Pharro (13). The last three deities are known from Kanishka's gold coinage (D.G1-iii), but only appear on copper coins at this mint and in this phase.

Phase 2 production are all tetradrachms which also use the same style as the tetradrachms of the main copper mint, phase 3 (D.C1-iii), but are distinguished from them by the position of the king's sword and the addition of a tamga by the altar. The reverses feature the following deities: Athsho (1), Mao (2), Miiro (3), Nana (4) and Oesho (6).

Phase 3 production of tetradrachms use the same design as phase 2, but in a new style, featuring the king with a brimless rounded cap. Most examples retain the obverse tamga, but the final issues omit it. The reverses feature the following deities: Mao (2), Miiro (3), Nana (4), Oado (5) and Oesho (6).

Phase 4 production only features hemidrachms with the same design as phase 2, but the tamga is before the king's face. The obverse inscription is an abbreviated version of the Bactrian inscription ÞAONANO Þ-AO KANHÞKI appearing on the main gold mint's production. The issue is very small, with only three obverse dies recorded and its chronological position within the production of this mint is unclear. The reverses feature the following deities: Mao (2), Miiro (3), Nana (4) and Oesho (6).

090 D.C2-i 1u Subsidiary copper mint phase 1 tetradrachms

Göbl 1984: 780
Göbl 1993a: 163

Kanishka I (D), subsidiary copper mint (C2), first phase (i) copper tetradrachms (1u), *c.* 17g (but examples generally underweight), with Bactrian inscriptions in Bactrian, standing king with cap with laddered brim, sword projecting from king's side. These coins are probably issued in the same period as the main copper mint third phase (D.C1-iii).

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, flames from shoulders, beardless with sideburns, wearing cap with laddered brim, diadem with two ribbons, knee-length tunic held by belt at waist, trousers and boots, all under a cloak over both shoulders and tied on chest with double clasp, long sword with curved hilt in scabbard, suspended from strap, with single buckle, beside left thigh, holding spear in raised left hand and making offering with extended right hand over small altar. Altar with slab above and below central column, which is marked with two lines. Dotted border below king's feet, in gap in inscription. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00): ÞΑΟ ΚΑ-ΝΗÞΚΙ (King Kanishka).

Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, all contained in dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian: deity's name.

2a Mao, moon god, standing frontally, with head to left flanked by crescent emanating from shoulders, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, all under cloak tied on chest with double clasp, sword in scabbard suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, making two fingers gesture with extended right hand, holding hilt of sword with left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΜΑΟ.

4c Nana, moon goddess, standing facing right, details of head unclear, wearing short hair held in diadem with ribbon behind and roll of curls below diadem and hair bun at back, earring, sleeved ankle-length gown and shawl around waist and draped over left forearm, holding wand tipped with lion-forepart in right hand, and bowl in left hand at waist, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (anticlockwise in left field): ΝΑΝΑ (all crudely executed).

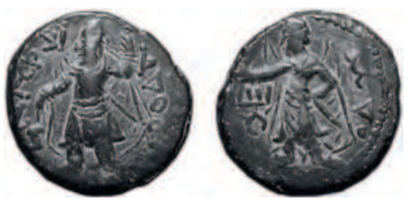
7a Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune seated frontally on low throne, head to right, surrounded by halo, polos on top, wearing hair with bun behind and diadem with two ribbons, ankle-length dress, tied by belt below breasts and double armlets, holding cornucopia with right hand at base and left hand below top; throne decorated with striped cover and three-lined legs with ball at base, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (anticlockwise in left field): ΑΡΔΟ[ΧÞΟ].

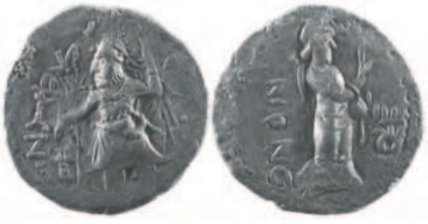
10a Manaobago, god of 'good mind', seated facing front on low throne, head to left flanked by crescent emanating from shoulders, hair dressing unclear, wearing knee-length tunic and boots, holding purse in left hand on lap and offering diadem with extended right hand; throne with lion legs. Tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΜΑΝΑΟΒΑΓΟ.

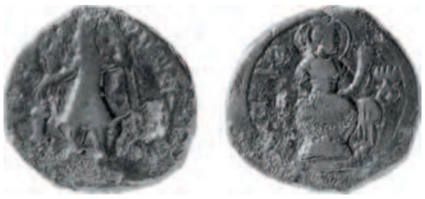
10b as 10a, but god resting feet on footstool.

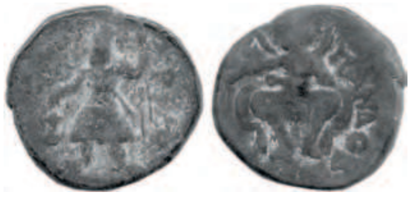
13a Pharro, god of good fortune seated frontally on low throne, head to left and surrounded by halo, hair dressing unclear, wearing short-sleeved jacket with single clasp at neck over calf-length tunic, held by belt at waist, and boots, holding short sceptre in raised left hand and offering diadem with extended right hand; throne decorated with striped cloth, with cushion and lion legs, money bags to right and left of feet, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΦΑΡΡΟ.

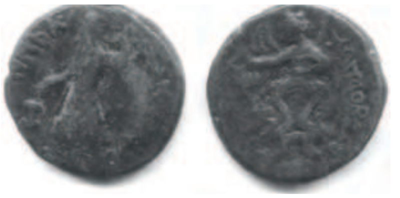
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Rev.
A*	Private collection B		14.89	-	2a
B*	Private collection R		13.4	27	4c
0923*	300033	OR.5038	14.23	25	7a
C*	Private collection E		-	-	10a
D*	Vcoins, Indus Valley Coins: 1488		15.4	26	10b
E*	Bern (88.74); Göbl 1993a: 163		14.72	25	13a

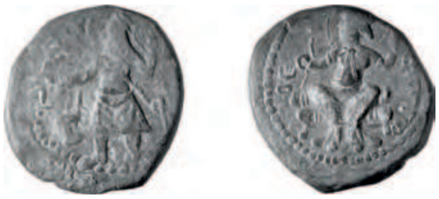

A: D.C2-i 1u (2a)

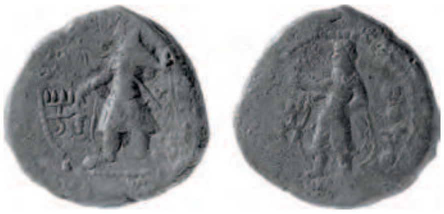

B: D.C2-i 1u (4c)


923: D.C2-i 1u (7a)

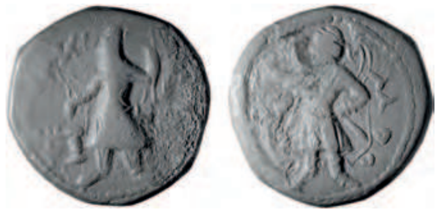

C: D.C2-i 1u (10a)


D: D.C2-i 1u (10b)

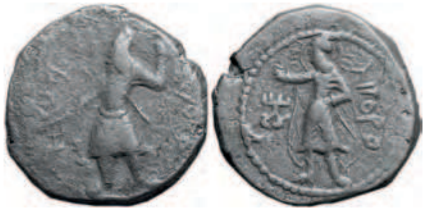

E: D.C2-i 1u (13a)



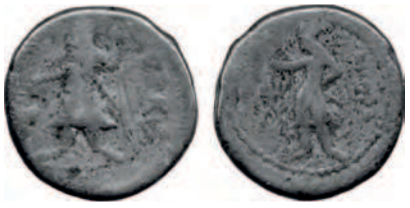
924: D.C2-ii 1u (1A/1a)



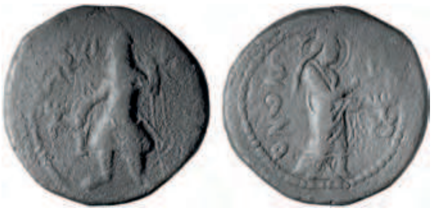
A: D.C2-ii 1u (1A/2a)



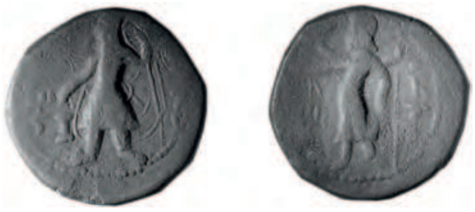
B: D.C2-ii 1u (1A/3b)



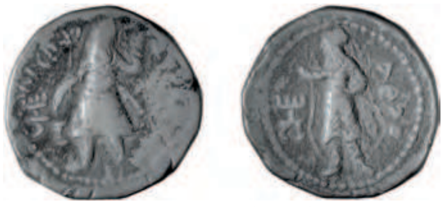
925: D.C2-ii 1u (1A/3b)



C: D.C2-ii 1u (1A/4c)



D: D.C2-ii 1u (1A/6a)



E: D.C2-ii 1u (1B/1a)

091 D.C2-ii 1u Subsidiary copper mint phase 2 tetradrachms

Göbl 1984: 794–5

Kanishka I (D), subsidiary copper mint (C2), second phase (ii), copper tetradrachms, *c.* 17g (but examples generally underweight). Inscription in Bactrian, standing king with cap with laddered brim, sword projecting from king's side and tamga by fire altar.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, with or without halo, beardless, with sideburns, with or without flames emanating from right shoulder, wearing cap with laddered brim, diadem with two ribbons, knee-length tunic held by belt at waist, trousers and boots, all under a cloak over both shoulders with pointed extensions from shoulders and tied on chest with double clasp, long sword with curved hilt in scabbard, suspended from strap, with single buckle, beside left thigh, holding spear in raised left hand and making offering with extended right hand over small altar. Altar with slab above and below central column, which is marked with two lines, tamga to left of altar. Dotted border below king's feet, in gap in inscription. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00): ÞAO KA-NHÞKI (King Kanishka).

1A king without halo or flames.

1B king with halo round head and flames on right shoulder.

Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, within dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian: name of deity.

1a Athsho, fire god, standing frontally, with head to left, bearded, flames emanating from shoulders, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist under cloak tied on chest, holding tongs in left hand on chest and offering diadem in extended right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): AΘÞO.

2a Mao, moon god, standing frontally, with head to left flanked by crescent emanating from shoulders, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, all under cloak tied on chest with double clasp, sword in scabbard suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, making two fingers gesture with extended right hand, holding hilt of sword with left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MAO.

3b Miiro, sun god standing frontally, with head to left surrounded by radiating halo, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist, boots, all under long cloak tied on chest with clasp, sword in scabbard suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, making two fingers gesture with extended right hand, holding hilt of sword with left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MIOPO.

4c Nana, moon goddess, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with crescent on top, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind and hair bun at back, earring, sleeved ankle-length gown and shawl around waist and draped over left forearm, holding wand tipped with lion-forepart in right hand, and bowl in left hand at waist, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (anticlockwise in left field): NANA.

6a Oesho, mountain god, four armed standing frontally head to left surrounded by halo, with erect linga, wearing hair hanging down from small top-knot, with moustache, calf-length dhoti and string of beads across chest from left shoulder and armlets and bracelets on each arm, holding trident vertically in upper left hand, water pot in lower left hand at waist, thunderbolt in upper right hand and offering diadem with extended lower right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): OHÞO.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
0924*	300034	1990,0820.1	15.41	27	1A	1a
A*	Bern (88.74); Göbl 1993a: 194		15.52	27	1A	2a
B*	Private collection B		-	-	1A	3b
0925*	190620	OR.324	15.13	26	1A	3b
C*	Bern (88.76); Göbl 1993a: 200		14.97	27	1A	4c

D*	Bern (88.75), Göbl 1993a: 207		15.28	27	1A	6a
E*	Bern (88.80); Göbl 1993a: 184		16.68	26	1B	1a
0926	300287	1865,0810.18	14.16	25	?	1a
0927	300300	1889,0105.1136	14.45	24	?	1a

092 D.C2-iii 1u Subsidiary copper mint phase 3 tetradrachms, tamga

Göbl 1984: 796, 801, 805, 812, 816

Kanishka I (D), subsidiary copper mint (C2), third phase (iii), copper tetradrachms (1u), *c.* 17g. Inscription in Bactrian, standing king with round cap, sword projecting from king's side and tamga by fire altar.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, beardless, with sideburns, wearing round cap, diadem with two ribbons, knee-length tunic held by belt at waist, trousers and boots, with or without a cloak, long sword with curved hilt in scabbard, suspended from strap, with single buckle, beside left thigh, holding spear in raised left hand and making offering with extended right hand over small altar. Altar with slab above and below central column, with or without tamga to left of altar. Dotted border below king's feet, in gap in inscription. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00): ÞAO KA-NHÞKI (King Kanishka).

1A king without cloak and sword.

1B king without cloak, but with sword.

1C king wearing cloak, but no sword.

1D king wearing cloak and sword.

1E as 1D, but no tamga.

Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, within dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian: deity's name.

2a Mao, moon god, standing frontally, with head to left flanked by crescent emanating from shoulders, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, all under cloak tied on chest with double clasp, sword in scabbard suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, making two fingers gesture with extended right hand, holding hilt of sword with left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MAO.

2b as 2a, but god holding ribboned sceptre (decorated with finial knob) over shoulder and sword, hung on strap on left thigh, in left hand at waist

2c as 2b, but without cloak.

3c Miiro, sun god standing frontally, with head to left surrounded by radiating halo, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist, boots, sword in scabbard suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, making two fingers gesture with extended right hand, holding hilt of sword with left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MIIPO (P reversed).

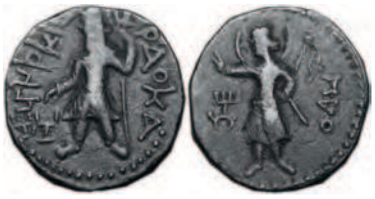
3d as 3c, but inscription anticlockwise: MIIPO (P written as Þ).

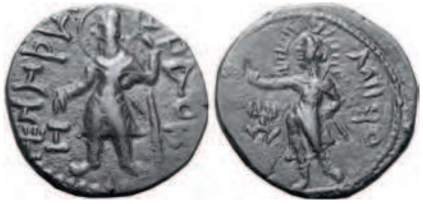
3e as 3c, but god with double radiating halo, wearing long cloak tied on chest with clasp and inscription clockwise: MIIPO (P written as Þ).

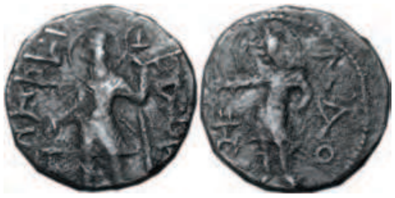
4b Nana, moon goddess, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with crescent on top, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind and hair bun at back, earring, sleeved ankle-length gown and shawl around waist and draped over left forearm, holding wand tipped with lion-forepart in right hand, and bowl in left hand at waist, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): NANA.

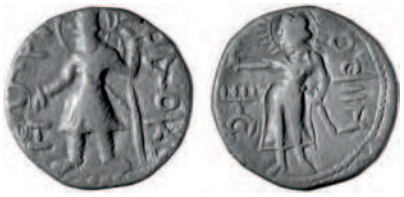
5b Oado, wind god running to left, with head to left, bearded and with wind-blown hair, wearing thigh-length dhoti, holding large cloak in both raised hands dropping to feet, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΟΑΔΟ.

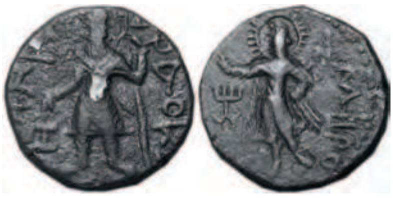
6e Oesho, mountain god, four armed standing frontally head to left surrounded by halo, with erect linga, wearing hair hanging down from small top-knot, with moustache, calf-length dhoti and string of beads across chest from left shoulder and armlets and bracelets on each arm, holding shaftless trident in upper left hand, water pot in lower left hand at waist, thunderbolt in upper right hand and offering diadem with extended

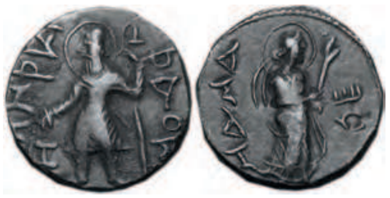

A: D.C2-iii 1u (1A/2c)

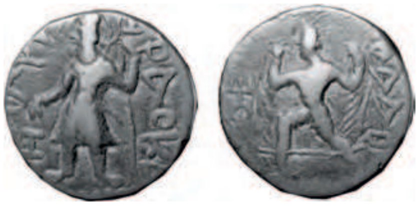

B: D.C2-iii 1u (1A/3c)

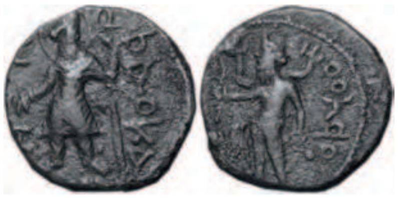

C: D.C2-iii 1u (1B/2a)

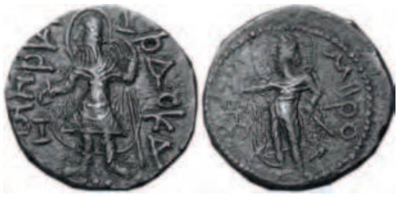

D: D.C2-iii 1u (1B/3d)

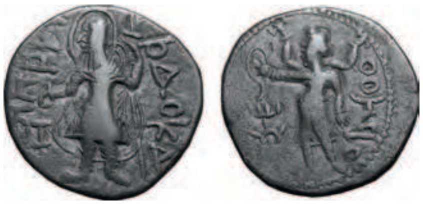

E: D.C2-iii 1u (1B/3e)

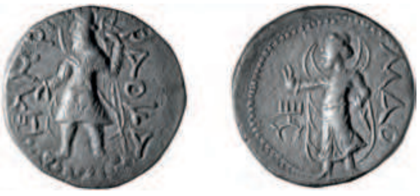

F: D.C2-iii 1u (1B/4b)

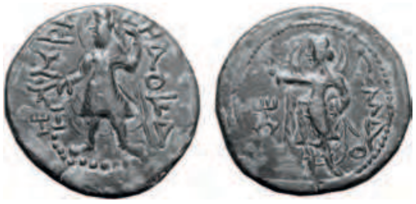

G: D.C2-ii 1u ia (1B/5b)

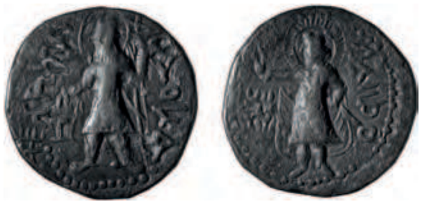

H: D.C2-iii 1u (1B/6g)

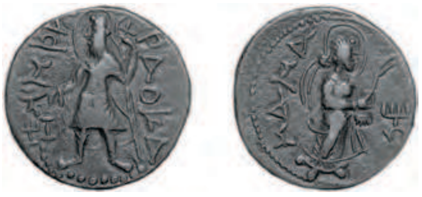

I: D.C2-iii 1u (1C/3e)

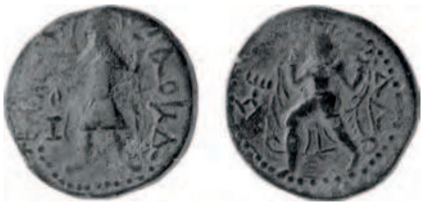

J: D.C2-iii 1u (1C/6g)

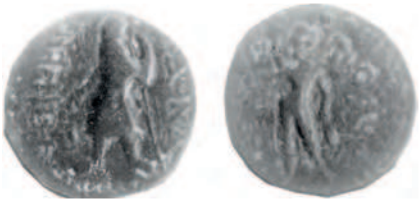

K: D.C2-iii 1u (1D/2a)

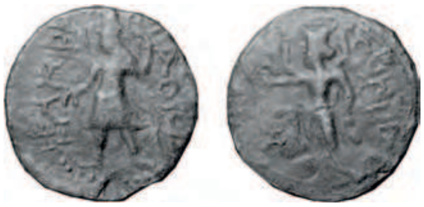

L: D.C2-iii 1u (1D/2b)

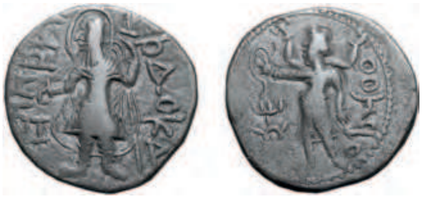

M: D.C2-iii 1u (1D/3e)

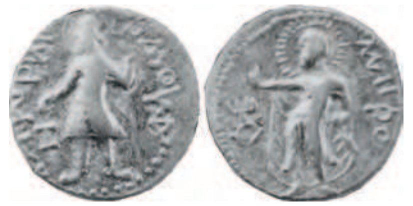

929: D.C2-iii 1u (1D/4b)

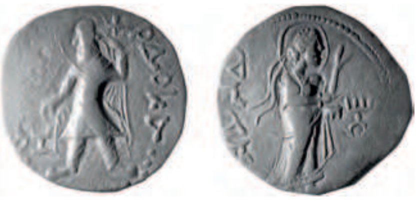

930: D.C2-iii 1u (1D/5b)

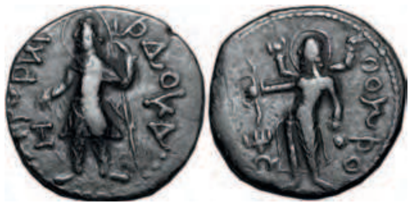

N: D.C2-iii 1u (1D/6e)


O: D.C2-iii 1u (1D/6f)


P: D.C2-iii 1u (1D/6g)


Q: D.C2-iii 1u (1E/3e)


R: D.C2-iii 1u (1E/4b)


S: D.C2-iii 1u (1E/6f)

lower right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (anticlockwise in right field): OHÞO.

6f as 6e, but inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): OOHÞO.

6g as 6f, but reversed form of Þ.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Private collection B 599 3; CNG e-auction 155, 3/1/2007: 149		16.86	25	1A	2c
B*	Private collection B		-	-	1A	3c
C	Private collection B		16.36	27	1B	2a
D*	Bern (88.78): Göbl 1993: 185		15.93	25	1B	3d
E*	Private collection B		16.56	25	1B	3e
F*	Private collection B; CNG e-auction 155, 3/1/2007: 150		16.84	25	1B	4b
G*	Ashmolean (Senior 5238)		16.38	-	1B	5b
H*	Private collection B		-	-	1B	6g
I*	Private collection B		16.71	26	1C	3e
J*	Private collection B 38		-	-	1C	6g
K*	Bern (88.79): Göbl 1993a: 193		16.64	26	1D	2a
L*	Private collection B		-	-	1D	2b
M*	Bern (88.77): Göbl 1993a: 186		16.34	26	1D	3e
0928	300065	1922,0424.3611	16.31	25	1D	4b
0929*	275080	1894,0506.1442	16.11	26	1D	4b
0930*	300086	1922,0424.3606	16.50	26	1D	5b
0931	280334	IOC.298	16.31	25	1D	5b
0932	300087	OR.9138	14.90	26	1D	5b
N*	Lahore; Whitehead, 1914: Kanishka 108; Göbl 1984 811/1		-	27	1D	6e
O*	Ashmolean (Senior 5239)		14.35	-	1D	6f
P*	Private collection B		-	-	1D	6g
Q*	Shanghai (1262)		17.20	25	1E	3e
R*	Bern (88.81): Göbl 1993a: 199		15.87	26	1E	4b
S*	Private collection B 599 5; CNG e-auction 155, 3/1/2007: 151		15.97	25	1E	6f

093 D.C2-iii 1/8u Subsidiary copper mint phase 3 hemidrachms, tamga

Göbl 1984: 799.1, 800.1, 804.3, 808.2, 815A.1

Kanishka I (D), subsidiary copper mint (C2), third phase (iii), copper hemidrachms (1/8u), *c.* 2.1g. Inscription in Bactrian, standing king with Iranian cap with tamga to left.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, bearded, wearing Iranian cap, knee-length tunic held by belt at waist, trousers and boots, all under a cloak over both shoulders and tied on chest, long sword in scabbard, suspended from strap beside left thigh, holding spear in raised left hand and making offering with extended right hand over small altar. Altar with slab above and below central column. Dotted border below king's feet, in gap in inscription. Inscription in Bactrian (from 7.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO KANHÞKI (King of Kings Kanishka).

1A Inscription: ÞAONANO Þ-AO KANHÞKI.

1B Inscription: ÞAONANO- ÞAO KANHÞKI.

Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, all contained in dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian: deity's name.

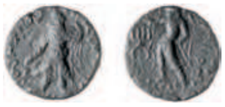
2a Mao, moon god, standing frontally, with head to left flanked by crescent emanating from shoulders, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, all under cloak tied on chest with double clasp, sword in scabbard suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, making two fingers gesture with extended right hand, holding hilt of sword with left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MAO.

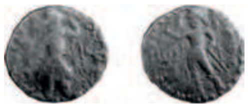
3c Miiro, sun god standing frontally, with head to left surrounded by radiating halo, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist, boots, all under long cloak tied on chest with clasp, sword in scabbard suspended from strap, with single buckle, on left thigh, making two fingers gesture with extended right hand, holding hilt of sword with left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MIIPO.

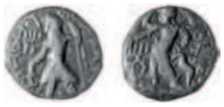
4b Nana, moon goddess, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with crescent on top, curls of hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind and hair bun at back, earring, sleeved ankle-length gown and shawl around waist and draped over left forearm, holding wand tipped with lion-forepart in right hand, and bowl in left hand at waist, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): NANA.

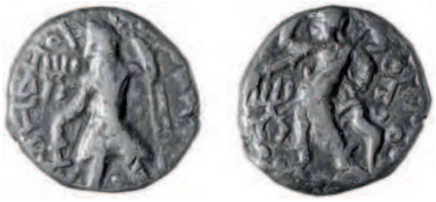
6h Oesho, mountain god, four armed standing frontally head to left, with erect linga, hair in top-knot, calf-length dhoti and string of beads across chest from left shoulder and armlets and bracelets on each arm, holding trident diagonally in upper left hand, horned animal (goat?) in lower left hand at waist, thunderbolt in upper right hand and water-pot in extended lower right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): OHÞO.

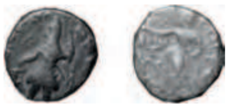
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Private collection I		2.68	13	1A	2a
B*	Bern (88.130); Göbl 1993a: 191		2.05	13	1A	3c
0933	300239	1956,0303.1	1.97	12	1A	6h
C*	Bern (88.131); Göbl 1993a: 215		2.40	-	1A	6h
D*	Ashmolean (de Shortt)		2.72	-	1B	3c
0934*	300229	1850,0305.220	2.09	14	1B	4b

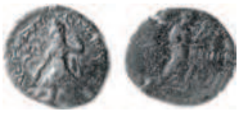

A: D.C2-ii 1u (1A/2a)


B: D.C2-ii 1uib (1A/3c)


C: D.C1-iii ½u (1A/6h)


200% enlargemnt of C


D: D.C1-iii ½u (1B/3c)


934: D.C1-iii ½u (1B/4b)

Local copper mint, probably in Kashmir (D.C3)

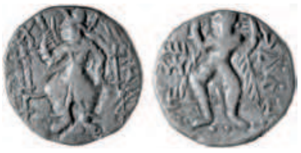
Most of the drachm (*c.* 4.25g) and hemidrachm (2.1g) denominations made during Kanishka I's reign were produced at this local mint, they are distinguished from those from the other mints by their inclusion of a Kharoshthi control mark on the obverse. The obverses represent an image of the king, either enthroned or standing. The control mark is always in the left field, in front of the king. The reverses feature the following deities: Mao (2), Miiro (3), Nana (4), Oado (5) and Oesho (6). All inscriptions are in Bactrian. The products of this mint circulated throughout Kushan territory south of the Hindu-Kush, but are not found north of the Hindu-Kush.

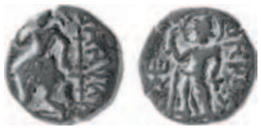
field. Inscription: clockwise in right field: ΟΑΔΟ, Kharoshthi control marks *bra* in lower right field and *vra* in lower left field.

6i Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally, head to left surrounded by halo, hair with row of curls, with erect linga to left, wearing bracelets and calf-length dhoti, holding trident in raised right hand, water pot in left hand by hip, tamga in left field. Inscription anticlockwise in right field: ΟΗÞΟ, Kharoshthi control marks *bra* in lower right field and *vra* in lower left field.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Private collection T		-	-	1A	2d
B*	Ashmolean (de Shortt 1958 no.27)		3.93	-	1A	4c
C*	Private collection J (48)		3.72	-	1A	5c
0935*	300129	1845,0613.96	4.06	16	1A	6i
D*	248492	IOLC.2844	4.04	17	1B	2d
0936	300123	1853,0301.1333	3.88	16	1B	2d
E*	Bern (88.124); Göbl 1993a: 192		4.20	18	1B	3f
F*	Private collection N		-	-	1B	4c
G*	Bern (88.109); Göbl 1993a: 219		4.68	19	1B	5c
0937*†	300124	1894,0507.2123	4.18	16	1B	6i
0938	300125	1848,0803.199	4.08	17	1B	6i
0939	300126	OR.5263	3.11	15	1B	6i
0940	300127	1922,0424.3627	3.86	16	1B	6i
0941	300128	1892,1008.185	3.74	16	1B	6i
0942	300130	1954,0211.7	4.44	16	1B	6i

† Linked by reverse die to the next series


G: D.C3-i ¼u (1B/5c)


937: D.C3-i ¼u (1B/6i)

095 D.C3-ii ¼u Kashmir copper mint phase 2 drachms, standing king

Göbl 1984: 797, 798A–B, 802, 806, 806A, 809, 813, 817, 819
Kanishka I (D), Kashmir copper mint (C3), second phase (ii), king standing type drachms (1/4u) *c.* 4.25g, with Bactrian inscriptions and Kharoshthi control marks, standing king.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, normally beardless, wearing peaked Iranian cap, diadem with two ribbons, knee-length tunic held by belt at waist, trousers and boots, long sword on or by left thigh, holding spear in raised left hand and making offering with extended right hand over small altar. Dotted border below king's feet in gap in inscription. Inscription: ΚΑΝΗÞΚΙ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ (Kanishka Kushan) or ÞΑΟ ΚΑΝΗÞΚΙ (King Kanishka), Kharoshthi control mark before king's face.

Control mark: *c'a*

1A king's head surrounded by halo, bearded, sword by left leg, altar with thin column and top with outward projections, inscription from 9.00 to 11.00 ΚΑΝΗÞΚΙ- ΚΟÞΑΝΟ, Kharoshthi control mark *c'a* (reverse die linked to throne type).

1B as 1A, but control mark missing.

2A king's head surrounded by halo, beardless, wearing a cloak over both shoulders and tied on chest, sword on left thigh, altar with thin column and flat top, inscription from 9.00 to 8.00 ÞΑΟ- ÞΑΝΗÞΚΙ (sic), Kharoshthi control mark *c'a*.

2B as 2A, but inscription (from 9.00 to 5.00): ÞΑΟ- ΚΑΝΗÞΚΙ.

2C as 2B, but king's cloak has pointed projection on right shoulder.

2D as 2A, but inscription (from 1.00 to 11.00): ÞΑΟ ΚΑ- ΝΗÞΚΙ.

2E king without halo, beardless, wearing a cloak over both shoulders and tied on chest, sword on left thigh, altar with thin column and flat top, inscription (from 9.00 to 5.00): ÞΑΟ- ΚΑΝΗÞΚΙ, Kharoshthi control mark *c'a*.

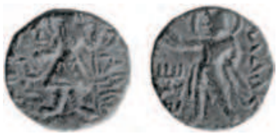
2F as 2E, but king's cloak has pointed projection on right shoulder.

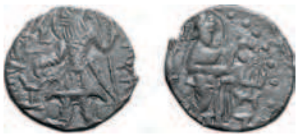
2G as 2E, but inscription (from 9.00 to 5.00): ÞΑΟ ΚΑ-ΝΗÞΚΙ.

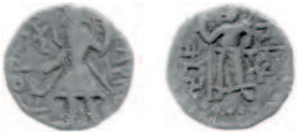
2H as 2E, but inscription (from 1.00 to 11.00): ÞΑΟ ΚΑ-ΝΗÞΚΙ.

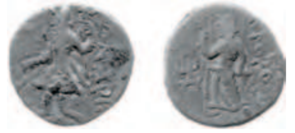
Control mark: *ca*

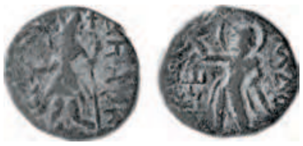
3A king without halo, beardless, wearing a cloak over both shoulders and

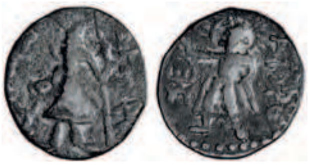

A: D.C3-ii ¼u (1A/2d)

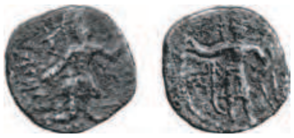

B: D.C3-ii ¼u (1A/4f)

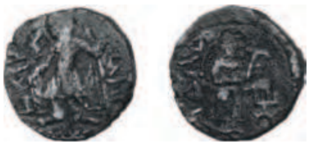

C: D.C3-ii ¼u (1A/6i)

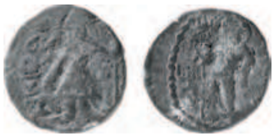

D: D.C3-ii ¼u (1A/6j)

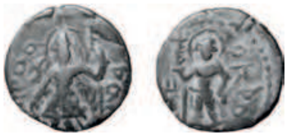

946: D.C3-ii ¼u (1B/2d)

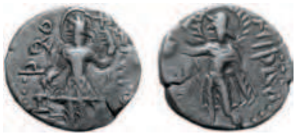

E: D.C3-ii ¼u (1B/3g)

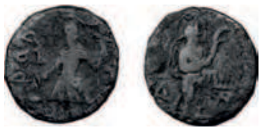

F: D.C3-ii ¼u (2A/3h)

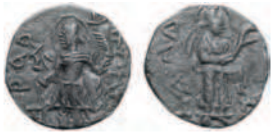

G: D.C3-ii ¼u (2A/4g)

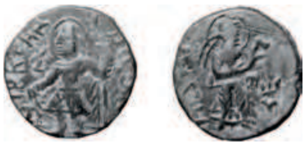

950: D.C3-ii ¼u (2A/6i)

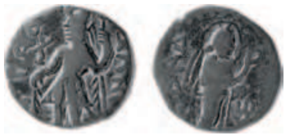

H: D.C3-ii ¼u (2A/6k)

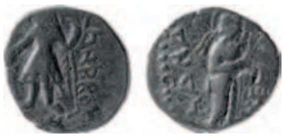

I: D.C3-ii ¼u (2B/3h)

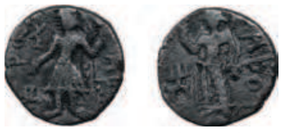

J: D.C3-ii ¼u (2B/4g)


K: D.C3-ii ¼u (2C/4g)


L: D.C3-ii ¼u (2D/4g)


952: D.C3-ii ¼u (2E/4g)

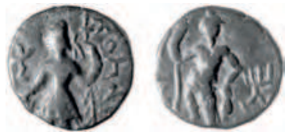

954: D.C3-ii ¼u (2E/4g)

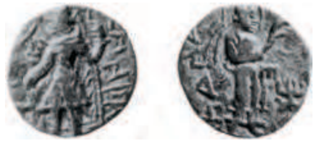

M: D.C3-ii ¼u (2E/6k)

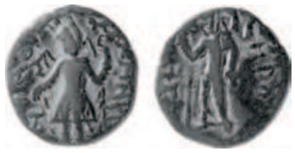
tied on chest, sword on left thigh, altar with thick column and upright projections, inscription (from 9.00 to 5.00) ÞAO KA- NHÞKI, Kharoshthi control mark *ca*.
3B as 3A, but altar without projections and blundered inscription from 1.00? to 11.00 … AONANO (sic).
Control mark: *su*
4A king without halo, beardless, wearing a cloak over both shoulders and tied on chest, sword on left thigh, altar with thin column and flat top, inscription from 9.00 to 5.00 ÞAO KA- NHÞKI, Kharoshthi control mark *su*.
4B as 4A, but altar with thick column and upright projections.
Control mark: *ji*
5A king without halo, beardless with moustache and sideburns, wearing a cloak over both shoulders and tied on chest, sword on left thigh, altar with thick column and upright projections, inscription from 9.00 to 5.00 ÞAO KA- NHÞKI, Kharoshthi control mark *ji*.
5B as 5A, but blundered inscription in mirror form from 5.00 to 9.00.
5C as 5A, but inscription from 1.00 to 11.00 ÞAO KA- NHÞKI.
Control mark: *c'a*
6A king without halo, beardless with moustache and sideburns, wearing a cloak over both shoulders and tied on chest, altar with thin column and upright projections, inscription from 1.00 to 11.00 ÞAO KA- NHÞKI, Kharoshthi control mark *c'a*.
6B as 6A, but inscription ÞAO KA- NHÞKO.
6C as 6A, but sword next to left thigh and inscription blundered, 9.00 to 8.00 ÞAO- ÞAOHÞ-KO.
Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, within dotted border (often off flan). Inscription in Bactrian: deity's name in field.
2d Mao, moon god standing frontally, head to left flanked by crescent emanating from shoulders, wearing short hair held in diadem with roll of curls below diadem, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, holding sword in left hand at waist, making two fingered gesture with extended right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MAO, Kharoshthi control mark *bra* in lower right field and *vra* in lower left field.
2e as 2d, but no Kharoshthi control marks.
2f as 2e, god wearing cloak over both shoulders and tied on chest.
2g as 2f, but god holding ribboned sceptre (decorated with ball finial) in left hand over left shoulder.
2h as 2g, but god without cloak.
3g Miiro, sun god standing frontally, head to left surrounded by radiating halo, wearing short hair held in diadem roll of curls below diadem, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist, boots, sword in scabbard suspended by left thigh, making two fingers gesture with extended right hand, holding hilt of sword with left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MIOPO.
3h, as 3g, but god wearing cloak over shoulders and tied on chest, inscription: MIÞΔO.
3i, as 3g, but god wearing cloak over shoulders and tied on chest, inscription: MIYPO.
3j, as 3g, but god wearing cloak over shoulders and tied on chest, inscription: MYPO.
3k, as 3g, but god wearing cloak over shoulders and tied on chest, inscription: OHΔO.
3l, as 3g, but god wearing cloak over shoulders and tied on chest, inscription: HΔOH.
3m, as 3g, but god wearing cloak over shoulders and tied on chest, inscription: HÞOΔ (Þ reversed).
4f Nana, moon goddess, standing turning to right, head surrounded by halo and with crescent on top of head (occasionally missing), wearing hair held in diadem with two ribbons behind, roll of hair below diadem and hair bun behind, sleeved ankle-length gown and shawl around waist and falling from left arm, holding wand tipped with lion forepart in right hand and bowl in left hand, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): NANA, Kharoshthi control mark *vra* in lower right field.

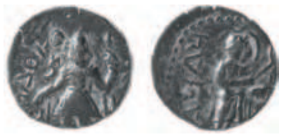
4g as 4f, but without Kharosthi control mark.
4h as 4f, but inscription anticlockwise.
4i as 4f, but goddess turning to left, tamga in left field and inscription in right field clockwise.
5d Oado, wind god running to left, head to left, bearded, wearing short hair with roll of curls below, wearing armlets and thigh-length dhoti, holding large cloak in both raised hands above head and dropping to feet, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΟΑΔΟ.
5e as 5d, but god running to right, head to right, tamga in right field and inscription clockwise in left field.
5f as 5e, but tamga in left field and Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field).
5g as 5d, but head to right.
5h as 5d, but tamga in right field and inscription clockwise in left field.
6i Oesho, mountain god, two armed standing frontally, head to left surrounded by halo, hair with row of curls, erect linga to left, wearing bracelets and calf-length dhoti, holding trident vertically in raised right hand, water pot in lowered left hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΟΗÞΟ, Kharoshthi control marks *bra* in lower right field and *vra* in lower left field.
6j as 6i, but Kharoshthi control mark *bra* in lower right field only.
6k as 6i, but without Kharoshthi control marks.
6l as 6k, but inscription ΟΑΔΟ.
6m as 6k, but inscription ΗΔÞΟ (Þ reversed).
6n Oesho, mountain god, two armed standing frontally, head to front, hair dressed in topknot, erect penis to left, wearing bracelets and calf-length dhoti, holding trident vertically in raised right hand, water pot in lowered left hand, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΟΗÞΟ.
6o as 6n, but inscription NANA.
6p as 6n, but god's head to right, trident with axe blade on shaft, inscription clockwise in left field.
6q Oesho, mountain god, four armed, standing frontally, head to left, hair not visible, wearing armlets and bracelets on arms, calf-length dhoti, holding short trident vertically in raised left hand, horned animal in lower left hand, thunderbolt (not visible) in raised upper right hand and pouring from water pot (not visible) in extended lower right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (in right field, clockwise): ΟΗÞΟ.

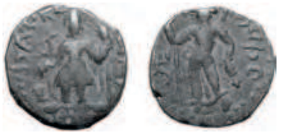
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Ashmolean (Vienna cards)		4.17	-	1A	2d
0943	300224	1902,0608.399	3.52	17	1A	2d
B*	Private collection B		-	-	1A	4f
C*	Private collection J (37)		4.01	-	1A	6i
0944	300217	OR.5273	4.23	17	1A	6i
0945	300220	OR.5286	4.50	18	1A	6i
D*	Private collection J (36)		4.23	-	1A	6j
0946*	300209	1996,1030.26	4.59	19	1B	2d
E*	ANS (1944.100.63619)		5.04	-	1B	3g
0947	300211	1855,0608.24	4.15	16	1B	3g
F*	248555	IOLC.2907	3.99	17	2A	3h
G*	248587	IOLC.2939	4.24	18	2A	4g
0948	300156	OR.5274	4.03	18	2A	4g
0949	300157	1847,1201.218	4.26	17	2A	4g
0950*	300197	OR.5275	3.83	17	2A	6i
H*	Ashmolean		4.61	-	2A	6k
I*	Private collection B		-	-	2B	3h
J*	248569	IOLC.2921	4.14	16	2B	4g
K*	Private collection B		-	-	2C	4g
0951	301063	1894,0506,1451	4.57	17	2D	4g
L*	Ashmolean (Senior 5243)		4.17	-	2D	4g
0952*	301064	1843,0718.8	4.77	17	2E	4g

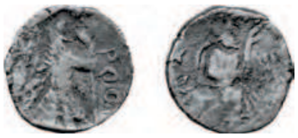

N: D.C3-ii ¼u (2E/6n)

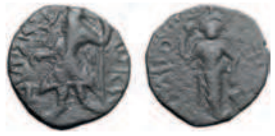

O: D.C3-ii ¼u (2F/4g)

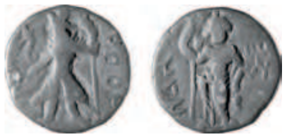

956: D.C3-ii ¼u (2F/6k)

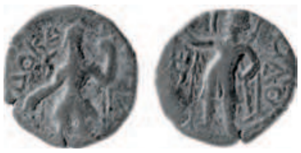

957: D.C3-ii ¼u (2G/4h)

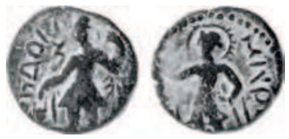

P: D.C3-ii ¼u (2G/6k)

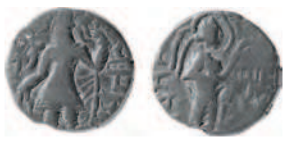

Q: D.C3-ii ¼u (2H/4g)

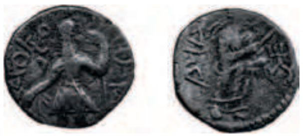

R: D.C3-ii ¼u (2H/6n)

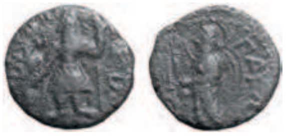

S: D.C3-ii ¼u (2H/6o)

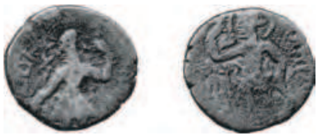

961: D.C3-ii ¼u (3A/2f)

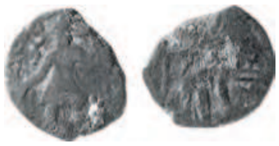

962: D.C3-ii ¼u (3A/3i)

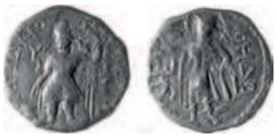

963: D.C3-ii ¼u (3A/4g)

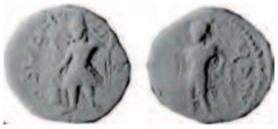

T: D.C3-ii ¼u (3A/4h)

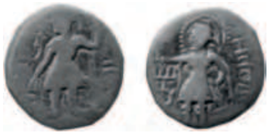

U: D.C3-ii ¼u (3A/4i)

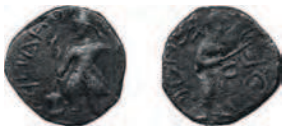

V: D.C3-ii ¼u (3A/6k)

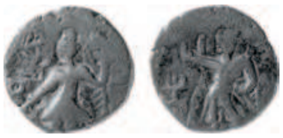

964: D.C3-ii ¼u (3A/6k)

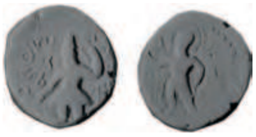

W: D.C3-ii ¼u (3B/3k)

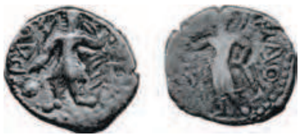

X: D.C3-ii ¼u (3B/3l)


Y: D.C3-ii ¼u (3B/3m)


Z: D.C3-ii ¼u (3B/4g)

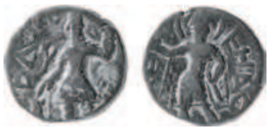

965: D.C3-ii ¼u (4A/2f)

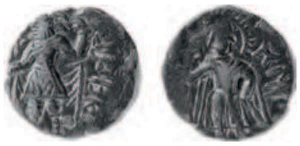

AA: D.C3-ii ¼u (4B/3l)

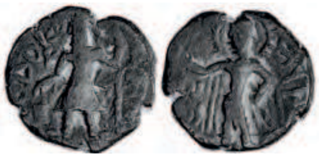

AB: D.C3-ii ¼u (5A/2f)

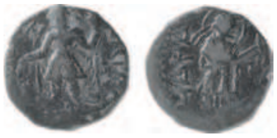
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
0953	300153	1844,0909.51	4.20	18	2E	4g
0954*	300869	1922,0116.22	4.09	17	2E	4g
M*	248624	IOLC.2975	3.85	16	2E	6k
0955	300167	1843,0812.35	4.24	17	2E	6k
N*	Bern (92.3); Göbl 1993a: 212		3.82	16	2E	6n
O*	Ashmolean; Vienna		4.96	-	2F	4g
0956*	300871	1894,0506.1418	4.43	19	2F	6k
0957*	300150	1894,0506.1450	3.96	17	2G	4h
0958	300154	1956,0409.170	4.29	17	2G	4h
0959	300222	1835,BUR.78	3.69	18	2G	4h
P*	Private collection B		-	-	2G	6k
Q*	248581	IOLC.2933	4.40	17	2H	4g
0960	300152	OR.5272	3.72	18	2H	4g
R*	Private collection B		-	-	2H	6n
S*	Bern (88.113); Göbl 1993a: 211		4.32	17	2H	6o
0961*	300146	1922,0424.3637	3.90	19	3A	2f
0962*	300147	1996,1030.24	4.08	18	3A	3i
0963*	300151	1989,0904.4029	4.14	17	3A	4g
T*	248586	IOLC.2938	3.13	17	3A	4h
U*	Private collection B		-	-	3A	4i
V*	248622	IOLC.2973	4.12	17	3A	6k
0964*	300155	1835,BUR.87	2.65	18	3A	6k
W*	Bern (88.122); Göbl 1993a: 187		3.47	17	3B	3k
X*	Berlin; Vienna		4.27	-	3B	3l
Y*	Vienna		-	-	3B	3m
Z*	248579	IOLC.2931	4.14	16	3B	4g
0965*	300196	OR.332	4.30	17	4A	2f
AA*	Brussels; Vienna		-	-	4B	3l
0966	300212	1835, Bur.82	3.76	17	4B	3l
AB*	248501	IOLC.2853	4.25	18	5A	2f
0967*	300168	1989,0904.4016	3.25	16	5A	2g
0968	300206	1835,BUR.81	3.74	17	5A	2g
0969*	300187	1922,0424.3626	5.68	18	5A	3i
0970	301066	1843,0718.9	4.19	18	5A	3i
0971	300194	1894,0506.1431	4.53	18	5A	3i
AC*	ANS (1944.100.63620)		4.19		5A	3j
0972*	300189	1894,0507.1829	3.73	17	5A	4g
AD*	Private collection B		-	-	5A	4h
AE*	Vienna		-	-	5A	4i
AF*	Ashmolean; Vienna		4.05	-	5A	5d
0973*	300190	1894,0506.1493	3.53	17	5A	5e
0974	300216	1922,0424.2981	4.41	18	5A	5e
AG*	Private collection B		-	-	5A	5f
AH*	ANS (1997.66.2752)		3.64	18	5A	6k
0975*	300192	1889,0105.1143	3.94	17	5A	6m
AI*	Ashmolean (Bodleian)		4.44	-	5A	6q
AJ*	248557	IOLC.2909	3.61	17	5B	3i
0976*	300175	OR.5283	4.25	18	5C	2f
0977	300208	1996,1030.25	3.71	17	5C	2f
0978*	300203	1989,0904.4014	4.24	18	5C	2f
0979*	300169	1853,0812.36	4.26	18	5C	2g
0980*	300170	OR.5282	4.00	18	5C	2h
0981*	300191	1889,0105.1146	4.09	16	5C	3i
0982	300172	1996,1030.28	3.75	18	5C	3i
AK*	248602	IOLC.2954	3.61	17	5C	4g
0983	300213	1835,BUR.85	3.46	18	5C	4g

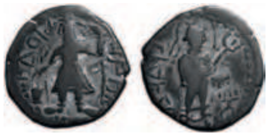
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
AL*	Ashmolean; Vienna		4.61	-	5C	4h
AM*	Ashmolean; Vienna		3.55	-	5C	4i
0984*	300173	1894,0506.1425	4.14	18	5C	5d
AN*	Bern (88.111); Göbl 1993a: 218		4.57	17	5C	5e
0985*	300174	1855,0608.26	4.56	18	5C	6k
0986	300149	1996,1030.27	3.53	17	5C	6k
AO*	Ashmolean (Bodleian)		4.64	19	5C	6l
AP*	ANS (1944.100.63610)		4.24	17	6A	3i
AQ*	Bern (88.117); Göbl 1993a: 204		4.17	17	6A	4h
0987	300201	1998,0307.6	3.88	19	6A	4h
0988	300138	1894,0506.1435	4.08	18	6A	2e
0989	300137	1889,0105.1144	3.82	17	6A	2e
0990*	300145	OR.9046	3.72	18	6A	2e
0991*	300144	1850,0305.244	4.55	18	6A	6k
0992	300143	1889,0105.1148	4.34	18	6A	6k
0993	300141	OR.5278	3.95	17	6A	6k
AR*	Ashmolean; Vienna		4.37	-	6A	5d
0994	300148	1844,0909.52	3.87	16	6A	5d
0995*	300139	1847,1201.216	3.73	17	6B	4g
0996*	300133	1989,0904.9015	4.16	18	6B	4g
0997	300140	1850,0305.243	3.43	17	6B	4g
AS*	Ashmolean; Vienna		3.64	-	6B	6p
0998*	300142	OR.5279	3.35	16	6B	6p
0999*	300131	1894,0506.1482	4.35	17	6C	2e
AT*	248554	IOLC.2906	-	-	6C	3g
1000*	300132	OR.5277	3.67	17	6C	4g
1001*	300135	1922,0424.2980	4.26	16	6C	6k
1002	300207	1835,BUR.80	3.88	17	?	3i
1003	300210	1998,0307.8	4.04	18	?	3i
1004	300219	1835,BUR.47	3.60	17	?	3i
1005	300205	OR.9048	3.66	17	?	2e
1006	300226	1902,0608.401	2.97	17	?	2g
1007	300214	1996,1030.29	3.65	17	?	4g or h
1008	300215	1835,BUR.79	3.08	17	?	4g or h
1009	300136	OR.5280	3.86	18	?	6k
1010	300218	OR.9049	3.14	16	?	6k
1011	300221	1847,1201.212	4.55	18	?	6k

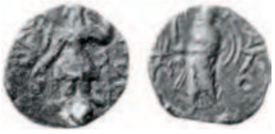

967: D.C3-ii ¼u (5A/2g)

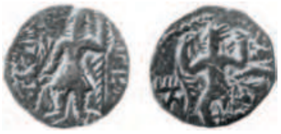

969: D.C3-ii ¼u (5A/3i)

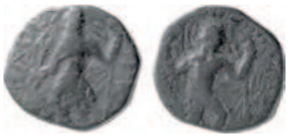

AC: D.C3-ii ¼u (5A/3j)

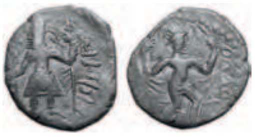

972: D.C3-ii ¼u (5A/4g)

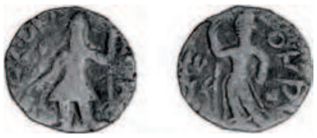

AD: D.C3-ii ¼u (5A/4h)

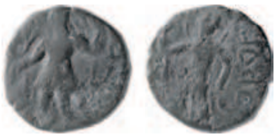

AE: D.C3-ii ¼u (5A/4i)

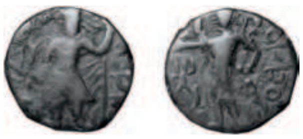

AF: D.C3-ii ¼u (5A/5d)

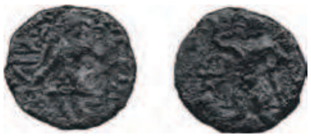

973: D.C3-ii ¼u (5A/5e)

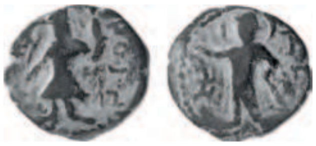

AG: D.C3-ii ¼u (5A/5f)

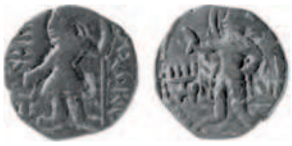

AH: D.C3-ii ¼u (5A/6k)

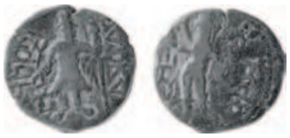

975: D.C3-ii ¼u (5A/6m)

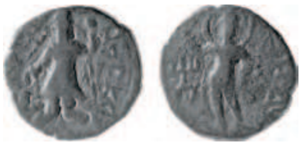

AI: D.C3-ii ¼u (5A/6q)

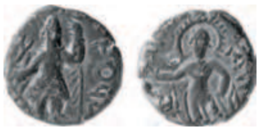

AJ: D.C3-ii ¼u (5B/3i)

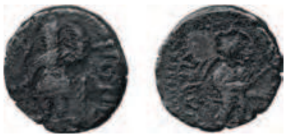

976: D.C3-ii ¼u (5C/2f)

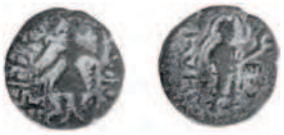

978: D.C3-ii ¼u (5C/2f)

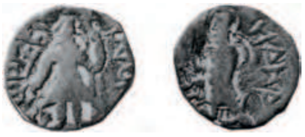

979: D.C3-ii ¼u (5C/2g)

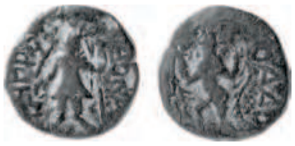

980: D.C3-ii ¼u (5C/2h)

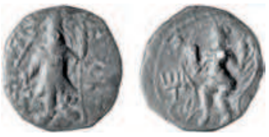

981: D.C3-ii ¼u (5C/3i)

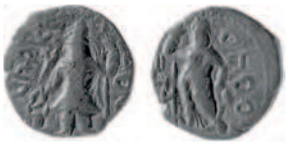

AK: D.C3-ii ¼u (5C/4g)

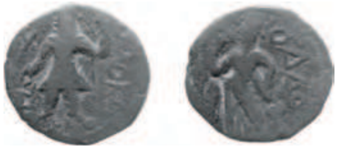

AL: D.C3-ii ¼u (5C/4h)

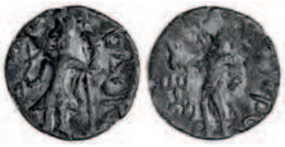

AM: D.C3-ii ¼u (5C/4i)

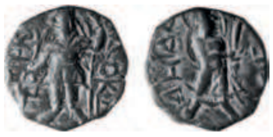

984: D.C3-ii ¼u (5C/5d)

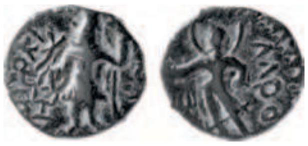

AN: D.C3-ii ¼u (5C/5e)

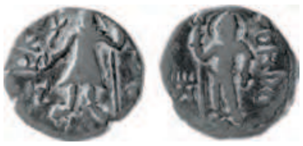

985: D.C3-ii ¼u (5C/6k)

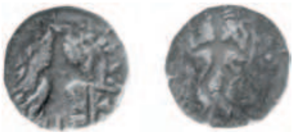

AO: D.C3-ii ¼u (5C/6l)

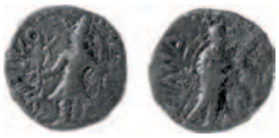

AP: D.C3-ii ¼u (6A/3i)

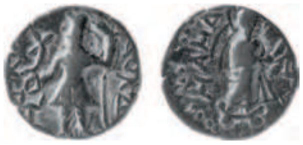

AQ: D.C3-ii ¼u (6A/4h)

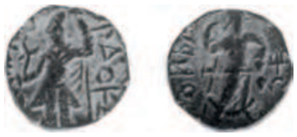

990: D.C3-ii ¼u (6A/2e)

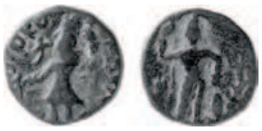

991: D.C3-ii ¼u (6A/6k)

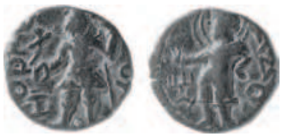

AR: D.C3-ii ¼u (6A/5d)

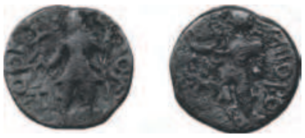

995: D.C3-ii ¼u (6B/4g)

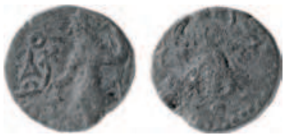

996: D.C3-ii ¼u (6B/4g)

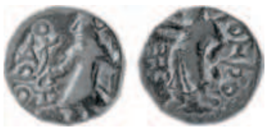

AS: D.C3-ii ¼u 6B/6p


998: D.C3-ii ¼u (6B/6p)


999: D.C3-ii ¼u (6C/2e)


AT: D.C3-ii ¼u (6C/3g)


1000: D.C3-ii ¼u (6C/4g)


1001: D.C3-ii ¼u (6C/6k)

096 D.C3-ii 1/8u Kashmir copper mint phase 2 hemidrachms, standing king

Göbl 1984 800, 804, 808, 815

Kanishka I (D), Kashmir copper mint (C3), second phase (ii), hemidrachms (b), *c.* 2.1g with Bactrian inscriptions and Kharoshthi control mark, king standing.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, wearing peaked Iranian cap, diadem with two ribbons, knee-length tunic held by belt at waist, trousers and boots, long sword on or by left thigh, holding spear in raised left hand and making offering with extended right hand over small altar. Dotted border below king's feet in gap in inscription. Inscription in Bactrian: ΚΑΝΗÞΚΙ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ (Kanishka Kushan) or illegible, Kharoshthi control mark before king's face.

1A King with halo, inscription from 1.00 to 11.00) ΚΑΝΗÞΚΙ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ, Kharoshthi control mark *ki*.

1B as 1A, but without halo.

1C as 1A, but with Kharoshthi control mark in right field.

2A as 1B, but inscription illegible and Kharoshthi control mark *c'a*.

3A as 2A, but square symbol before king's face.

Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, all contained in dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian: deity's name in field.

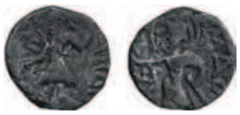
2e Mao, moon god, standing frontally, head to left flanked by crescent emanating from shoulders, wearing short hair with roll of curls below, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, sword in scabbard beside left thigh, making two fingers gesture with extended right hand, holding hilt of sword with left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΜΑΟ.

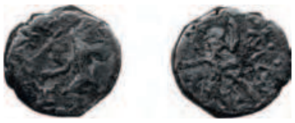
3g Miiro, sun god standing frontally, head to left surrounded by radiating halo, wearing short hair held in diadem roll of curls below diadem, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist, boots, sword in scabbard suspended by left thigh, making two fingers gesture with extended right hand, holding hilt of sword with left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΜΙΟΡΟ.

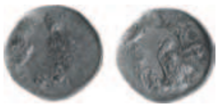
4g Nana, moon goddess, standing turning to right, head surrounded by halo and with crescent on top of head (occasionally missing), wearing hair held in diadem with two ribbons behind, roll of hair below diadem and hair bun behind, sleeved ankle-length gown and shawl around waist and falling from left arm, holding wand tipped with lion forepart in right hand and bowl in left hand, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): ΝΑΝΑ.

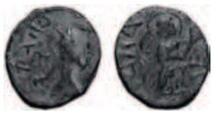
6j Oesho, mountain god, two armed standing frontally, head to left surrounded by halo, hair with row of curls, with erect linga to left, wearing bracelets and calf-length dhoti, holding trident in raised right hand, water pot in left hand by hip, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (anticlockwise in right field): ΟΗÞΟ.

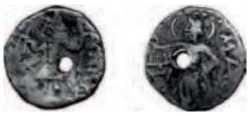
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	248657	IOLC.3008	2.84	14	1A	2e
B*	248658	IOLC.3009	2.48	15	1A	2e
1012*	300230	1922,0424.4739	2.58	13	1A	3a
C*	Private collection B		-	-	1A	4g
1013	300228	1850,0305.235	2.63	14	1A	4g
D*	248655	IOLC.3006	2.50	14	1B	2e
1014	300235	OR.334	2.73	13	1B	2e
E*	248664	IOLC.3015	2.24	14	1B	6j
1015	300237	1902,0608.403	2.12	13	1A/1B	2e
1016	300232	1922,0213.25	1.91	13	1A/1B	2e
F*	Ashmolean (de Shortt 31)		2.43	-	1C	3g
1017*	300233	1853,0301.1347	1.34	12	2A	2e
1018	300231	1902,0608.405	1.07	11	2A	2e
1019	300234	1902,0608.404	1.51	14	2A	2e
1020	300236	1902,0608.402	1.36	13	2A	2e
1021*	300238	1922,0213.24	1.98	13	2A	6j
G*	248674	IOLC.3025	1.36	13	3A	2e

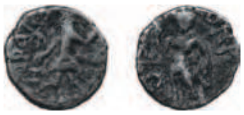

A: D.C3-ii 1/8u (1A/2e)

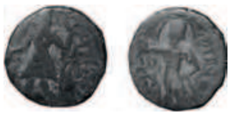

B: D.C3-ii 1/8u (1A/2e)

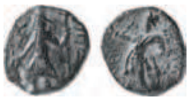

1012: D.C3-ii 1/8u (1A/3a)

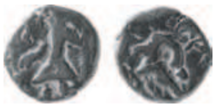

C: D.C3-ii 1/8u (1A/4g)

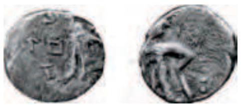

D: D.C3-ii 1/8u (1B/2e)


E: D.C3-ii 1/8u (1B/6j)


F: D.C3-ii 1/8u (1C/3g)


1017: D.C3-ii 1/8u (2A/2e)


1021: D.C3-ii 1/8u (2A/6j)


G: D.C3-ii 1/8u (3A/2e)

Imitations of Kanishka I copper tetradrachms (D-imit.C1)

Struck imitations of Kanishka I's copper tetradrachm units were made in northern India in the 3rd century, to circulate in place of the Kushan coins exported out of Kushan territory in the late 2nd century. The imitations were based on the tetradrachms issued at his main copper mint (D.C1), but were very crudely designed, lacking inscriptions and details. Their reverses were based on the reverse designs featuring Mao (2) and Miiro (3), but without their attributes. Finds have been reported from the eastern Punjab and Uttar Pradesh.

There appear to be two phases of production, distinguished by the treatment of the obverse design and by their weight:

Phase 1 imitations have the standing king figure in the obverse design holding his arm with a natural bend in the extended arm. Their weights range from the original standard of *c.* 17g down to *c.* 9g.

Phase 2 imitations show the king's extended arm straight or unnaturally arched at the elbow. The weight standard is lower than phase 1, ranging from *c.* 10g down to 5g.

097 D-imit.C1-i 1u Kanishka I imitations phase 1, struck copies

Mitchiner 1978, 4674–7, 4682–5

Struck imitations of Kanishka (D-imit), found in Punjab and Uttar Pradesh (C1), first phase (i) tetradrachms (1u), dropping weight standard *c.* 17g to 9g., without inscriptions, standing king with extended arm bent at elbow, based on phase 2 main mint tetradrachms (D.C1-ii). Coins of this series have been attributed to Bengal, but there is no evidence of their discovery in that region, apart from a trade hoard published by Mitchiner (1971).

Obverse: King, full figure, standing frontally, head to right or left, with raised hand holding spear and extended hand sacrificing at altar, wearing knee-length tunic, trousers and boots, or simplified version of same.

1A king facing frontal head to left, raised left arm and extended right hand, traces of altar and spear on some examples.

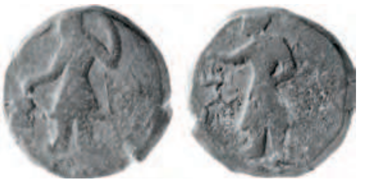
2A king facing frontal head to right, raised right arm and extended left hand, slight trace of altar, no sign of spear.

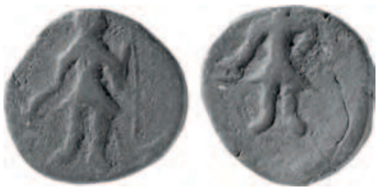
Reverse: God, full figure, standing frontally, head to right or left, with hand at hip and extended hand making gesture of blessing, wearing knee-length tunic, or simplified version of same.

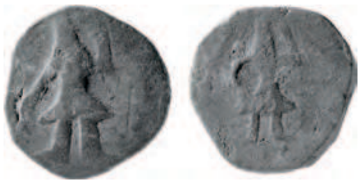
1a god, head to left, left hand on hip, extended right hand, tamga in left field.

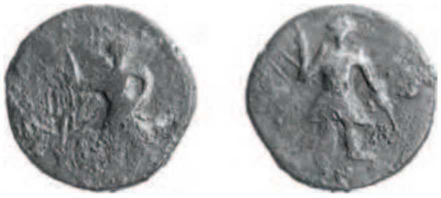
1b as 1a, but no tamga.

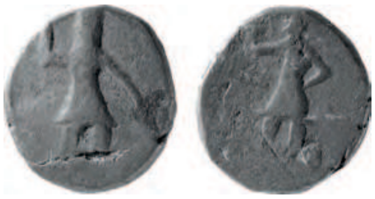
2a god, head to right, right hand on hip, extended left hand.

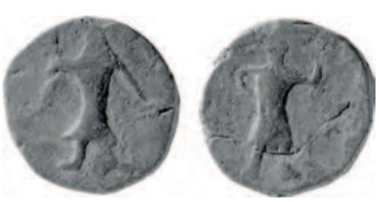

1025: D-imit.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)


1035: D-imit.C1-i 1u (1A/1b)


1037: D-imit.C1-i 1u (1A/2a)


A: D-imit.C1-i 1u (2A/1a)


1039: D-imit.C1-i 1u (2A/1b)


1040: Dimit.C1-i 1u (2A/2a)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
1022	300252	1982,1117.31	17.02	25	1A	1a
1023	300256	1982,1117.35	15.00	24	1A	1a
1024	300255	1982,1117.34	13.77	23	1A	1a
1025*	300253	1982,1117.32	13.18	23	1A	1a
1026	300254	1982,1117.33	12.86	24	1A	1a
1027	300263	1982,1117.42	12.76	24	1A	1a
1028	300298	OR.270	12.12	24	1A	1a
1029	300258	1982,1117.37	17.41	28	1A	1b
1030	300262	1982,1117.41	15.72	25	1A	1b
1031	300261	1982,1117.40	14.86	25	1A	1b
1032	300264	1982,1117.43	14.37	25	1A	1b
1033	300259	1982,1117.38	12.81	23	1A	1b
1034	300266	1982,1117.45	11.96	23	1A	1b
1035*	300245	1981,0325.17	10.27	24	1A	1b
1036	300250	1927,1211.1	8.92	22	1A	1b
1037*	300270	1982,1117.49	14.58	23	1A	2a
A*	ANS (1944.100.59810)		10.59	25	2A	1a
1038	300272	1982,1117.1	12.90	23	2A	1b
1039*	300257	1982,1117.36	12.64	25	2A	1b
1040*	300271	1982,1117.50	12.35	24	2A	2a
1041	300281	1982,1117.60	9.27	23	2A	2a

098 D-imit.C1-ii 1u Kanishka I imitations phase 2, struck copies

Mitchiner 1978: 4678–9, 4688–98

Struck imitations of Kanishka (D-imit) found in Punjab and Uttar Pradesh (C1), second phase (ii) tetradrachms, dropping weight standard *c.* 10g to 5g, without inscriptions, king with straight or arched extended arm based on phase 2 main mint tetradrachms (D.C1-ii 1u).

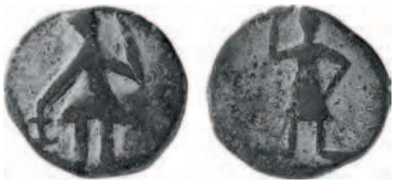
Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to right or left, with raised hand holding spear and extended hand sacrificing at altar, wearing knee-length tunic, trousers and boots, or simplified version of same, or version of reverse.

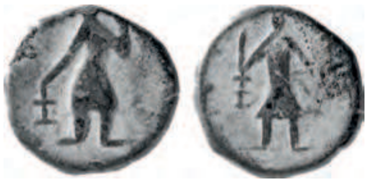
1A king, head to left, raised left arm and extended right hand, traces of altar on some examples.
2A king, head to right, raised right arm and extended left hand, slight trace of altar and spear on some examples.
2B as 2A, but trident behind king.
2C as 2A, but trident in front of king.
3A as reverse 1a.

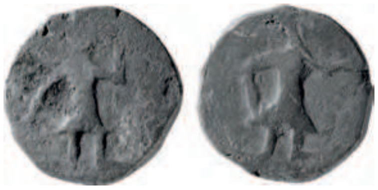
Reverse: God, full figure, standing frontally head to right or left, with hand at hip and extended hand making gesture of blessing, wearing knee-length tunic and boots, or simplified version of same, or version of obverse.

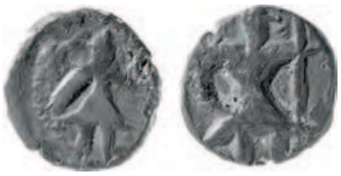
1a god, head to left, left hand on hip, extended right hand.
1b as 1a, but altar under god's extended arm.
1c as 1a, but tamga below god's extended arm.
1d as 1a, but trident head in god's extended hand.
1e as 1a, but trident upright in god's extended hand.
2a god, head to right, right hand on hip, extended left hand.
2b as 2a, but god holding staff with raised right hand.
3a as obverse 1A.
4a as obverse 2A.

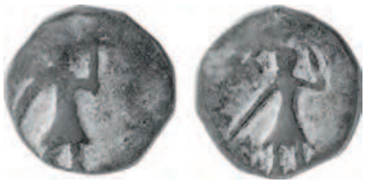
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
1042	300268	1982,1117.47	9.96	23	1A	1a
1043	300267	1982,1117.46	7.88	26	1A	1a
1044*	300240	1981,0325.18	7.49	23	1A	1a
1045	300291	OR.9052	7.41	21	1A	1a
1046	300260	1982,1117.39	6.54	23	1A	1a
1047*	300241	1981,0325.19	8.01	23	1A	1b
1048*	300269	1982,1117.48	11.17	24	1A	2a
1049	300292	OR.9053	8.46	22	1A	2a
1050	300304	1927,1211.2	6.84	22	1A	2a
1051*	300249	1982,1108.3	9.11	22	1A	2b
1052*	300265	1982,1117.44	7.75	23	1A	3a
A*	ANS (1977.66.4518)		9.48	24	1A	4a
1053	300282	1989,0904.4019	10.47	24	2A	1a
1054	300290	OR.9051	9.54	23	2A	1a
1055	300248	1981,0325.25	9.06	23	2A	1a
1056	300283	1927,1211.3	8.64	23	2A	1a
1057	300276	1982,1117.55	7.83	21	2A	1a
1058*	300243	1981,0325.21	6.97	21	2A	1a
1059*	300242	1981,0325.20	6.72	22	2A	1b
1060*	300244	1981,0325.22	8.89	26	2A	1c
1061*	300285	OR.273	9.57	23	2A	1d
1062*	300273	1982,1117.52	8.80	23	2A	4a
1063	300279	1982,1117.58	8.27	22	2A	4a

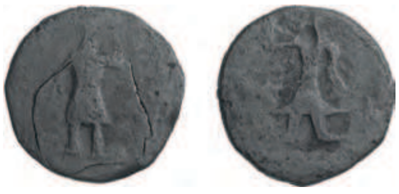

1044: D-imit.C1-ii 1u (1A/1a)

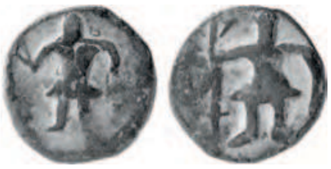

1047: D-imit.C1-ii 1u (1A/1b)

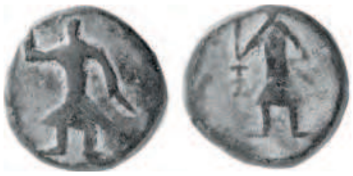

1048: D-imit.C1-ii 1u (1A/2a)

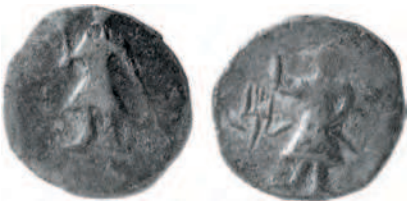

1051: D-imit.C1-ii 1u (1A/2b)


1052: D-imit.C1-ii 1u (1A/3a)

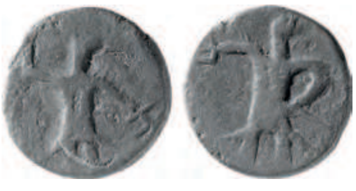

A: D-imit.C1-ii 1u (1A/4a)


1058: D-imit.C1-ii 1u (2A/1a)

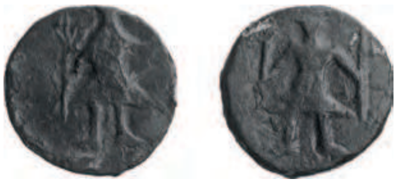

1059: D-imit.C1-ii 1u (2A/1b)



1060: D-imit.C1-ii 1u (2A/1c)

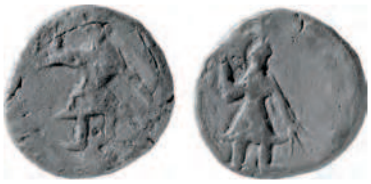


1061: D-imit.C1-ii 1u (2A/1d)

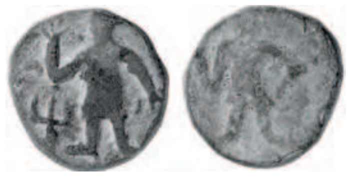


B: D-imit.C1-ii 1u (2C/1e)

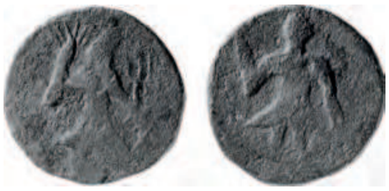
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
1064	300290	OR.9051	9.54	23	2B	1a
1065*	300246	1981,0325.23	8.28	22	2B	1a
B*	ANS (1944.100.59812)		9.17	23	2C	1e
1066*	300284	1989,0904.4020	10.51	24	2C	4a
1067	300289	OR.9050	8.56	22	3A	1a
1068	300286	1850,0305.251	7.54	22	3A	1a
1069*	300247	1981,0325.24	7.01	21	3A	1a
1070	300278	1982,1117.57	7.00	22	3A	1a
1071	300275	1982,1117.54	6.71	23	3A	1a
1072	300277	1982,1117.56	6.27	21	3A	1a
1073	300303	1850,0305.252	5.91	21	3A	1a
1074	300302	1850,0305.250	6.95	21	3A	1c
1075*	300274	1982,1117.53	6.16	22	3A	1c
1076*	300280	1982,1117.59	7.91	22	3A	2a



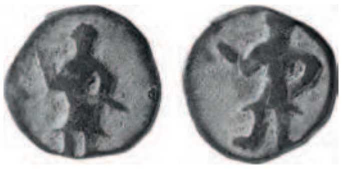
1062: D-imit.C1-ii 1u (2A/4a)



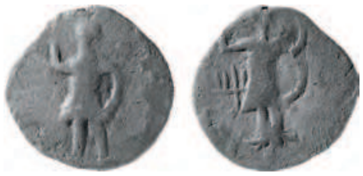
1065: D-imit.C1-ii 1u (2B/1a)



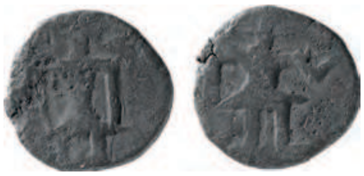
1066: D-imit.C1-ii 1u (2C/4a)



1069: D-imit.C1-ii 1u (3A/1a)



1075: D-imit.C1-ii 1u (3A/1c)



1076: D-imit.C1-ii 1u (3A/2a)

Imitations of Kanishka I copper tetradrachms (D-imit.C2)

Cast imitations of Kanishka I's copper tetradrachm units, made in moulds, have been found in Orissa and the neighbouring areas of Bihar and Bengal. They repeat the crude designs of the struck imitations (D-imit.C1). Like their prototypes they lack detail and inscriptions. Many examples have a crescent added to the design. Unlike the struck imitations, the cast imitations appear to have been issued systematically, perhaps at a single mint.

The cast imitations were issued in four phases, distinguished by their weight standards, use of crescents and treatment of the figures:

Phase 1 imitations were cast to a dropping standard falling from *c.* 11 down to 6g. A few copies of this phase have also been recorded, presumably cast to match the lower standard of the next phase (*c.* 6 down to 3.5g.). Crescents appear on the reverses of a few varieties.

Phase 2 imitations were cast on a lower standard to phase 1, but still on a dropping standard, from 6 to 3.5g. They can be distinguished by their style from phase 1, and from the copies of Phase 1 of the same weight. All varieties have crescents on one or both sides.

Phase 3 imitations were cast on a standard overlapping phases 1 and 2, ranging from *c.* 8 down to 4g. They all have a different form of the deity with symmetrically positioned arms.

Phase 4 imitations were cast on a low standard, *c.* 4g. They use the designs appearing on phase 3, but coupled with a novel design featuring a three hill motif over the Sanskrit inscription in late Brahmi: *ṭaṅka*.

099 D-imit.C2-i 1u Kanishka I imitations phase 1 cast copies, Orissa

Mitchiner 1978, 4699–701

Cast imitations of Kanishka (D) found in Orissa (C2), first phase (i) tetradrachms (1u), dropping weight standard *c.* 11g to 6g, but with some examples on a lower standard *c.* 6g to 3.5g, without inscription, standing figure, based on struck copies of Kanishka tetradrachms (D-imit.C1-ii), but without spear or altar. Examples have also been found in Bihar and Bengal.

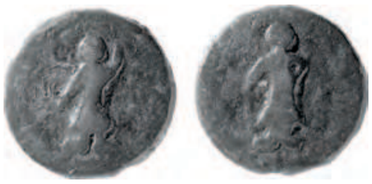
Obverse: King, standing full figure, facing front head without features, with raised hand and extended arm, wearing knee-length tunic, trousers and boots, or simplified version of same.

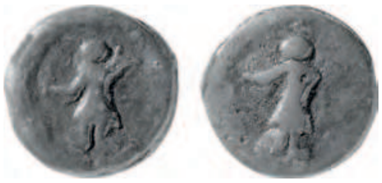
1A king with straight raised left arm and straight extended right arm.
1B as 1A, but king with long curved arms.
2A as 1B, but crescent in left field by king's head.
2B king with raised right arm and extended left arm, crescent in right field.
3A as 1B, but short king and short curved arms.
3B as 3A, but crescent in left field.

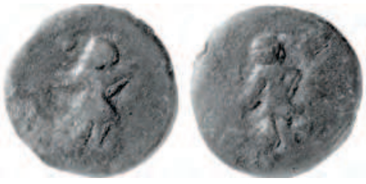
Reverse: God, full figure standing frontally, head without features, with hand at hip and extended arm, wearing knee-length tunic and boots, or simplified version of same.

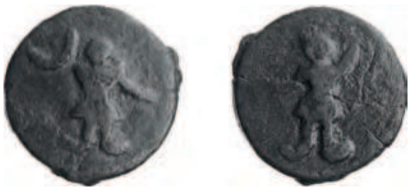
1a god with straight extended right arm, left hand on hip.
1b as 1a, but god with curved right arm.
2a as 1b, but crescent in right field by god's head.
3a god with straight extended left arm and right hand on hip, crescent in left field by god's head.
4a king with straight raised right arm and straight extended left arm.
5a short god with short curved extended right arm and right hand on hip, crescent in right field by god's head.
5b as 5a, but crescent in left field.
6a short god with short curved extended left arm and left hand on hip, crescent in left field by god's head.

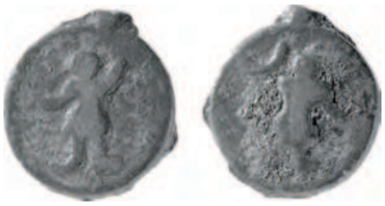
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
1077*	300309	1895,0704.3	11.37	23	1A	1a
1078	300310	1895,0704.4	9.43	24	1A	1a
1079	300307	1895,0704.1	8.60	23	1A	1a
1080*	300308	1895,0704.2	9.87	23	1B	1b
1081	300311	1895,0704.5	9.39	24	1B	1b
1082	300312	1895,0704.6	7.42	23	1B	1b
1083*	300325	1895,0704.15	9.93	23	1B	2a
A*	ANS (1944.100.59802)		9.55	24	1B	3a
1084*	300313	1895,0704.7	9.66	26	2A	3a
1085	300315	1895,0704.9	10.17	23	2A	4a
1086	300316	1895,0704.12	9.90	23	2A	4a
1087*	300314	1895,0704.8	9.52	23	2A	4a
1088	300318	1895,0704.26	9.78	23	2B	4a
1089*	300319	1895,0704.27	9.74	22	2B	4a
1090	300317	1895,0704.25	8.58	23	2B	4a
1091	300320	1895,0704.28	8.08	23	2B	4a
1092	300332	1895,0704.22	10.59	24	3A	5a
1093	300324	1895,0704.14	9.72	24	3A	5a
1094	300327	1895,0704.17	9.42	23	3A	5a
1095	300335	1895,0704.23	9.36	23	3A	5a
1096	300323	1895,0704.13	9.17	22	3A	5a
1097	300326	1895,0704.16	9.05	24	3A	5a
1098	300328	1895,0704.18	8.83	23	3A	5a

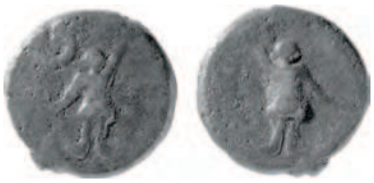

1077: D-imit.C2-i 1u (1A/1a)

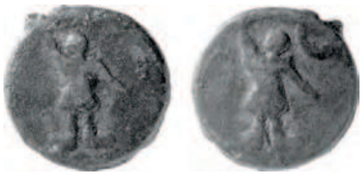

1080: D-imit.C2-i 1u (1B/1b)

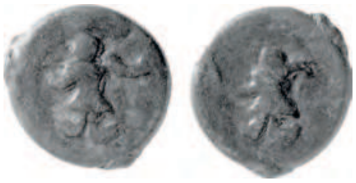

1083: D-imit.C2-i 1u (1B/2a)

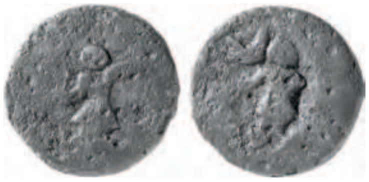

A: D-imit.C2-i 1u (1B/3a)

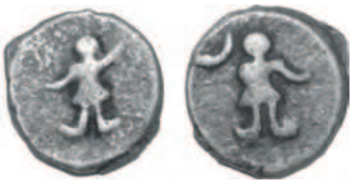

1084: D-imit.C2-i 1u (2A/3a)

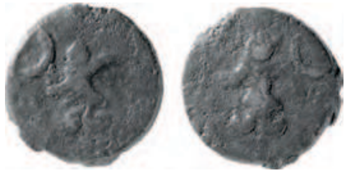

1087: D-imit.C2-i 1u (2A/4a)


1089: D-imit.C2-i 1u (2B/4a)


1100: D-imit.C2-i 1u (3A/5a)


1103: D-imit.C2-i 1u (3A/5b)

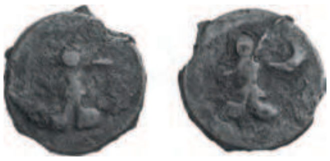

B: D-imit.C2-i 1u (3A/6a)

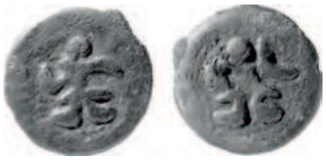

1105: D-imit.C2-i 1u (3B/5a)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
1099	300329	1895,0704.19	8.73	24	3A	5a
1100*	300336	1895,0704.24	8.30	23	3A	5a
1101	300331	1895,0704.21	8.16	22	3A	5a
1102	300330	1895,0704.20	8.12	23	3A	5a
1103*	300322	1895,0704.11	9.25	23	3A	5b
B*†	ebay, 26/8/12: 170899186518		6.96	21	3A	6a
1104	300345	1895,0704.29	9.89	22	3B	5a
1105*	300346	1895,0704.30	8.42	22	3B	5a
1106	300347	1895,0704.31	8.58	23	3B	5a
1107	300348	1895,0704.32	8.07	23	3B	5a

† Previously weight and diameter given as 7.99g and 23mm

100 D-imit.C2-ii 1u Kanishka I imitations phase 2 cast copies, Orissa


A: D-imit.C2-ii 1u (1A/1a)


1111: D-imit.C2-ii 1u (1B/1b)

Mitchiner 1978: 4703–5

Cast imitations of Kanishka (D) found in Orissa (C2), second phase (ii) tetradrachms, dropping weight standard *c.* 6g to 3.5g, without inscriptions, standing figure as phase I but squatter. Examples have also been found in Bihar and Bengal.

Obverse: King, full short figure standing frontally, head without features, wearing knee-length tunic and boots, with right arm curved up and left arm curved down.

1A extended arm open curve.

1B extended arm U-shaped curve.

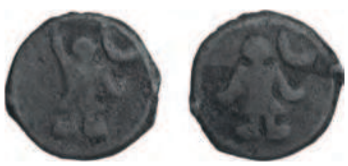
Reverse: God, full short figure standing frontally, head without features, with right arm curved up and no left arm, wearing knee-length tunic and boots, crescent against god's left shoulder.

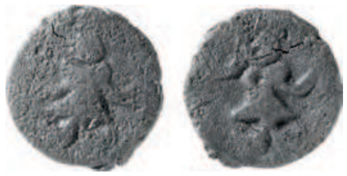
1a crescent rising at right end.

1b crescent rising at left end.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
1108	300333	1928,0108.1	5.83	20	1A	1a
A*	ANS (1997.66.2200)		5.44	20	1A	1a
1109	300338	1928,0108.5	5.54	20	1B	1b
1110	300341	1928,0108.7	5.26	20	1B	1b
1111*	300337	1928,0108.3	5.19	20	1B	1b
1112	300334	1928,0108.2	5.08	20	1B	1b
1113	300339	1928,0108.4	4.68	20	1B	1b
1114	300340	1928,0108.6	4.61	20	1B	1b
1115	300342	1928,0108.8	4.57	20	1B	1b
1116	300343	1928,0108.10	4.5	22	1B	1b
1117	300344	1928,0108.9	3.82	20	1B	1b

101 D-imit.C2-iii 1u Kanishka I imitations phase 3 cast copies, Orissa


A: D-imit.C2-iii 1u (1A/1a)


1118: D-imit.C2-iii 1u (1B/2a)

Cast imitations of Kanishka (D-imit) found in Orissa (C2), third phase (iii) tetradrachms (1u), dropping weight standard *c.* 8g to 4g, without inscriptions as phase 2. Examples have also been found in Bihar and Bengal.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head without feature, wearing knee-length tunic and boots, with right and left arms curved up, crescent in field by king's head.

1A crescent in right field.

1B crescent in left field.

Reverse: King or god, crescent in field.

1a king, full figure standing frontally, head without features, with curved right arm raised and curved left arm extended, wearing knee-length tunic and boots, crescent in right field.

2a god, full figure standing frontally, head without features, with curved left arm extended and right hand on hip, wearing knee-length tunic and boots, crescent in left field.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	ANS (1997.66.2198)		4.20	20	1A	1a
1118*	300321	1895,0704.10	7.09	22	1B	2a

102 D-imit.C2-iv 1u Kanishka I imitations phase 4 cast copies, *ṭaṅka* type

Mitchiner 1978, 4702

Cast imitations of Kanishka (D) found in Orissa (C2), fourth phase (iv) tetradrachms, *c.* 4g, with inscription *taṅka*, standing figure as phase 3.

Obverse: Full figure standing frontally, head without features, wearing knee-length tunic and boots, symbols in field by figure's head.

1A king with right and left arms curved up, dot in right field and crescent in left field.

1B as 1A, but dot in left field and crescent in right field.

2A god with curved right arm extended, no left arm, crescent in right field.

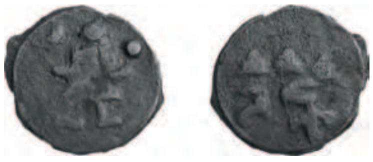
Reverse: Three hills in row. Inscription: Brahmi (in line below hills).

1a inscription *ṭaṅka*.

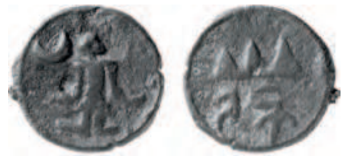
1b inscription different to 1a but illegible (possibly blundered version of *ṭaṅka*).

1c inscription is reversed from 1a.

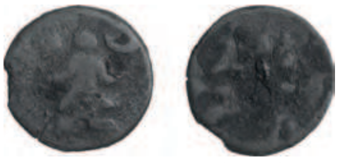
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	ANS (1997.66.2390)		4.89	20	1A	1a
1119*	300350	1986,0933.2	4.03	20	1A	1a
B*	ANS (1997.66.2195)		2.82	20	1B	1a
C*	Private collection L		5.21	21	1B	1b
D*	ANS (1997.66.2300)		5.72	22	2A	1a
E*	Tripathy 1986: pl. XLVI		-	-	2A	1c



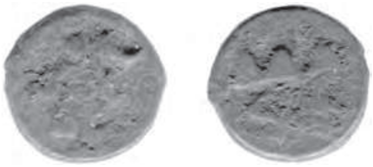
A:D-imit.C2-iv 1u (1A/1a)



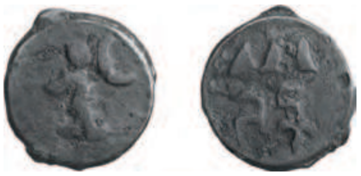
1119: D-imit.C2-iv 1u (1A/1a)



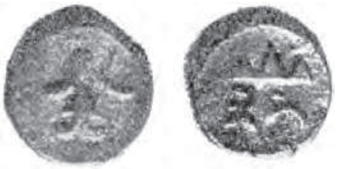
B:D-imit.C2-iv 1u (1B/1a)



C:D-imit.C2-iv 1u (1B/1b)



D:D-imit.C2-iv 1u (2A/1a)



E:D-imit.C2-iv 1u (2A/1c)

Huvishka main gold mint, Balkh (E.G1)

The Balkh gold mint was the more productive of the two gold mints in Huvishka's reign, being responsible for about two thirds of production. They were issued in two denominations, gold dinars (*c.* 8g) and quarter dinars (*c.* 2g). The gold content was diminished slightly from the reign of Kanishka. All used an obverse design consisting of the king's torso emerging from a mountain top, holding a club. The obverse inscription in Bactrian gave the king's titles and name. The reverse design consisted of a deity and label in Bactrian.

The issues of this mint were produced in six phases. The fourth and fifth phases marked major changes in the representation of the king, and the redesign of the fifth phase was adopted by the subsidiary mint in its fourth phase (E.G2-iv).

Phase 1 production consisted of both dinars and quarters. The initial dies did not employ the laddered or dashed diadem which became distinctive of the main mint and the reverses used an unbarred variety of tamga like that used in the reign of Kanishka. Ardochsho (1), Mao (2), Miiro (3), Nana (4), Oesho (5), Skando-Komaro and Bizago (9), Maaseno (14) and Sarapis (22) are used as reverse designs in this phase but only Skando-Komaro and Bizago (9) and Sarapis (22) were known in the quarters.

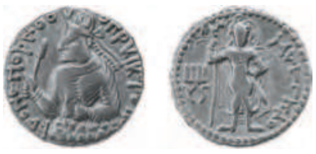
Phase 2 production consisted of both dinars and quarters. It was marked by the introduction of a barred tamga on the reverse. Deities featured on the reverse included Ardochsho (1), Mao (2), Miiro (3), Nana(4), Oesho (5), Pharro (6), Skando-Komara and Bizago (9), Manaobago (16) and Sarapis (22), though Mao, Nana, Manaobago and Sarapis are not known in the quarters.

Phase 3 production consisted of both dinars and quarters. It showed a general reduction in the quality of engraving. Deities featured on the reverse included Ardochsho (1), Mao (2), Miiro (3), Nana (4), Pharro (6) and Manaobago (16), but only Mao and Miiro in the quarters.

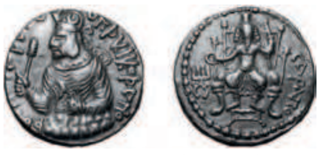
Phase 4 production consisted of both dinars and quarters. The phase was marked by a new treatment of the obverse portrait which generally appears more youthful. The deities featured on the reverse included Ardochsho (1), Mao (2), Miiro (3), Pharro (6) and Sarapis (22), but only Mao and Miiro are known in the quarters.

Phase 5 production consisted of both dinars and quarters. The fifth phase was marked by a new obverse design in which the king wears a decorated helmet and tunic, and holds a spear or standard over his shoulder. Several new reverse types were introduced and the deities used in this phase included Ardochsho (1), Mao (2), Miiro (3), Nana (4), Oesho (5), Pharro (6), Athsho (8), Skando-Komaro, Bizago and Maaseno (9), Dionysus (10), Heracles (11), Yamsho (12), Lrooaspo (13), Oxus (17), Oanindo (19), Ahura Mazda (20), Shaoreoro (23) and Teiro (24), though only Ardochsho, Mao, Miiro, Pharro and Shaoreoro are known in the quarters.

Phase 6 production consisted only of full dinars. The sixth phase was marked by the addition of a diadem band on the king's helmet. The reverse design was standardised to use Ardochsho (1), but rarely Miiro (3), Nana (4), Rishti (21) and Shaoreoro (23) also appeared.



1120: E.G1-i 1d (1A/14a)



A: E.G1-i 1d (1A/22a)

103 E.G1-i 1d Main gold mint phase 1 dinars, unbarred tamga

Göbl 1984: 136–7, 146, 152–6

Huvishka (E) main gold mint (G1) first phase (i) dinars (1d), *c.* 8g. The first phase of production is distinquished by the same tamga as is employed on the coins of Kanishka, i.e. without a horizontal bar.

Obverse: King, torso emerging from mountain top facing to left or right, circular mark on cheek, beardless with moustache and sideburns, wearing tall cap with brim two pronged badge on front a crescent on the side and surmounted with a crescent device, diadem with small dashes resembling a laddered design, tied at the back, wearing a tunic with a jewelled collar, holding the hilt of a sword with a projection resembling an animal at the pommel, and a club. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 7.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKI KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan).

1A King facing to the left holding sword in left hand and club in front with right hand.

1B As for 1A but the laddering on the diadem is absent. This type is represented by only one die which is probably the first employed at the mint.

2A King facing to the right holding his sword before him with his left hand and his club across his chest with his right.

Reverse: Deity, full figure, unbarred tamga in field, all contained in dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian: deity's name.

1a Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with polos head-dress on top, wearing hair held in badged diadem with two ribbons behind and roll of curls below diadem and hair bun at back, earring, necklace, sleeved ankle-length gown, holding cornucopia with three projections with both hands in front of her, unbarred tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): ΑΡΔΟΧÞΟ.

2a Mao, moon god, standing frontally, head to right surrounded by crescent emanating from shoulders, wearing short hair held in diadem with two ribbons behind and roll of curls below diadem, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, cloak, sword in scabbard, holding torque in right hand, holding hilt of sword with left hand at waist, unbarred tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): ΜΑΟ.

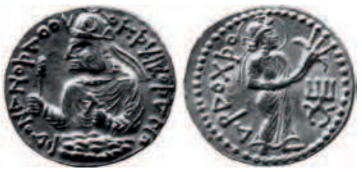
3a Miiro, sun god, standing frontally, head and upper body to right, radiating halo, wearing short hair held in a diadem with two ribbons behind and roll of curls below diadem, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, and cloak, sword in scabbard suspended at waist, holding torque in right hand, hilt of sword in left hand, unbarred tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): ΜΙΙΡΟ.

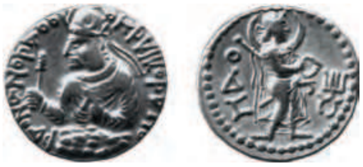
3b Miiro, sun god, standing frontally, head turned to left, radiating halo, wearing short hair held in a diadem with two ribbons behind and roll of curls below diadem, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, and cloak held by two clasps on chest, sword in scabbard suspended at waist, making gesture with right hand, holding hilt of sword in left hand, unbarred tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field) ΜΙΙΡΟ.

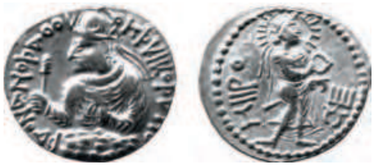
4a Royal Nana, royal goddess, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with crescent on top, wearing short hair held in diadem with two ribbons and with crescent on top, wearing short hair held in diadem with two ribbons behind and roll of curls below diadem and hair bun at back, earring, sleeved ankle-length gown and shawl around waist and draped over left forearm, sword in scabbard suspended from strap tied with single clasp on left thigh, holding wand tipped with lion-forepart in right hand, and bowl in left hand at waist, unbarred tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): ΝΑΝΑÞΑΟ.

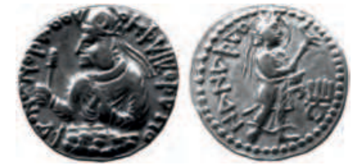
5a Oesho, mountain god, four armed standing frontally head to left surrounded by halo, wearing hair in top-knot, with moustache, calf-length dhoti and string of beads across chest from left shoulder and armlets and bracelets on each arm, holding trident diagonally in upper left hand, horned animal (goat?) in lower left hand at waist, thunderbolt in upper right hand and water-pot with water pouring from it in extended lower right hand, unbarred tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΟΗÞΟ.

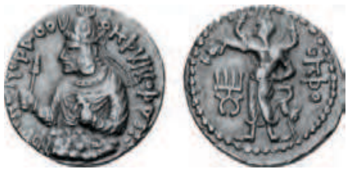
9a Skando-Komaro and Bizago, warrior gods, facing each other, Skando-Komaro on left facing frontally head to right, with halo, wearing diadem with plume at back, hair tied in top-knot at front, moustache, torque around neck, necklace of beads, armlets on upper arms and at wrist, dhoti tied around waist, and cloak, holding spear in right hand, hilt of sword in left hand, Bizago is dressed in identical manner but facing to the left and with no plume on his diadem. Between the gods an unbarred tamga. Both standing on a platform. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 2.00 to 4.00) ΒΙΖΑΓΟ, (from 7.00 to 12.00) ΣΚΑΝΔΟ ΚΟΜ- (and inside at 9.00) –ΑΡΟ.

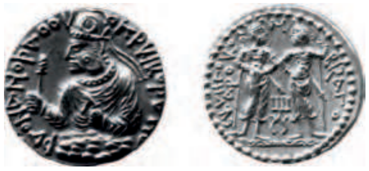

1122: E.G1-i 1d (1B/1a)

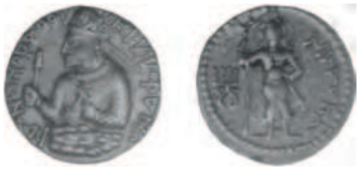

1123: E.G1-i 1d (1B/2a)

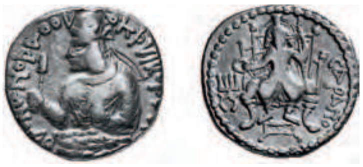

1124: E.G1-i 1d (1B/3a)

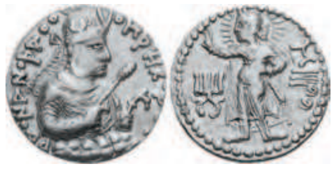

1125: E.G1-i 1d (1B/4a)

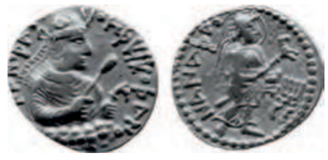

B: E.G1-i 1d (1B/5a)


1126: E.G1-i 1d (1B/9a)


C: E.G1-i 1d (1B/14a)


D: E.G1-i 1d (1B/22a)


E: E.G1-i 1d (2A/3b)


1128: E.G1-i 1d (2A/4a)

14a Maaseno, warrior god, standing facing frontally, head surrounded by halo, moustache, wearing peaked cap with ribbons and diadem ties hanging either side of head, light tunic, cloak fastened at chest by two large clasps, calf-length dhoti, holding hilt of sword with left hand, and bird standard with two ribbons with right, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00 to 5.00): MAACHNO.

22a Sarapis, syncretic god, seated facing frontally, with polos head-dress, and halo, long hair, moustache and full beard, wearing tunic, baggy trousers, high boots, and an apron suspended from a belt, holding sceptre in left hand and diadem in right hand, seated on high backed throne with lion's feet and resting feet on a foot stool, in left field an unbarred tamga. Inscription in Bactrian (in right field clockwise): ΣΑΡΑΠΟ.

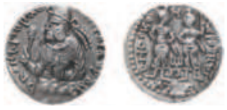
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
1120*	187920	1879,0501.20	7.33	18	-	1A	14a
1121	187921	1894,0506.45	7.92	19	-	1A	14a
A*	vcoins.com no. 80573		-	-	-	1A	22a
1122*	187914	1894,0506.42	8.00	22	-	1B	1a
1123*	187927	1879,0501.59	7.91	20	-	1B	2a
1124*	187937	1879.0501.79	7.93	20	-	1B	3a
1125*	187967	IOC.329	7.87	19	-	1B	4a
B*	Rauch Auction 8: 171		-	-	-	1B	5a
1126*	188028	1860,1220.202	7.99	18	-	1B	9a
1127	188029	1879,0501.21	7.87	?	-	1B	9a
C*	Shown to BM		-	-	-	1B	14a
D*	Kunker Auction 83: 1534		-	-	-	1B	22a
E*	CNG auction 79: 698		-	-	-	2A	3b
1128*†	187971	1894,0506.61	7.85	20	-	2A	4a

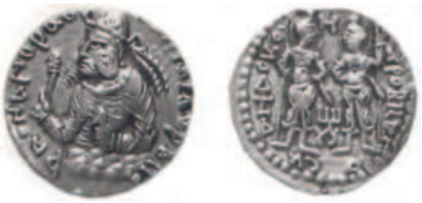
† Coin 1128 is struck using the same die as coin 1142 of phase 2 suggesting this was one of the last dies employed in this phase, and the first used in the next.

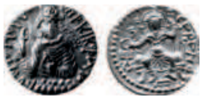
104 E.G1-i ¼d Main gold mint phase I quarter dinars, unbarred tamga

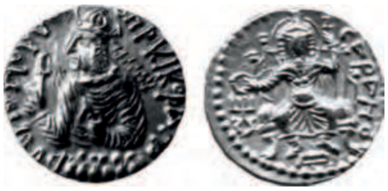
Göbl 1984: 164, 166

Huvishka (E) main gold mint (G1) first phase (i) quarter dinars (¼d), *c.* 2g. The first phase of production is distinguished by the same tamga as is employed on the coins of Kanishka, i.e. without a horizontal bar.


A: E.G1-i ¼d (9a)


200% enlargement of A


1129: E.G1-i ¼d (22a)


200% enlargement of 1129

Obverse: King, torso emerging from mountain top facing to left, circular mark on cheek, beardless with moustache and sideburns, wearing tall cap with brim two pronged badge on front a crescent on the side and surmounted with a crescent device, diadem with small dashes resembling a laddered design, tied at the back, wearing a tunic with a jewelled collar, holding the hilt of a sword with a projection resembling an animal at the pommel in left hand, and a club in right hand. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 7.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKI KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan).

Reverse: Deity, full figure, unbarred tamga in field, all contained in dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian: deity's name.

9a Skando-Komaro and Bizago, warrior gods, facing each other, Skando-Komaro on left facing frontally head to right, with halo, wearing diadem, hair in top-knot at front, moustache, torque around neck, necklace of beads, armlets on upper arms and at wrist, dhoti tied around waist, and cloak, holding sceptre in right hand, hilt of sword which points to the right in left hand, Bizago is dressed in identical manner but facing to the left. Between the gods an unbarred tamga. Both standing on a platform. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 3.00 to 2.00): BIZAΓ-O ΣK-ANΔO KO-M-APO. This differs from the full unit only in the spacing of the inscription.

22a* Sarapis, syncretic god, seated facing frontally, with polos head-dress, and halo, long hair, moustache and full beard, wearing tunic, baggy trousers, high boots, and an apron suspended from a belt, holding sceptre in left hand and diadem in right hand, seated on high backed throne with lion's feet and resting feet on a foot stool, in left field an unbarred tamga. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΣΑΡΑΠΟ.

No.	PRN	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Rev.
A*	Göbl 1984: 166/2		-	-	-	9a
1129*	188026	1893,0506.19	1.97	12	-	22a

105 E.G1-ii 1d Main gold mint phase 2 dinars, barred tamga

Göbl 1984: 135–9, 141, 147–8, 151, 153–7

Huvishka (E) main gold mint (G1) second phase (ii) dinars (1d), *c.* 8g. The second phase of production uses a tamga with a horizontal bar. Where a design differs only in the addition of the horizontal bar it is marked with an asterisk.

Obverse: King, torso emerging from a mountain top facing to left or right, circular mark on cheek, beardless with moustache and sideburns, wearing tall cap with brim two pronged badge on front a crescent on the side and surmounted with a crescent device, diadem with small dashes resembling a laddered design, tied at the back, wearing a tunic with a jewelled collar, holding the hilt of a sword with a projection resembling an animal at the pommel, and a club. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 7.00): ϷΑΟΝΑΝΟ ϷΑΟ ΟΟΗϷΚΙ ΚΟϷΑΝΟ (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan).

1A King facing to the left holding sword in left hand and club in front with right hand.

1B King facing to the right holding his sword before him with his left hand and his club across his chest with his right.

Reverse: Deity, full figure, unbarred tamga in field, all contained in dotted border. Bactrian inscription with the deities name. Types known from an earlier phase are marked with an asterisk.

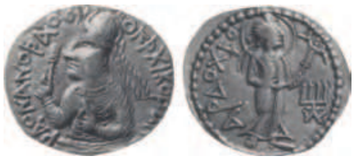
1b* Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with polos head-dress on top, curled hair held in badged diadem with two ribbons behind and hair bun at back, wearing earrings, necklace, sleeved ankle-length gown, holding cornucopia with three projections with both hands in front of her, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): ΑΡΔΟΧϷΟ. The type differs from 1a above only in the barred tamga.

2b* Mao, moon god, standing frontally, head to right surrounded by crescent emanating from shoulders, wearing short hair held in diadem with two ribbons behind and roll of curls below diadem, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, cloak, sword in scabbard, holding torque in right hand, holding hilt of sword with left hand at waist, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): ΜΑΟ. The type differs from 2a above only in the barred tamga.

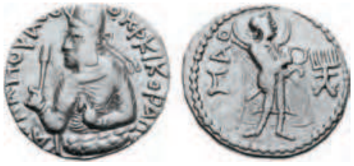
2c Mao, moon god, standing frontally leaning back, head turned to left surrounded by crescent emanating from shoulders, short hair held in a diadem with two ribbons behind, wearing calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, cloak fastened at chest with single clasp, sword in scabbard, making gesture with right hand, holding sceptre with ribbon tied to top across chest in left hand, tamga in left field, Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): ΜΑΟ.

3c* Miiro, sun god, standing frontally, head and upper body to right, radiating halo, wearing short hair held in a diadem with two ribbons behind and roll of curls below diadem, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, and cloak, sword in scabbard suspended at waist, holding torque in right hand, hilt of sword in left hand, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): ΜΙΙΡΟ. The type differs from 3a above only in the barred tamga.

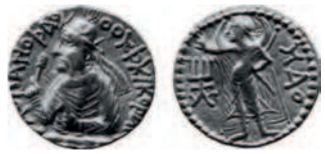
3d* Miiro, sun god, standing frontally, head turned to left, radiating halo, wearing short hair held in a diadem with two ribbons behind and roll of curls below diadem, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high



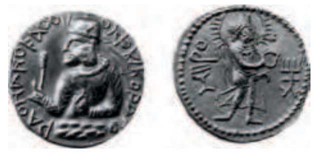
A: E.G1-ii 1d (1A/1b)



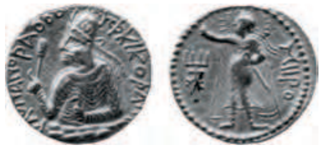
B: E.G1-ii 1d (1A/2b)



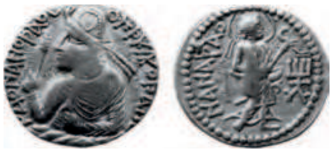
1131: E.G1-ii 1d (1A/2c)



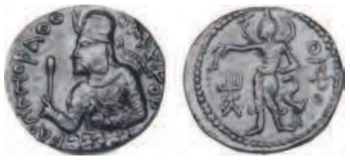
1132: E.G1-ii 1d (1A/3c)



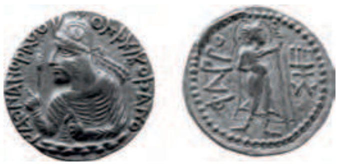
1133: E.G1-ii 1d (1A/3d)



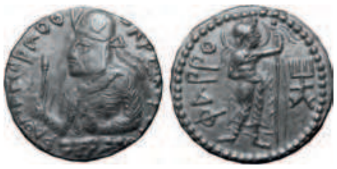
1136: E.G1-ii 1d (1A/4b)

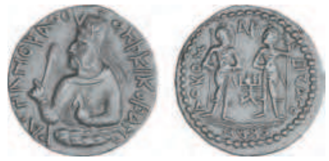


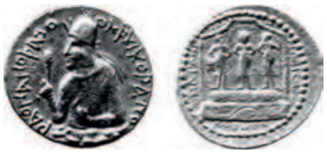
C: E.G1-ii 1d (1A/5b)

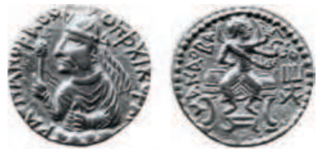


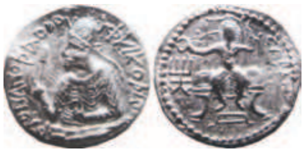
1138: E.G1-ii 1d (1A/6a)

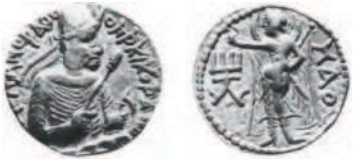

D: E.G1-ii 1d (1A/6b)

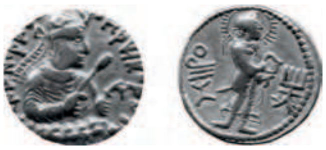

E: E.G1-ii 1d (1A/9b)

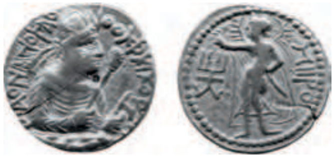

1139: E.G1-ii 1d (1A/9c)


1141: E.G1-ii 1d (1A/16a)


F: E.G1-ii 1d (1A/20b)


G: E.G1-ii 1d (1B/2c)


1142: E.G1-ii 1d (1B/3c)


1144: E.G1-ii 1d (1B/3d)

boots, and cloak held by two clasps on chest, sword in scabbard suspended at waist, making gesture with right hand, holding hilt of sword in left hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field) ΜΙΙΡΟ. The type differs from 3b above only in the barred tamga.

4b* Royal Nana, royal goddess, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with crescent on top, wearing short hair held in diadem with two ribbons, wearing short hair held in diadem with two ribbons behind and roll of curls below diadem and hair bun at back, earring, sleeved ankle-length gown and shawl around waist and draped over left forearm, sword in scabbard suspended from strap tied with single clasp on left thigh, holding wand tipped with lion-forepart in right hand, and bowl in left hand at waist, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): ΝΑΝΑÞΑΟ. The type differs from 4a above only in the barred tamga.

5b* Oesho, mountain god, four armed standing frontally head to left surrounded by halo, wearing hair in top-knot, with moustache, calf-length dhoti and string of beads across chest from left shoulder and armlets and bracelets on each arm, holding trident diagonally in upper left hand, horned animal (goat?) in lower left hand at waist, thunderbolt in upper right hand and water-pot with water pouring from it in extended lower right hand, unbarred tamga in left field. Bactrian Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΟΗÞΟ. The type differs from 5a above only in the barred tamga.

6a Pharro, personification of royal glory, standing frontally, head to right with halo, wearing diadem, knee length tunic held by belt, boots, cloak, and sword in scabbard, holding sceptre with left hand and hilt of sword with right, in right field tamga. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): ΦΑΡΡΟ.

6b Pharro, personification of royal glory, as for 6a but ribbon with two ties attached to top of sceptre.

9b* Skando-Komaro and Bizago, warrior gods, facing each other, Skando-Komaro on left facing frontally head to right, with halo, wearing diadem, hair in top-knot at front, moustache, torque around neck, necklace of beads, armlets on upper arms and at wrist, dhoti tied around waist, and cloak, holding sceptre in right hand, hilt of sword which points to the right in left hand, Bizago is dressed in identical manner but facing to the left. Between the gods a tamga. Both standing on a platform. Inscription in Bactrian, clockwise from 3.00 to 2.00: ΒΙΖΑΓΟ ΣΚΑΝ-ΔΟ ΚΟΜ-ΑΡ-Ο. Aside from the barred tamga this design differs from the previous phase only in the arrangement of the inscription.

9c Skando-Komaro, Bizago, and Maaseno, warrior gods, standing in a temple. Three figures are depicted, it is unclear as to identities but the central figure is probably Maaseno. The figure on the left standing facing frontally, head turned to right, with halo, wearing garment over left shoulder, armlets on upper arms, sword in scabbard, both hands at waist, holding sword hilt in left hand. Central figure standing frontally, halo around head, wearing bird head dress, garment over left shoulder, armlets on upper arms. Holding sword hilt in left hand. Right hand figure standing frontally, head turned to left, wearing garment over left shoulder, armlets on upper arms, holding sceptre in left hand. All standing on a platform contained within a frame denoting a temple and decorated. Bactrian inscription clockwise from 3.00 to 2.00: ΒΙΖΑΓΟ ΣΚΑΝΔΟ ΚΟ-ΜΑΡΟ ΜΑ-ΑΣΗΝ-Ο.

16a: Manaobago, god of 'good mind', four armed, seated on throne frontally, with head to right surrounded by crescent emanating from shoulders, wearing helmet with flat brim, horn like ornament on the side, diadem with two ribbons, short-sleeved calf-length tunic, bracelets on all arms and mid-calf boots, holding sceptre with plough emblem in raised left hand, wheel with dotted rim in extended lower left hand, ribboned bag (or thunderbolt) in upper right hand at waist and torque in lower right hand extended across upper torso; stool with lion legs and covered with square cloth, king's feet resting on low footstool, tamga in right field. Bactrian inscription clockwise from 8.00 to 2.00 ΜΑΝΑΟΒΑ-ΓΟ.

22b*: Sarapis, syncretic god, seated facing frontally, with polos headdress, and halo, long hair, moustache and full beard, wearing tunic, baggy trousers, high boots, and an apron suspended from a belt, holding sceptre in left hand and diadem in right hand, seated on high backed throne with lion's feet and resting feet on a foot stool, in left field a tamga. Inscription in right field clockwise ΣΑΡΑΠΟ. The type differs from 20a above only in the barred tamga.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	State Museum, Berlin; Göbl 1984: 154/6		7.96	-	-	1A	1b
B*	Classical Numismatic Group Auction, 72, 1085		-	-	-	1A	2b
1130	187928	1894,0506.53	8.05	18	18.20	1A	2c
1131*	187926	1879,0501.55	7.94	19	-	1A	2c
1132*	187940	1860,1220.206	7.95	19	-	1A	3c
1133*	187938	1894,0506.64	7.96	19	18.87	1A	3d
1134	187939	IOC.319	7.93	19	-	1A	3d
1135	187970	1888,1208.553	7.96	19	-	1A	4b
1136*	187968	1894,0506.62	7.92	19	18.84	1A	4b
1137	187969	1879,0501.71	7.72	19	-	1A	4b
C*	Göbl 1984:155/8		-	-	-	1A	5b
1138*	187973	IOC.340	7.88	20	18.64	1A	6a
D*	Spink Auction 9026, Oct 2009: 1257		7.99	-	-	1A	6b
E*	ANS (1944.100.48103)		7.94	20	-	1A	9b
1139*	188067	1867,1218.11	7.86	20	-	1A	9c
1140	188051	1865,0803.16	7.79	19	-	1A	9c
1141*†	187923	1894,0506.46	7.92	19	-	1A	16a
F*	Spink-Taisei Auction 10, Feb 1991: 33		-	-	-	1A	22b
G*	BKB (8697); Göbl 1984: 147/1		7.67	19	-	1B	2c
1142*	187946	1888,1208.551	7.89	19	-	1B	3c
1143	187966	IOC.330	7.87	18	-	1B	3d
1144*	187945	1888,1208.550	7.84	20	-	1B	3d

† The Museum also has a 19th-century forgery, IOC.307 (COC187924), of this type.

106 E.G1-ii ¼d Main gold mint phase 2 quarter dinars, barred tamga

Göbl 1984: 160, 162, 165–7

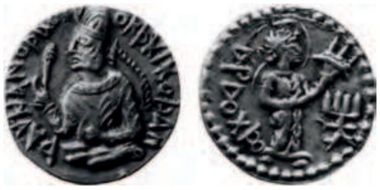
Huvishka (E) main gold mint (G1) second phase (ii) quarter dinars (¼d), *c.* 2g. The second phase of production uses a tamga with a horizontal bar. Where a design differs only in the addition of the horizontal bar it is marked with an asterisk.

Obverse: King, torso emerging from a mountain top facing to left, circular mark on cheek, beardless with moustache and sideburns, wearing tall cap with brim two pronged badge on front a crescent on the side and surmounted with a crescent device, diadem with small dashes resembling a laddered design, tied at the back, wearing a tunic with a jewelled collar, holding the hilt of a sword with a projection resembling an animal at the pommel in left hand, and a club in right hand. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 7.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKI KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan).

Reverse: Deity, full figure, unbarred tamga in field, all contained in dotted border. Bactrian inscription with the deities name. Types known from an earlier phase are marked with an asterisk.

1b* Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with polos head-dress on top, wearing hair held in badged diadem with two ribbons behind and roll of curls below diadem and hair bun at back, earring, necklace, sleeved ankle-length gown,

1145: E.G1-ii ¼d (1b)



200% enlargement of 1145

107 E.G1-iii 1d Main gold mint phase 3 dinars, 'long faced'

Göbl 1984: 139–45, 148–50, 153

Huvishka (E) main gold mint (G1) third phase (iii) dinars (1d), *c.* 8g. This phase shows a change in style with crudely engraved obverses and reverses, featuring large clubs and extremely thin figures, or figures with large noses.

Obverse: King, torso emerging from mountain top facing to left, circular mark on cheek, beardless with moustache and sideburns, wearing tall cap with brim two pronged badge on front a crescent on the side and surmounted with a crescent device, diadem with small dashes resembling a laddered design, tied at the back, wearing a tunic with a jewelled collar, holding the hilt of a sword with a projection resembling an animal at the pommel in left hand, and a club in right hand. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 7.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKI KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan). This design is as for the previous phase but often with cruder engraving.

Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, all contained in dotted border. Bactrian inscription with the deities name. Types known from an earlier phase (even in a new style) are marked with an asterisk.

1b* Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with polos head-dress on top, wearing hair held in badged diadem with two ribbons behind and roll of curls below diadem and hair bun at back, earring, necklace, sleeved ankle-length gown, holding cornucopia with three projections with both hands in front of her, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): ΑΡΔΟΧÞΟ.

2c* Mao, moon god, standing frontally leaning back upper body back, head turned to left surrounded by crescent emanating from shoulders, wearing short hair held in a diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, cloak fastened at chest with single clasp, sword in scabbard, making gesture with right hand, holding sceptre with ribbon tied to top across chest in left hand, tamga in left field, Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): MAO.

2d Mao, mood god, as for 2c but without sceptre, left hand holding hilt of sword.

2e Mao, moon god, as for 2d but inscription: MAOO.

2f Mao, moon god, as for 2c but inscription: MAOO.

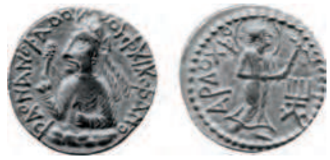
2g Mao, moon god, standing frontally head to left surrounded by crescent depicted in outline emanating from shoulders, wearing top knot, diadem, calf-length tunic, boots, sword in scabbard at waist, cloak over shoulders, holding sceptre vertically in left hand, right hand on waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field) MAO.

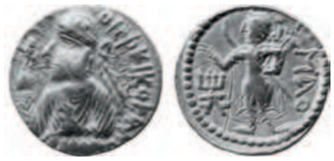
3d* Miiro, sun god, standing frontally, head turned to left, radiating halo, wearing short hair held in a diadem with two ribbons behind and roll of curls below diadem, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, and cloak held by two clasps on chest, sword in scabbard suspended at waist, making gesture with right hand, holding hilt of sword in left hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MIIPO.

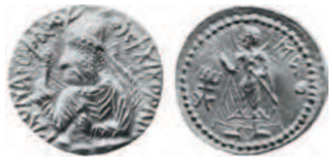
3e Miiro, sun god, as for 3d but with errors in the inscription, MIPO, MIPPO, MIIPPO, are all known. On occasion the tamga is also blundered and so can be confused with the unbarred variety.

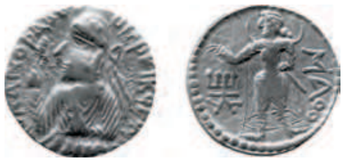
3f Miiro, sun god, standing frontally, head turned to left, radiating halo, wearing short hair with top knot held in a diadem with two ribbons behind and roll of curls below diadem, knee length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, and cloak held by two clasps on chest, sword in scabbard suspended at waist, holding sceptre with ribbon tied to end vertically in left hand and right hand on hip, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field) MIOPO.

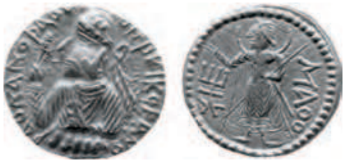
4b* Royal Nana, royal goddess, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with crescent on top, wearing short hair held in diadem with two ribbons, wearing short hair held in diadem with two ribbons behind and roll of curls below diadem and hair bun at back, earring, sleeved ankle-length gown and shawl around waist and draped over left forearm, sword in scabbard suspended from strap tied with single clasp on left thigh,

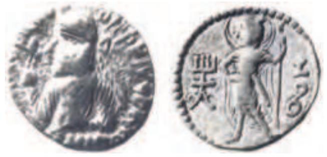

1153 E.G1-iii 1d (1b)

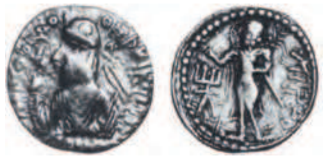

1154: E.G1-iii 1d (2c)

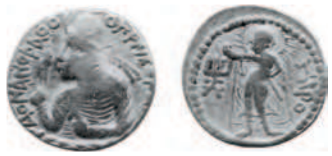

1155: E.G1-iii 1d (2d)

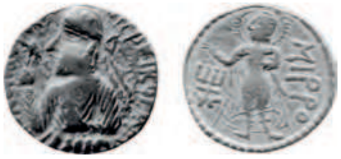

1156: E.G1-iii 1d 2e

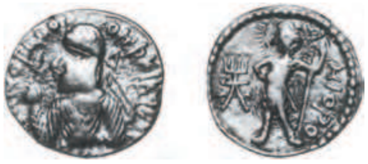

1157: E.G1-iii 1d (2f)

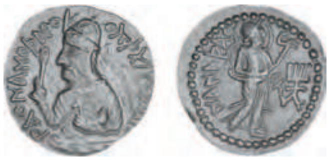

B: E.G1-iii 1d (2g)

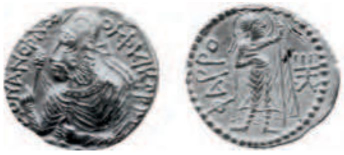

C: E.G1-iii 1d (3d)

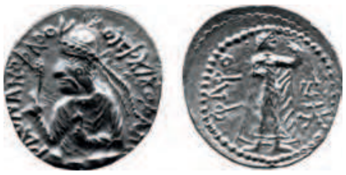

1159: E.G1-iii 1d (3e)

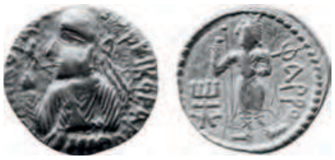

1160: E.G1-iii 1d (3e)

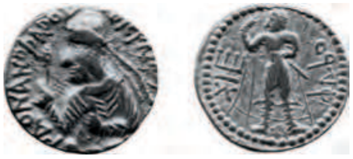

D: E.G1-iii 1d (3f)

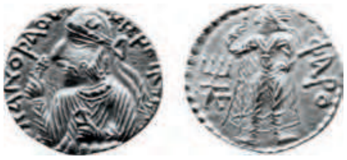

E: E.G1-iii 1d (4b)

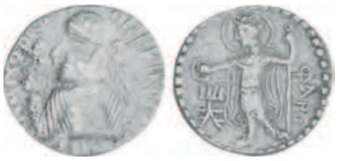

1161: E.G1-iii 1d (6b)

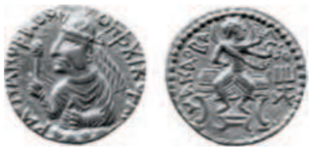

1163: E.G1-iii 1d (6c)


1164: E.G1-iii 1d (6d)


1165: E.G1-iii 1d (6e)


1166: E.G1-iii 1d (6f)


F: E.G1-iii 1d (6g)


1167: E.G1-iii 1d (16a)

holding wand tipped with lion-forepart in right hand, and bowl in left hand at waist, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): NANAÞAO.

6b* Pharro, personification of royal glory, standing frontally, head to right with halo, wearing diadem, knee length tunic held by belt, boots, cloak, and sword in scabbard, holding sceptre with left hand and hilt of sword with right, in right field tamga. Inscription in Bactrian (anti-clockwise in left field): ΦAPPO.

6c Pharro, personification of royal glory, as for 6b but without sword or halo and inscription ΦAPO.

6d Pharro, personification of royal glory, standing frontally, head to left, knee-length tunic held by belt, calf-high boots, cloak, holding sceptre vertically with right hand, left hand at waist, in left field tamga. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field) ΦAPPO.

6e Pharro, personification of royal glory, as for 6d but holding hilt of sword in scabbard at waist, with inscription ΦAPO.

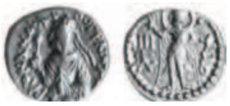
6f Pharro, personification of royal glory, as for 6e but inscription counter-clockwise.

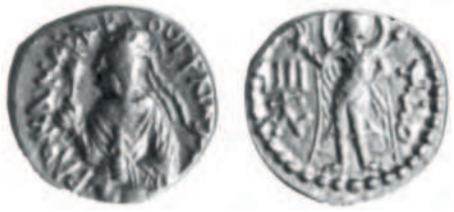
6g Pharro, personification of royal glory, standing frontally, head to left with halo, wearing bird headdress, diadem with two ties, calf-length length tunic held by belt, calf-high boots, cloak fastened in front of chest with two clasps, holding sceptre in left hand vertically behind, and diadem with ties above and below arm in right hand, in left field tamga. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field) ΦAPO.

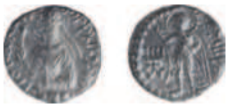
16a* Manaobago, god of 'good mind', four armed, seated on throne frontally, with head to right surrounded by crescent emanating from shoulders, wearing helmet with flat brim, horn like ornament on the side, diadem with two ribbons, short-sleeved calf-length tunic, bracelets on all arms and mid-calf boots, holding sceptre with plough emblem in raised left hand, wheel with dotted rim in extended lower left hand, ribboned bag (or thunderbolt) in upper right hand at waist and torque in lower right hand extended across upper torso; stool with lion legs and covered with square cloth, king's feet resting on low footstool, tamga in right field. Inscription clockwise from 8.00 to 2.00 MANAOBA-ΓO.

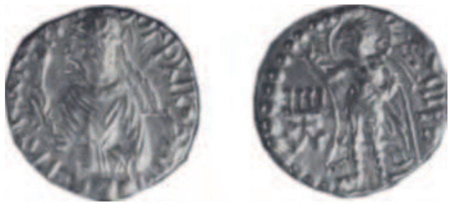
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Rev.
1153*	187915	1879,0501.48	7.94	20	-	1b
1154*	187932	1879,0501.56	7.85	20	-	2c
1155*	187929	1879,0501.58	7.97	20	-	2d
1156*	187935	1879,0501.57	7.88	20	-	2e
1157	187934	1988,0808.8	7.89	20	-	2e
1158*	187936	1879,0501.54	7.98	21	-	2f
B*	Göbl 1984: 150/1†		-	-	-	2g
C*	Göbl 1984: 140/7		7.79	-	-	3d
1159*	187943	IOC.320	7.75	19	18.97	3e
1160*	188077	1871,0507.1	7.83	19	-	3e
D*	Göbl 1984: 140A/1		7.87	-	-	3f
E*	Private collection G		-	-	-	4b
1161*	187974	1893,0506.14	7.96	19	-	6b
1162	187975	1857,0813.69	7.95	19	-	6b
1163*	187976	1879,0501.39	7.92	21	-	6c
1164*	187979	IOC.342	7.86	20	-	6d
1165*	187977	1879,0501.40	7.91	19	-	6e
1166*	187978	1879,0501.41	8.01	19	-	6f
F*	ANS (1944.100.63650)		7.91	21	-	6g
1167*	188401	1879,0501.51	7.93	18	-	16a

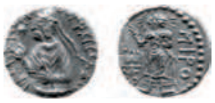
108 E.G1-iii ¼d Main mint phase 3 quarter dinars


A: Q E.G1-iii ¼d (2c)


200% enlargement of A


B: Q E.G1-iii ¼d (3d)


200% enlargement of B


1168: E.G1-iii ¼d (3e)

Göbl 1984: 161, 163

Huvishka (E) main gold mint (G1) third phase (iii) quarter dinars (¼d), *c.* 2g. This phase shows a change in style with crudely engraved obverses and reverses, featuring large clubs and extremely thin figures, or figures with large noses. Where a design differs only in the style or quality of execution it is marked with an asterisk.

Obverse: King, torso emerging from mountain top facing to left, circular mark on cheek, beardless with moustache and sideburns, wearing tall cap with brim two pronged badge on front a crescent on the side and surmounted with a crescent device, diadem with small dashes resembling a laddered design, tied at the back, wearing a tunic with a jewelled collar, holding the hilt of a sword with a projection resembling an animal at the pommel in left hand, and a club in right hand. Inscription in Bactrian clockwise from 7.00 ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKI KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan). This design is as for the previous phase but often with cruder engraving.

Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, all contained in dotted border. Bactrian inscription with the deities name. Types known from an earlier phase are marked with an asterisk.

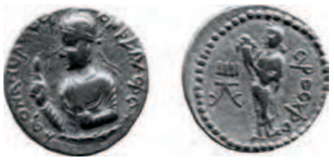
2c* Mao, moon god, standing frontally leaning back upper body back, head turned to left surrounded by crescent emanating from shoulders, wearing short hair held in a diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, cloak fastened at chest with single clasp, sword in scabbard, making gesture with right hand, holding sceptre with ribbon tied to top across chest in left hand, tamga in left field, Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): MAO.

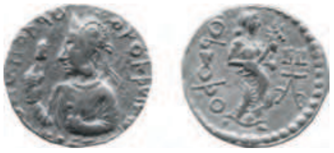
3d* Miiro, sun god, standing frontally, head turned to left, radiating halo, wearing short hair held in a diadem with two ribbons behind and roll of curls below diadem, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, and cloak held by two clasps on chest, sword in scabbard suspended at waist, making gesture with right hand, holding hilt of sword in left hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field) MIIPO.

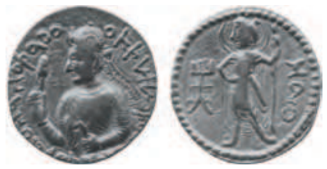
3e* Miiro, sun god, as for 3d but with errors in the inscription, MIPO, MIPPO, MIIPPO, are all known. On occasion the tamga is also blundered and so can be confused with the unbarred variety.

No.	PRN	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Rev.
A*	Göbl 1984: 163/1		-	-	-	2c
B*	Indian Museum Calcutta; Göbl 1984: 160/4		-	-	-	3d
1168*	187962	1888,1208.549	1.96	12	-	3e

109 E.G1-iv 1d Main gold mint phase 4 dinars, juvenile portraits


1169: E.G1-iv 1d (1A/1d)


1170: E.G1-iv 1d (1A/1e)


1171: E.G1-iv 1d (1A/2g)

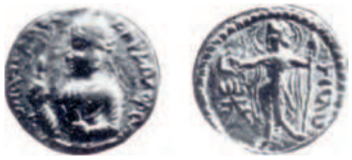
Göbl 1984: 170–85

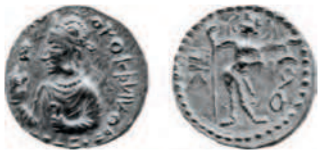
Huvishka (E) main gold mint (G1) fourth phase (iv) dinars (1d), *c.* 8g. The fourth phase marks the work of a new artist and new types. The obverse was given a new treatment in which gives the king appears much younger. Reverses are given new treatments, some of which with the god holding a sceptre behind them first appeared in the previous phase.

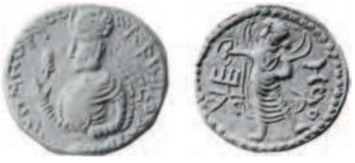
Obverse: King, torso emerging from mountain top facing to left, circular mark on cheek, beardless with moustache and sideburns, wearing tall cap with jewelled brim badge on front a circular device on the side and row of dots across the top, diadem with small dashes resembling a laddered design, tied at the back, wearing a tunic with a jewelled collar, holding the hilt of a sword with a projection resembling an animal at the pommel in left hand, and a club in right hand. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 7.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKI KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan).

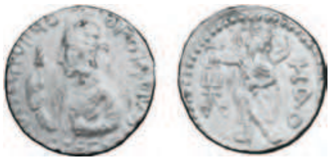
1A as above.

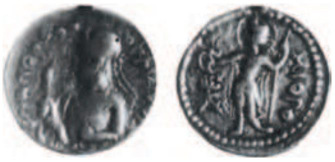
1B as above but flames emanate from the king's right shoulder.

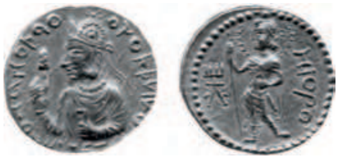

A: E.G1-iv 1d (1A/2h)

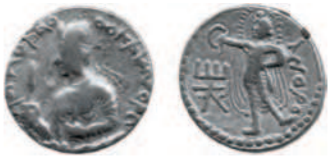

1172: E.G1-iv 1d (1A/2i)

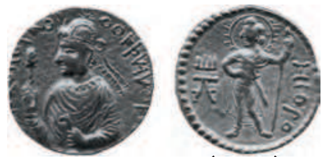

B: E.G1-iv 1d (1A/2j)

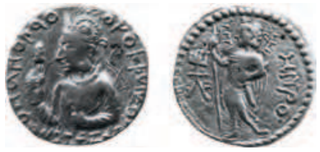

C: E.G1-iv 1d (1A/2k)

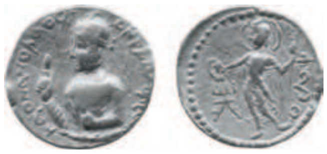

D: E.G1-iv 1d (1A/3g)


1175: E.G1-iv 1d (1A/3h)


E: E.G1-iv 1d (1A/3i)


1177: E.G1-iv 1d (1A/3k)


1178: E.G1-iv 1d (1A/3l)


1179: E.G1-iv 1d (1A/6h)

Reverses: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, all contained in dotted border. Bactrian inscription with the deities name. Types known from an earlier phase are marked with an asterisk.

1d Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, standing facing left, long curled hair tied into a bun at the back, wearing earring, necklace, sleeved ankle-length gown, holding cornucopia with flower like mass at the top with both hands in front of her, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΑΡΔΟΧÞΟ.

1e Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, as for 1d but Ardochsho facing right and the inscription is anticlockwise in the left field. The only die currently known from this phase with this type has an error in the legend which reads ΑΡΔΟÞΟ.

2g* Mao, moon god, standing frontally head to left surrounded by crescent depicted in outline emanating from shoulders, wearing top knot, diadem, calf-length tunic, boots, sword in scabbard at waist, cloak over shoulders, holding sceptre vertically in left hand, right hand on waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field) ΜΑΟ.

2h Mao, moon god, as 2g but holding diadem (with ties above and below arm) in outstretched right hand.

2i Mao, moon god, as 2g but holding sceptre in front vertically with right hand and hilt of sword in left hand.

2j Mao, moon god, standing frontally, head to left surrounded by crescent depicted in outline emanating from shoulders, wearing short hair held in a diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, cloak over top depicted by loose lines, sword in scabbard, making gesture with right hand, holding hilt of sword in left hand, tamga in left field, Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): ΜΑΟ.

2k Mao, moon god, as for 2j but holding a diadem with ties above and below in outstretched right hand.

3g Miiro, sun god, standing frontally, head turned to left, radiating halo, wearing short hair tied with a diadem and two ribbons hanging behind, roll of curls below diadem, calf-length length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, cloak held by two clasps on chest, sword in scabbard suspended at waist, holding sceptre or spear vertically behind and diadem with ribbons above and below in outstretched right hand tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΜΙΟΡΟ.

3h Miiro, sun god, as for 3g but holding spear or sceptre vertically in front with right hand and hilt of sword with left hand.

3i Miiro, sun god, as for 3g but holding diadem in outstretched right hand and hilt of sword with left hand.

3j Miiro, sun god, as for 3i but with blundered inscription: ΜΟΡΟΟ.

3k Miiro, sun god, as for 3i but holding sceptre behind vertically in left hand and right hand on waist.

3l Miiro, sun god, as for 3h but with inscription: ΜΙΥΡΟ.

6g* Pharro, personification of royal glory, standing frontally, head to left with halo, wearing bird headdress, diadem with two ties, calf-length length tunic held by belt, calf-high boots, cloak fastened in front of chest with two clasps, holding sceptre in left hand vertically behind, and diadem with ties above and below arm in right hand, in left field tamga. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΦΑΡΡΟ.

6h Pharro, Personification of royal glory, as for 6g but inscription: ΦΑΡΟ.

6i Pharro, personification of royal glory, standing frontally, head to left with halo, wearing calf-length length tunic held by belt, calf-high boots, cloak fastened in front of chest with two clasps, holding spear in right hand vertically, hilt of sword with left hand, in left field tamga. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΦΑΡΡΟ.

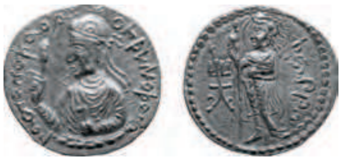
6j Pharro, personification of royal glory, as for 6i but wearing head-dress and diadem.

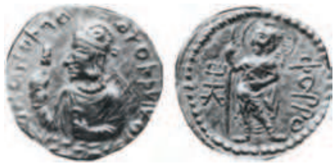
6k Pharro, personification of royal glory, standing frontally, head to left with halo, wearing bird head-dress, diadem, calf-length length tunic held by belt, calf-high boots, cloak fastened in front of chest with two clasps, sword in scabbard, holding sceptre in left hand vertically behind, right hand on hip.spear in right hand vertically, in left field tamga. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΦΑΡΡΟ.

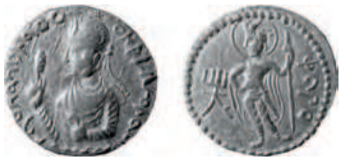
6l Pharro, personification of royal glory, as for 6k but legend ΦΑΡΟ.

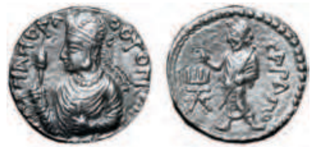
22c Sarapis, syncretic god, standing facing frontally with head turned to left, bearded, hair tied by band with knots of hari at front and back, wearing ankle-length gown, holding sceptre across chest in left hand, making gesture with right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΣΑΡΑΠΟ.

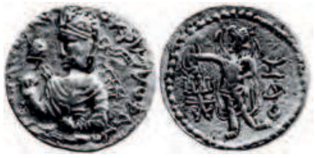
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
1169*	188146	1879,0501.50	7.82	19	-	1A	1d
1170*	188451	1879,0501.49	7.84	19	-	1A	1e
1171*	188149	1879,0501.53	7.83	21	-	1A	2g
A*	Göbl 1984: 180A/1		-	-	-	1A	2h
1172*	188147	IOC.311	7.94	19	-	1A	2i
1173	188148	1879,0501.52	7.87	19	-	1A	2i
1174	188150	1894,0506.52	7.79	19	-	1A	2i
B*	Hermitage Zeymal, Tf. II/19; Göbl 1984: 180/3		7,73	-	-	1A	2j
C*	Shown to BM		-	-	-	1A	2k
D*	Lahore; Göbl 1984: 173/1		7.90	-	-	1A	3g
1175*	188155	IOC.316	7.97	20	-	1A	3h
1176	188154	1879,0501.75	7.84	19	-	1A	3h
E*	Private collection W		-	-	-	1A	3i
1177*	188153	1879,0501.78	7.93	20	-	1A	3k
1178*	188152	1888,1208.546	7.87	19	-	1A	3l
1179*	188175	1879,0501.35	7.85	20	-	1A	6h
F*	Göbl 1984, 175/2		-	-	-	1A	6j
G*	Private collection E		-	-	-	1A	6l
1180*	187983	1879,0501.11	7.97	19	-	1A	22c
1181	187984	IOC.335	7.89	20	-	1A	22c
H*	Private collection W		-	-	-	1B	2j
1182*	188160	1894,0506.84	7.94	20	-	1B	3g
I*	Classical Numismatic Group Mailbid 66, May 2004: 965		7.87	-	-	1B	3h
J*	Spink 6003, Mar 2006: 1160		7.93	-	-	1B	3i
K*	Shown to BM		-	-	-	1B	3j
1183*	188161	1893,0506.13	7.86	20	-	1B	6i
L*	Steve Album, Jun 2009: 667		-	-	-	1B	6j
1184*	188176	2000,0408.1	7.93	19	-	1B	6k

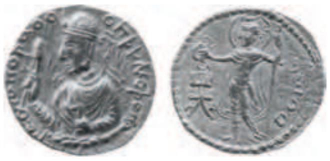

L: E.G1-iv 1d (1B/6j)

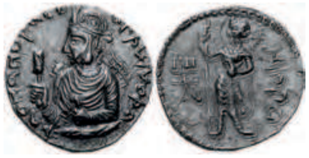

F: E.G1-iv 1d (1A/6j)

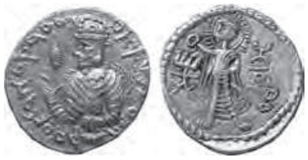

G: E.G1-iv 1d (1A/6l)

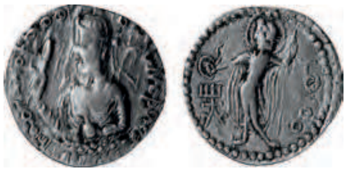

1180: E.G1-iv 1d (1A/20c)

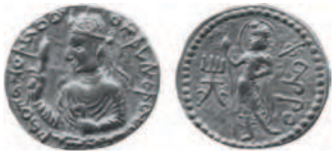

H: E.G1-iv 1d (1B/2j)

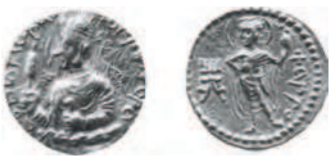

1182: E.G1-iv 1d (1B/3g)


I: E.G1-iv 1d (1B/3h)

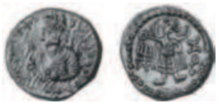

J: E.G1-iv 1d (1B/3i)

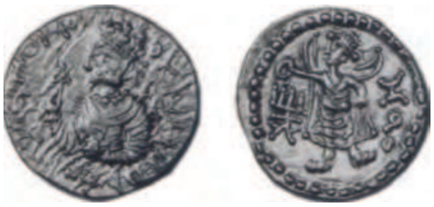

K: E.G1-iv 1d (1B/3j)

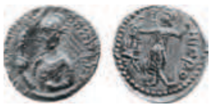

1183: E.G1-iv 1d (1B/6i)

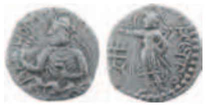

1184: E.G1-iv 1d (1B/6k)

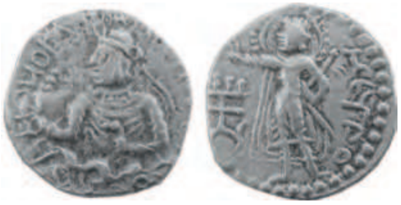
110 E.G1-iv ¼d Main gold mint phase 4 quarter dinars, juvenile portraits


A: E.G1-iv ¼d (2j)


200% enlargement of A


1185: E.G1-iv ¼d (3h)


1186: E.G1-iv ¼d (3z)


200% enlargement of 1185

Göbl 1984: 186–8

Huvishka (E) main gold mint (G1) fourth phase (iv) quarter dinars (¼d), *c.* 2g.

Obverse: King, torso emerging from mountain top facing to left, circular mark on cheek, beardless with moustache and sideburns, wearing tall cap with jewelled brim badge on front a circular device on the side and row of dots across the top, diadem with small dashes resembling a laddered design, tied at the back, wearing a tunic with a jewelled collar, holding the hilt of a sword with a projection resembling an animal at the pommel in left hand, and a club in right hand. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 7.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKI KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan) .

Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, all contained in dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian with the deity's name. Types known from an earlier phase are marked with an asterisk.

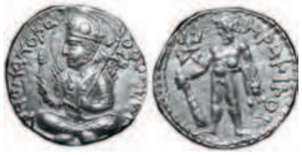
2j* Mao, moon god, standing frontally, head to left surrounded by crescent depicted in outline emanating from shoulders, wearing short hair held in a diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, cloak over top depicted by loose lines, sword in scabbard, making gesture with right hand, holding hilt of sword in left hand, tamga in left field, Inscription (clockwise in left field): MAO.

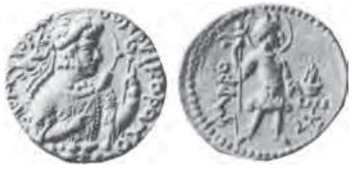
3h* Miiro, sun god, standing frontally, head turned to left, radiating halo, wearing short hair tied with a diadem and two ribbons hanging behind, roll of curls below diadem, calf-length length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, cloak held by two clasps on chest, sword in scabbard suspended at waist, holding sceptre or spear vertically behind and diadem with ribbons above and below are in outstretched right hand tamga in left field. Inscription (clockwise in right field): MIOPO.

3z Miiro, sun god, standing frontally, head turned to left, radiating halo (with radiations depicted as dots), wearing short hair tied with a diadem and two ribbons hanging behind, roll of curls below diadem, calf-length length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, cloak held by two clasps on chest, sword in scabbard suspended at waist, holding sceptre with ribbon tied to end over shoulder in left hand, making gesture with outstretched right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MEYPO.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Rev.
A*	Göbl 1984: 188/3		1.96	-	-	2j
1185*	188157	IOC.315	1.99	13	-	3h
1186*	216077	OR.7273	1.89	13	-	3z

111 E.G1-v 1d Main gold mint phase 5 dinars, decorated tunic


1187: E.G1-v 1d 1A/11a


A: E.G1-v 1d (2A/6x)

Göbl 1984: 190–269

Huvishka (E), Balkh gold mint (G1), fifth phase (v), dinars (1d), *c.* 8g. The types of this phase exhibit a huge number of intentional varieties, in many cases a particular obverse or reverse type being represented by only a single die. The precise order in which these were struck is unclear but the designs in which the king's ear is visible seem to have been produced first (3A, 4A, 5A). The most common obverse type is 3B but other types, particularly those with a lion standard were produced in parallel (see Ch. 2 §E.3.1 for a fuller discussion of royal imagery).

Obverse: Portrait of king, facing left or right, wearing decorated cap and clothing, holding club and either a spear or standard, with inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 7.00) ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKI KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan).

1A King, full figure, seated cross-legged, facing frontally, head turned to left, flames emenating from shoulders and halo, wearing round decorated cap (with circular ornament on the side and solar badge on the front and earflap) tied with a diadem, tunic under knee-length overcoat fastened at chest by two clasps, arm bands on upper arms, decorated trousers, holding spear over shoulder in left hand and club in front with right hand, inscription has been truncated and reads ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKI

2A King, torso emerging from mountain top, facing to right, mark on cheek, beardless with moustache, long hair, wearing a turban with two ties and a diadem with two ties, a necklace, decorated tunic, arm bands on upper arms, holding an animal standard in front in left hand and a club across body with right, inscription as above.

The following obverses show essentially the same design: the king, torso emerging from mountain top, facing to left, mark on cheek, beardless, with moustache and sideburns, short hair, halo, wearing decorated cap (with circular ornament on the side and solar badge on the front) tied with a diadem, wearing a tunic, holding club in front with right hand. The differences are minor but the most notceable is a heavy overcoat with decorated sleeves which it is worn closed and clasped in type 3, open in type 4, and is absent in type 5. When the tunic is visible it is decorated with a central panel and arm bands. Other elements are the alternation of diadem ties and flames over the shoulders, the shape of the cap and presence or absence of an ear piece and whether the king is holding a spear or a lion standard.

3A As described but with a pointed cap, and two extra laddered diadem ties appear over the shoulders, wearing a heavy overcoat fastened at the chest by two clasps, and holding a spear over his shoulder in left hand.

3B As for 3A but the cap is round in shape. 3A and 3B are in fact struck from substantially recut versions of the same die.

3C As for 3B but the cap has an earflap.

3D As for 3C but instead of a ladder-like second diadem flames emanate from the shoulders.

3E As for 3D but instead of a spear holding a lion standard. The engraver also made a consistent error confusing the diadem ties with ribbons on the standard.

3F As for 3E but the cap is pointed in shape.

4A As described above but with a round cap, flames emenating from shoulders, wearing a heavy overcoat which is open showing part of the design of a decorated tunic, and holding a spear in left hand over shoulder. Inscription ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKE KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan) with epsilon instead of iota in Huvishka's name.

4B As for 4A but a pointed cap, laddered diadems over shoulders (instead of flames), and in an engraving error the diadem ties are confused with ribbons on the spear. The inscription without variant spelling: ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKI KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan).

4C As for 4B but a rounded cap, and holding a lion standard in left hand. Variant inscription as for 4A: ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKE KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan).

5A As described above but with a pointed cap, flames emenating from shoulders, wearing a decorated tunic (no overcoat), and holding a spear in left hand over shoulder.

5B As for 5A but with an earflap.

5C As for 5B but with laddered diadem (instead of flames).

5D As for 5C but holding lion standard in left hand and in an engraving error the diadem ties are confused with ribbons on the spear.

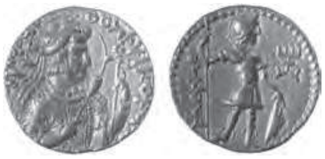
Reverses: Those types which are a continuation of the previous phase are marked with an asterisk. Neither iconographically or typologically significant but in this phase the die cutters begin to engrave the legend as a vertical line rather than a curve.

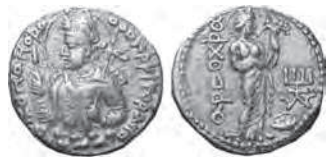
1d* Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, standing facing left, long curled hair tied into a bun at the back, wearing earring, necklace, sleeved ankle-length gown, holding cornucopia with flower like mass at the top with both hands in front of her, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΑΡΔΟΧÞΟ.

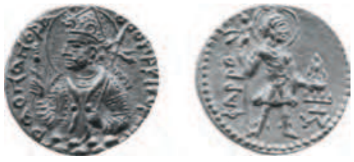
1e* Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, as for 1d but Ardochsho facing right and the inscription is anticlockwise in the left field.

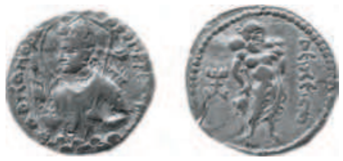
1f Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, as for 1d but with halo.

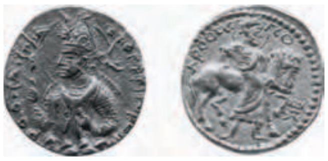
1g Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, as for 1e but with a bowl at feet beneath tamga.

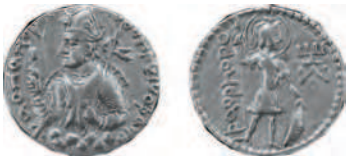

B: E.G1-v 1d (2A/23j)

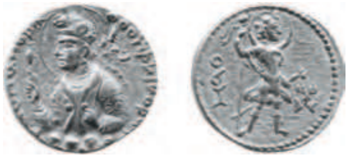

C: E.G1-v 1d (3A/1h)

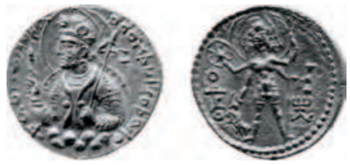

1188: E.G1-v 1d: (3A/6x)

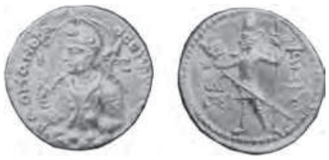

D: E.G1-v 1u (3A/10a)

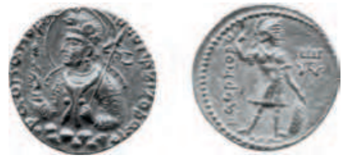

1189: E.G1-v 1d (3A/13a)

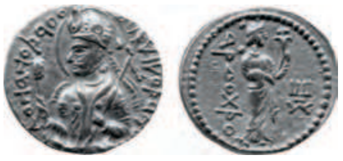

1190: E.G1-v 1u (3A/23b)

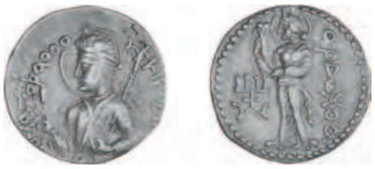

1191: E.G1-v 1d (3B/2o)

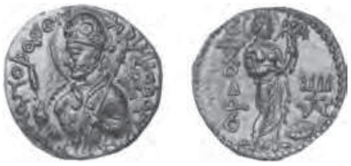

1192: E.G1-v 1d (3B/5c)

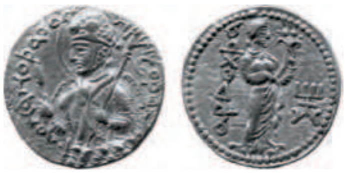

E: E.G1-v: 1d (3B/12a)

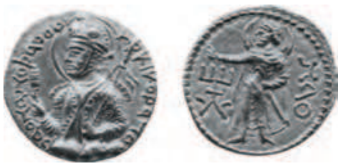

1193: E.G1-v: 1d (3B/23a)

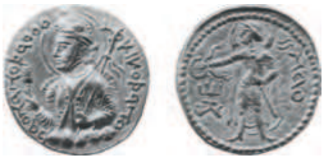

1194: E.G1-v 1d (3C/1e)

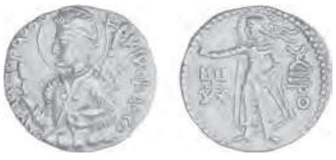

F : E.G1-v 1d (3C/1f)

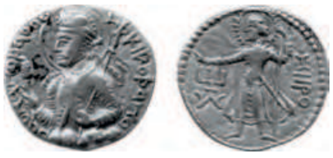

G : E.G1-v 1d (3C/1h)

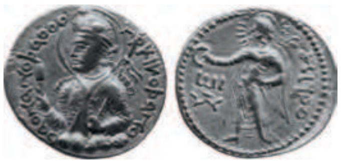

1195: E.G1-v 1d (3C/1i)

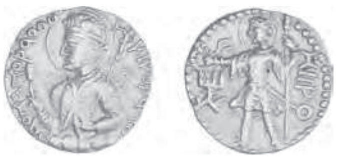

1196: E.G1-v 1d (3C/2l)


1197: E.G1-v 1d (3C/2m)


H: E.G1-v 1d (3C/3d)


1198: E.G1-v 1d (3C/3m)


1199: E.G1-v 1d (3C/3q)


I: E.G1-v 1d (3C/3r)

1h Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, as for 1g but with halo and clockwise inscription.

1i Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, as for 1e but the inscription is clockwise.

1j Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, as for 1e but the inscription is clockwise in the right field.

2l Mao, moon god, standing frontally, head to left surrounded by crescent depicted in outline emanating from shoulders, short curly hair, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, cloak over top fastened by two clasps at chest, sword in scabbard, making gesture with right hand, holding hilt of sword in left hand, tamga in left field, inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MAO.

2m Mao, moon god, as for 2l but wearing diadem with two ties and holding garlanded diadem (ties above and below arm) in right hand.

2n Mao, moon god, standing frontally, head to left surrounded by crescent depicted in outline emanating from shoulders, short curly hair, knee-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, sword in scabbard, holding garlanded diadem (ties above and below arm) in right hand, sceptre behind in left hand, tamga in left field, inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MAO.

2o Mao, moon god, standing frontally, head to right surrounded by crescent emanating from shoulders, short curly hair, knee-length tunic (resembling the armour of Shaoreoro) held by belt at waist and calf-high winged boots, sword with animal pommel in scabbard behind body, holding sceptre wtih ribbons in right hand behind, and hilt of sword in left, tamga in right field, inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): MAO.

3d* Miiro, sun god, standing frontally, head turned to left, radiating halo, wearing short hair held in a diadem with two ribbons behind and roll of curls below diadem, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, and cloak held by two clasps on chest, sword in scabbard suspended at waist, making gesture with right hand, holding hilt of sword in left hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field) MIIPO.

3m Miiro, sun god, as for 3d but instead of hilt of sword holding spear or sceptre vertically behind in left hand.

3n Miiro, sun god, as for 3d but holding a garlanded diadem in right hand and inscription: MIOPO.

3o Miiro, sun god, as for 3n but with no rays on his halo.

3p Miiro, sun god, as for 3n but wearing a short tunic and calf high boots with no cloak.

3q Miiro, sun god, with engraving errors, the diadem resembles a torque and the inscriptions is MIYPO.

3r Miiro, sun god, standing frontally, head turned to left, halo (without radiations), wearing short curly hair with bun at the back, knee length short-sleeved tunic held by belt at waist over leggings and tunic, and calf-high winged boots, sword in scabbard suspended at waist, holding garlanded diadem in right hand, spear vertically behind in left hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field) MIIPO.

3s Miiro, sun god, as for 3r (sometimes with radiating halo) but with inscription errors: MOPO and MIPO.

3t Miiro, sun god, as for 3r but facing right (diadem in left hand and spear in right hand) and with inscription (anticlockwise in left field): MIOPO.

3u Miiro, sun god, as for 3t but holding hilt of sword in scabbard behind body with left hand, inscription anticlockwise in left field: MIIPO.

3v Miiro, sun god, as for 3u but without radiations on halo.

3w Miiro, sun god, standing frontally, as for 3r but wearing long tunic and cloak.

4d Nana, royal goddess, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with crescent on top, wearing short hair held in diadem with two ribbons, sleeved ankle-length gown and shawl around waist and draped over left forearm, holding wand tipped with lion-forepart in right hand, and bowl in left hand at waist, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (anti-clockwise in left field): NANA.

4e Nana, royal goddess, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo, wearing short hair held in diadem with two ribbons, short-sleeved thigh-length gown over sleeved ankle-length gown, holding wand tipped with lion-forepart in right hand, and bowl in left hand at waist, tamga in left field, inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): NANA. A die appears later conflating this image of Nana with Teiro (see 24b below).

5c Oesho, mountain god, four armed standing frontally three headed, with halo, erect linga, wearing hair in top-knot, with moustache, string of beads across chest from left shoulder and armlets and bracelets on each arm, holding trident vertically in upper left hand, thunderbolt in lower left hand, chakra in upper right hand and animal (goat?) in lower right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΟΗÞΟ.

6m Pharro, personification of royal glory, standing frontally, head to left, flames emenating from shoulders, short straight hair, calf-length tunic held by belt, calf high boots, cloak fastened in front of chest with two clasps, sword in scabbard, holding sceptre in left hand vertically behind, right hand making gesture of blessing, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΦΑΡΡΟ.

6n Pharro, personification of royal glory, as for 6m but with halo, wearing knee length tunic and winged boots, holding diadem in right hand instead of making gesture.

6o Pharro, personification of royal glory, as for 6n but with no flames emenating from shoulders, and holding flames in right hand instead of a diadem.

6p Pharro, personification of royal glory, as for 6m but with halo and wearing diadem, holding flames in right hand instead of making gesture.

6q Pharro, personification of royal glory, as for 6o without halo and wearing diadem.

6r Pharro, personification of royal glory, as for 6q but wearing winged head dress.

6s Pharro, personification of royal glory, as for 6t but wearing knee length tunic with wide sleeves, winged boots, not wearing a cloak and holding a diadem in right hand instead of making a gesture. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΦΑΡΡΟ.

6t Pharro, personification of royal glory, standing frontally, head to left with halo, short curly hair, calf-length tunic held by belt, calf high boots, cloak fastened in front of chest with two clasps, sword in scabbard, holding sceptre in left hand vertically behind, right hand making gesture of blessing, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΦΑΡΟ.

6u Pharro, personification of royal glory, as for 6s but flames emenating from shoulders and holding flames in right hand instead of a diadem.

6v Pharro, personification of royal glory, as for 6u but without halo.

6w Pharro, personification of royal glory, as for 6s but without halo or flames from shoulders.

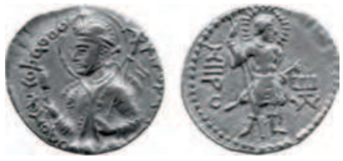
6x Pharro, personification of royal glory, standing facing frontally, head to right with halo, short hair, wearing diadem, winged head-dress, wide sleeved thigh length tunic held by belt, calf-length winged boots, holding sceptre vertically behind weith right hand and flames in left hand, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): ΦΑΡΡΟ.

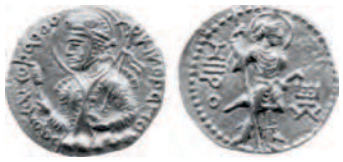
6y Pharro, personification of royal glory, standing facing frontally, head to right with halo, short hair, wearing diadem, winged head-dress, wide sleeved thigh length tunic held by belt, calf-length winged boots, holding sceptre vertically behind with right hand and hilt of sword with animal shade pommel in left hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΦΑΡΡΟ.

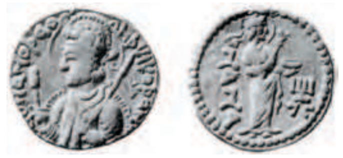
8a Athsho, fire god, standing facing frontally head turned to right, bearded, with flames emenating from shoulders and surrounding head, wearing calf-length tunic and robe over left shoulder, holding tongs in left hand and hammer in right hand over shoulder, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΑΘÞΟ.

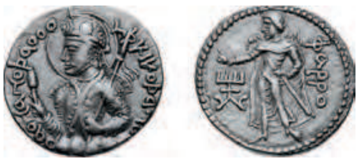
8b Athsho, fire god, as for 8a but tamga in right field and inscription clockwise in left field.

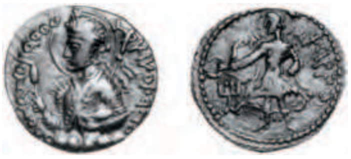
8c Athsho, fire god, as for 8b but legend ΑΘΟÞΟ or ΑΘΑÞΟ.

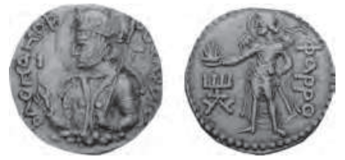

1200: E.G1-v 1d (3C/3u)

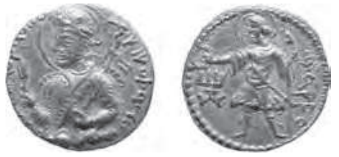

1201: E.G1-v 1d (3C/3v)

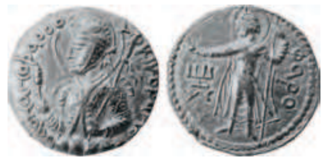

J : E.G1-v (3C/4d)

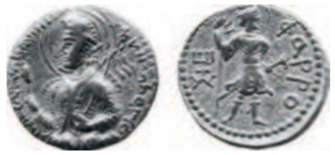

K: E.G1-v 1d (3C/6m)

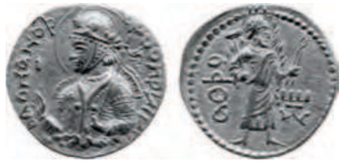

L: E.G1-v 1d (3C/6n)

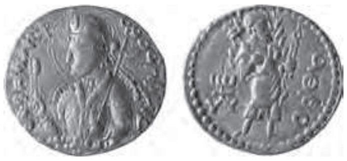

M: E.G1-v 1d (3C/6p)


N: E.G1-v 1d (3C/6s)

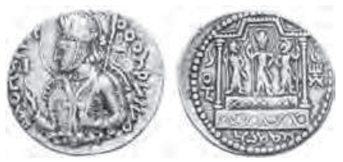

1202: E.G1-v 1d (3C/6t)


1203: E.G1-v 1d (3C/6y)

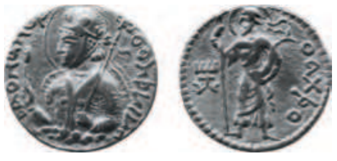

1205: E.G1-v 1d (3C/8b)



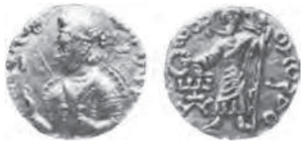
O: E.G1-v 1d (3C/8a)



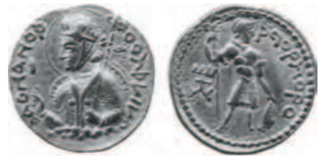
P: E.G1-v 1d (3C/9e)



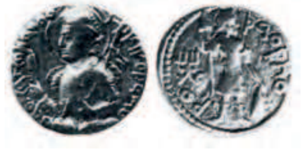
1207: E.G1-v 1d (3C/17a)



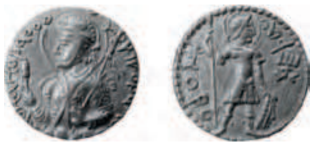
Q: E.G1-v 1d (3C/20a)



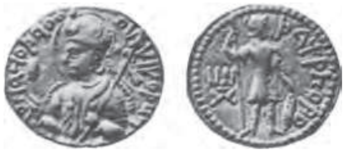
1208: E.G1-v 1d (3C/23c)



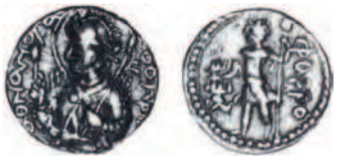
R: E.G1-v 1d (3C/23d)



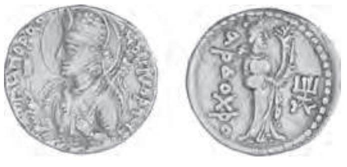
1209: E.G1-v 1d (3C/23f)



S: E.G1-v 1d (3C/23i)



T: E.G1-v 1d (3D/6w)



U: E.G1-v 1d (3E/1e)

8d Athsho, fire god, as for 8a but legend ΑΘΟÞΟ.

9e Skando-Komaro, Bizago, and Maaseno, warrior gods, standing in a temple. Three figures are depicted, it is unclear as to identities but the central figure is probably Maaseno. The figure on the left standing facing frontally, head turned to right, with halo, wearing ankle-length garment over left shoulder, sword in scabbard, right hand holding spear vertically behind, left hand holding sword hilt. Central figure standing frontally, halo around head, wearing head dress, garment over left shoulder, holding sceptre in right hand and sword hilt in left hand. Right hand figure standing frontally, head turned to left, wearing garment over left shoulder, sword at waist holding sceptre in left hand, right hand at waist. All standing on a platform contained within a frame denoting a temple and decorated. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 5.00 to 9.00): ΜΑ-ΑΣΗΝ-Ο.

10a Dionysus, god of wine, bearded, standing frontally, head turned to right, wearing diadem, dhoti tied at waist, bags over shoulders, holding wine pot in right hand, tamga in left field, inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΔΕΙΝΕΙΣΟ. Dionysus is known from just one example so the nature of the object carried on his shoulders is unclear.

11a Heracles, syncretic god, standing frontally, head turned to left, curly hair and beard, naked, holding club in right hand, lion skin over left arm, tamga in top left field, inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΗΡΑΚΙΛΟ. Heracles role in the pantheon is unclear, in this period he is equated with Verathragna (Orlagno), Oesho and Vajrapani, the protector of the Buddha, see Ch. 3 §E.3 for discussion

12a Yamsho, standing facing frontally, head turned to right, wearing tall cap, diadem, cataphract armour (torso and skirt of plates with bands around arms and legs), animal pommel sword at waist hung behind body, holding bird in right hand and spear with ribbons in left hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΙΑΜÞΟ.

13a Lrooaspo, god of animals, standing frontally with head turned to left, bearded, wearing sleeved calf-length tunic, with shawl tied round waist, feeding horse with left hand; horse standing with front left foot raised, tamga in bottom right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΛΡΟΟΑΣΠΟ.

17a Oxus, personification of the Oxus river, standing facing frontally head turned to left, curly hair and beard, with halo, wearing diadem, ankle length robe and shawl over left shoulder, holding sceptre vertically in left hand, fish in left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΟΑΧÞΟ.

19a Oanindo, goddess of victory, winged, standing facing frontally head turned to left, long hair tied in a bun, wearing polos head-dress, long gown tied below chest and at waist, holding garlanded diadem in right hand outstretched to break inscription, sceptre in left hand at waist, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (anti-clockwise in left field): OANINDO.

19b Oanindo, goddess of victory, as for 19a but inscription is clockwise.

19c Oanindo, goddess of victory, as for 19a but tamga in bottom left field, cornucopia replaces sceptre, and inscription clockwise from 3.00 to 7.00.

19d Oanindo, goddess of victory, as for 19a but facing right in mirror image of design.

20a Ahura Mazda, god of wisdom, standing facing frontally head turned to left, curly hair and beard, with halo, wearing ankle length robe and shawl over left shoulder, holding sceptre vertically behind in left hand and garlanded diadem in right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 10.00 to 5.00) ΩΟΡ-ΟΜΟζΔΟ.

23a Shaoreoro, warrior god, standing frontally with head turned to right, wearing plumed helmet, breastplate, plated skirt and calf-length winged boots, holding spear vertically behind with right hand and resting left hand on top of round shield, tamga in right field, inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): ÞΑΟΡΗΟΡΟ.

23b Shaoreoro, warrior god, as for 23a but head is surrounded by halo.

23c Shaoreoro, warrior god, as for 23a but tamga is in left field and inscription is clockwise in right field.

23d Shaoreor, warrior god, as for 23c but the inscription continues to 8.00.

23e Shaoreoro, warrior god, as for 23c but head is surrounded by halo and holding shield rather than resting hand on it.

23f Shaoreoro, warrior god, as for 23b but inscription is anti-clockwise from 2.00 to 7.00.

23g Shaoreoro, warrior god, as for 23c but no shield, instead holding the hilt of a sword with animal pommel hung behind at the waist.

23h Shaoreoro, warrior god, as for 23g but head is surrounded by halo.

23i Shaoreoro, warrior god, as for 23c but spear is held at an angle crossing right ankle, inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ÞΑΥΡΗΟΡΟ.

23j Shaoreoro, warrior god, as for 23a but the legend is truncated ÞΑΥΡΗΟ.

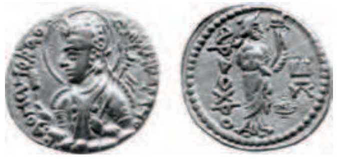
23k Shaoreoro, warrior god, standing frontally with head turned to left, wearing helmet, breastplate, plated skirt, calf-length winged boots, holding spear vertically behind with left hand and holding round shield in right hand at ankle height, tamga in left field, inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): ÞΑΟΡΗΟΡΟ.

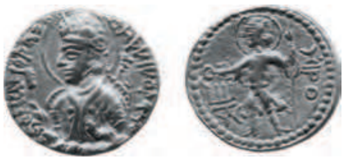
23l Shaoreoro, warrior god, as for 23j but holding shield at shoulder height.

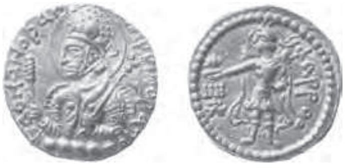
24a Teiro, goddess of archery, facing right, long hair in pony tail, wearing polos head-dress, short sleeved ankle-length gown, shawl over left shoulder, quiver on back, holding bow in left hand, reaching for arrow with left hand, tamga on right, inscription in Bactriain (anti-clocwise in left field): ΤΕΙΡΟ.

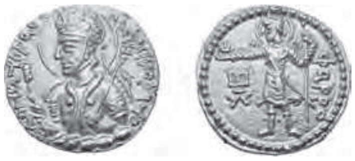
24b Teiro, goddess of archery, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo, wearing short hair held in diadem with two ribbons, short-sleeved thigh-length gown over sleeved ankle-length gown, quiver on back, holding bow in left hand, reaching for arrow with right hand, tamga on right, inscription in Bactrian (anti-clockwise in left field): ΝΑΝΑ.

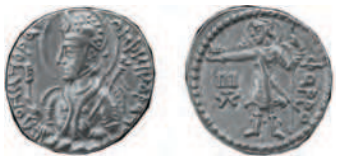
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
1187*	188204	1879,0501.7	7.99	19	-	1A	11a
A*	Göbl 1984: 256/1		7.98	-	-	2A	6x
B*	Bern (88.196); Göbl 1991: 258		7.93	19	-	2A	23i
C*	Private collection B		-	-	-	3A	1h
1188*	188280	1879,0501.30	8.01	19	-	3A	6x
D*	Private collection B		-	-	-	3A	10a
1189*	188274	1893,0506.12	7.94	19	-	3A	13a
1190*	188279	1894,0506.77	7.93	20	-	3A	23b
1191*	188275	1888,1208.547	7.96	19	-	3B	2o
1192*	188276	1879,0501.25	8.02	20	-	3B	5c
E*	Shown to authors		-	-	-	3B	12a
1193*	188278	1879,0501.16	7.97	19	-	3B	23a
1194*	188230	1879,0501.44	7.90	20	-	3C	1e
F*	ANS (1967.154.20)		7.93	21	-	3C	1f
G*	Göbl 1984: 222/2		8.00	-	-	3C	1h
1195*	188231	IOC.303	7.90	21	-	3C	1i
1196*	188233	1894,0506.48	7.99	20	-	3C	2l
1197*	188234	1879,0501.61	7.93	20	-	3C	2m
H*	ANS (1944.100.63644)		7.85	20	-	3C	3d
1198*	188237	1893,0506.1	7.91	19	-	3C	3m
1199*	188238	1879,0501.83	7.92	21	-	3C	3q
I*	ANS (1944.100.63643)		7.91	20	-	3C	3r

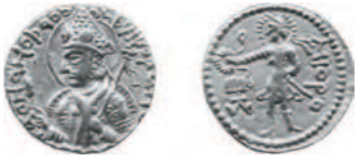

1210: E.G1-v 1d (3E/1g)

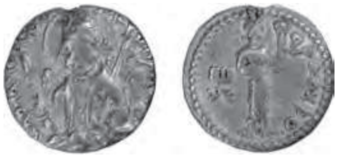

1211: E.G1-v 1d (3E/3s)

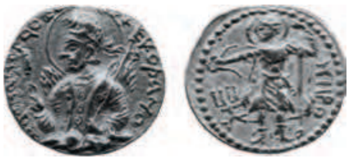

V: E.G1-v 1d (3E/6p)

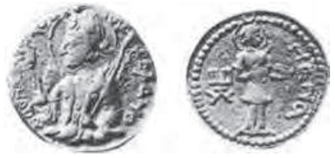

W: E.G1-v 1d (3E/6q)

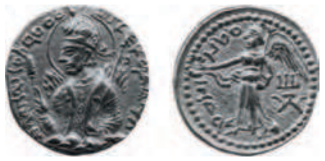

1213: E.G1-v 1d (3E/6u)

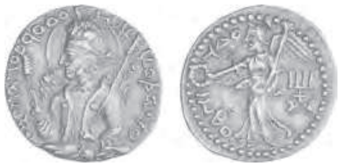

1214: E.G1-v 1d (3F/3p)

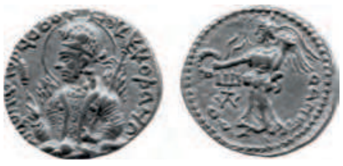

X: E.G1-v 1d (4A/1j)

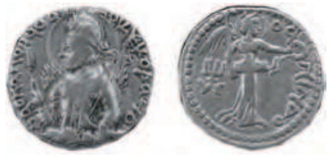

1215: E.G1-v 1d (4A/3w)

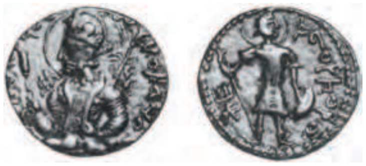

Y: E.G1-v 1d (4A/4e)

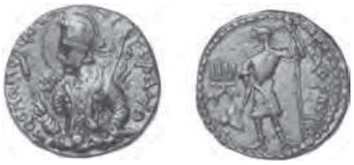

1217: E.G1-v 1d (4A/19a)

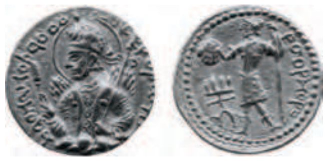

Z: E.G1-v 1d (4A/19b)

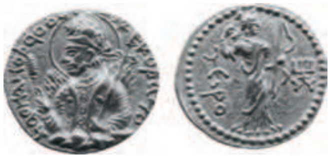

1219: E.G1-v 1d (4A/19c)

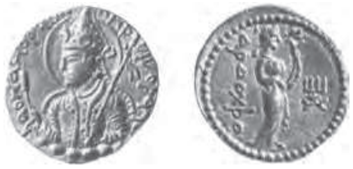

1220: E.G1-v 1d (4A/19d)

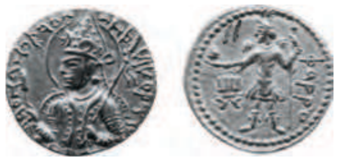

AA: E.G1-v 1d (4A/23e)

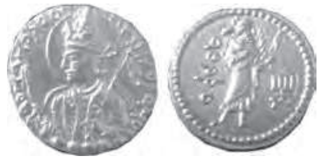

AB: E.G1-v 1d (4A/23k)


1221:E.G1-v 1d (4A/23l)


1223: E.G1-v 1d (4A/24a)

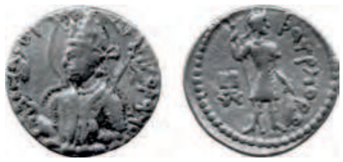

AC: E.G1-v 1d (4B/1e)

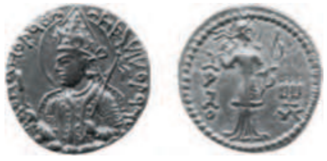

1224: E.G1-v 1d (4B/6u)

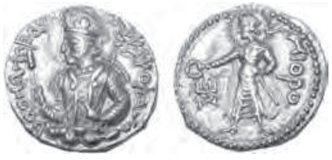

AD: E.G1-v 1d (4B/8c)

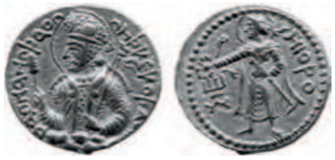
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
1200*	188240	IOC.313	7.87	21	-	3C	3u
1201*	188239	1894,0506.65	7.99	20	-	3C	3v
J*	Göbl 1984: 215/1		7.88	-	-	3C	4d
K*	CNG auction 202, 2009: 91		7.98	21	-	3C	6m
L*	Göbl 1984: 205/1		7.87	-	-	3C	6n
M*	Triton XII, Jan 2009: 434		7.94	-	-	3C	6p
N*	Steve Album Auction, June 2009: 666				-	3C	6s
1202*	188251	IOC.338	8.00	20	-	3C	6t
1203*	188252	1879,0501.38	7.89	20	-	3C	6y
1204	188253	1894,0506.83	7.91	19	-	3C	6y
O*	Private collection Q				-	3C	8a
1205*	188227	1879,0501.23	8.02	21	-	3C	8b
1206	188226	1894,0506.35	7.97	20	-	3C	8b
P*	Triton X, Jan 2007: 481, Triton XII, Jan 2009: 435		7.88	-	-	3C	9e
1207*	188228	1893,0506.21	7.89	20	-	3C	17a
Q*	Patna Museum; Göbl 1984: 240/2		7.78	-	-	3C	20a
1208*	188229	1879,0501.15	7.96	21	-	3C	23c
R*	Göbl 1984: 226/2		-	-	-	3C	23d
1209*	188249	1890,0105.1	7.94	18	-	3C	23f
S*	Göbl 1984: 238/1		-	-	-	3C	23i
T*	Göbl 1984: 229/2		7.95	-	-	3D	6w
U*	ANS (1944.100.63664); Göbl 1984: 219/3		7.87	21	-	3E	1e
1210*	188246	1888,1208.543	7.85	20	-	3E	1g
1211*	188216	1893,0506.4	7.73	20	-	3E	3s
1212	188218	1879,0501.32	7.90	19	-	3E	6o
V*	Göbl 1984: 202/6		-	-	-	3E	6p
W*	Gemini LLC Auction V, 2009: 674		-	-	-	3E	6q
1213*	188217	1879,0501.33	7.88	19	-	3E	6u
1214*	188213	1893,0506.3	7.88	19	-	3F	3p
X*	Shown to authors D		-	-	-	4A	1j
1215*	188254	1879,0501.80	8.00	20	-	4A	3w
1216	188255	1879,0501.81	7.95	21	-	4A	3w
Y*	Hermitage; Göbl 1984: 232/1		7.54	-	-	4A	4e
1217*	188260	1879,0501.18	7.91	20	-	4A	19a
1218	188262	1879,0501.19	7.88	20	-	4A	19a
Z*	ANS (1944.100.15497)		7.90	21	-	4A	19b
1219*	188261	1893,0506.6	7.93	20	-	4A	19c
1220*	188259	1893,0506.7	7.84	20	-	4A	19d
AA*	Göbl 1984: 236/2		7.90	-	-	4A	23e
AB*	Göbl 1984: 239A/1		7.75	-	-	4A	23k

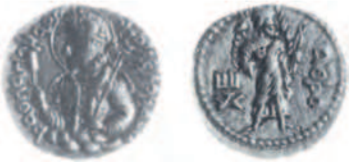
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
1221*	188263	1879,0501.17	7.93	20	-	4A	23l
1222	188264	1894,0506.78	7.95	20	-	4A	23l
1223*	188258	1879,0501.12	7.95	21	-	4A	24a
AC*	Göbl 1984: 262/2		7.82	-	-	4B	1e
1224*	188289	1922,0424.65	7.92	20	-	4B	6u
AD*	Shown to authors		-	-	-	4B	8c
1225*	188286	1894,0506.76	7.80	20	-	4B	23i
1226*	188283	1893,0506.17	7.90	19	-	4B	24b
AE*	Private collection B		-	-	-	4C	3n
1227*	188219	1879,0501.82	7.96	20	-	4C	3o
AF*	Göbl 1984: 210/1		-	-	-	4C	8a
AG*	Göbl 1984: 225/2		-	-	-	4C	23f
1228*	188220	1879,0501.13	7.99	19	-	4C	23h
AH*	Hirsch Münzen und Medaillen Auction 255, Feb 2008: 1658		7.90	-	-	5A	1d
AI*	Göbl 1984: 250/1		7.82	-	-	5A	3o
AJ*	Private collection B		-	-	-	5B	2m
AK*	Gemini LLC 4, Jan 2008: 257		7.99	-	-	5B	3o
AL*	ANS 1944.100.63660		7.87	-	-	5B	3u
1229*	188272	1879,0501.31	7.94	22	-	5B	6r
1230*	188273	1879,0501.22	7.84	20	-	5B	8a
AM*	Triton XII Jan 2009: 436; Göbl 1984: 265/1		7.96	-	-	5B	23c
AN*	Göbl 1984: 265/1		7.92	-	-	5B	23e
AO*	Classical Numismatic Group Mailbid 76, Sep 2007: 961		7.90	-	-	5C	1d
AP*	Gorny & Mosch 122, Mar 2003: 1601		7.92	-	-	5C	1e
1231*	188222	1879,0501.47	7.93	19	-	5C	1g
1232*	188223	1879,0501.60	7.94	20	-	5C	2n
AQ*	ANS (1944.100.63658)		7.93	21	-	5C	3o
1233*	188225	1879,0501.84	7.99	20	-	5C	3s
1234*	188224	1893,0506.2	7.94	21	-	5C	3t
AR*	Private collection B		-	-	-	5C	6o
AS*	Göbl 1984: 201/1		-	-	-	5C	6u
AT*	Shown to authors		-	-	-	5C	6v
1235*	188221	1879,0501.24	7.88	19	-	5C	8c
AU*	Göbl 1984: 224/2		7.94	-	-	5C	23c
AV*	ANS (1986.149.12)		7.95	21	-	5D	1e

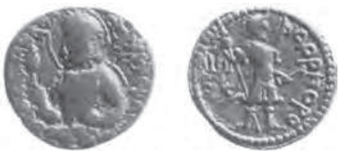

1225: E.G1-v 1d (4B/23i)

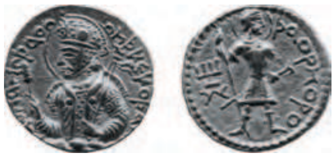

1226: E.G1-v 1d (4B/24b)

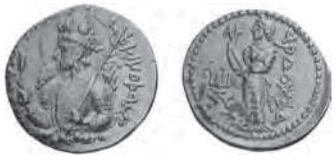

AE: E.G1-v 1d (4C/3n)

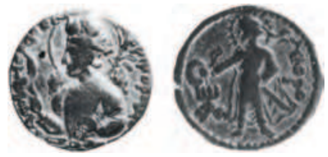

1227: E.G1-v 1d (4C/3o)

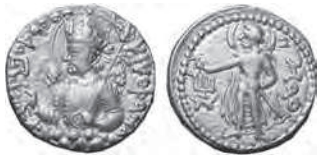

AF: E.G1-v 1d (4C/8a)

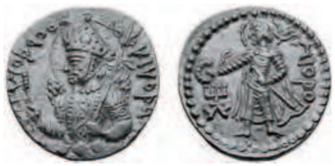

AG: E.G1-v 1d (4C/23f)

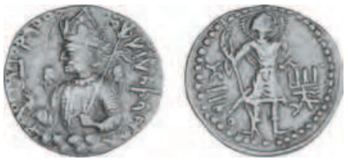

1228: E.G1-v 1d (4C/23h)

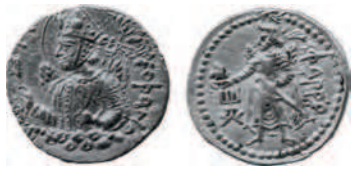

AH: E.G1-v 1d (5A/1d)

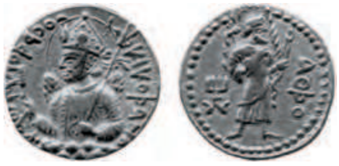

AI: E.G1-v 1d (5A/3o)

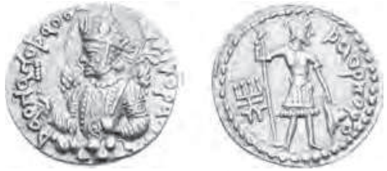

AJ: E.G1-v 1d (5B/2m)

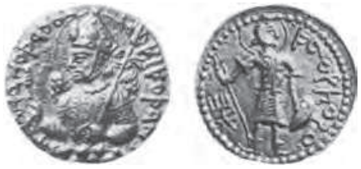

AK: E.G1-v 1d (5B/3o)

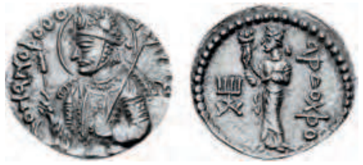

AL: E.G1-v 1d (5B/3u)

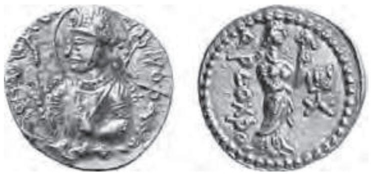

1229: E.G1-v 1d (5B/6r)

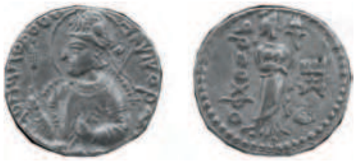

1230: E.G1-v 1d (5B/8a)

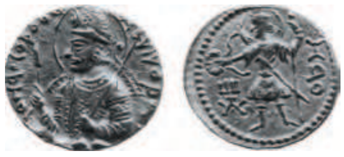

AM: E.G1-v 1d (5B/23c)

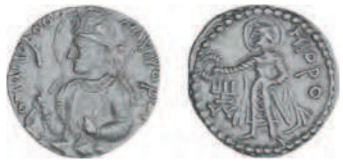

AN: E.G1-v 1d (5B/23e)

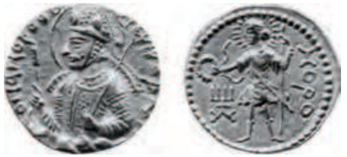

AO: E.G1-v 1d (5C/1d)

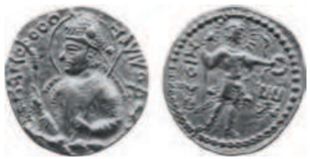

AP: E.G1-v 1d (5C/1e)

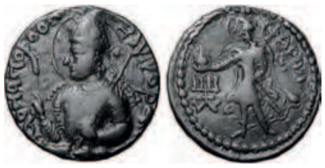

1231: E.G1-v 1d (5C/1g)

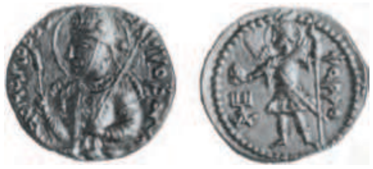

1232: E.G1-v 1d (5C/2n)

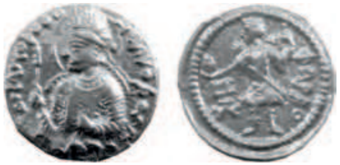

AQ: E.G1-v 1d (5C/3o)

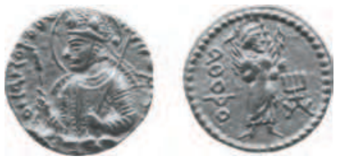

1233: E.G1-v 1d (5C/3s)

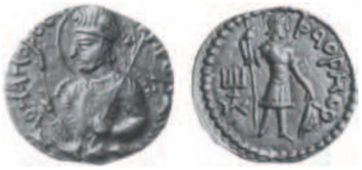

1234: E.G1-v 1u (5C/3t)

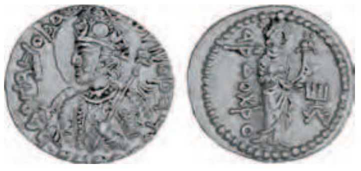

AR: E.G1-v 1d (5C/6o)


AS: E.G1-v 1d (5C/6u)


AT: E.G1-v 1d (5C/6v)


1235: E.G1-v 1d (5C/8c)


AU: E.G1-v 1d (5C/23c)


AV: E.G1-v 1d (5D/1e)

112 E.G1-v ¼d Main gold mint phase 5 quarter dinars, decorated tunic

Göbl 1984: 275–9

Huvishka (E) main gold mint (G1) fifth phase (v) quarter dinars (¼d), *c.* 2g.

Obverse: Portrait of king, facing left or right, wearing decorated cap and clothing, holding club and either a spear or standard, with inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 7.00) ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKI (King of Kings, Huvishka), frequently truncated or with characters missing. Corresponding to designs 3A through 3D of the units.

1A As above with flames from shoulders.

1B As above with laddered diadems over shoulders.

1C As above with no decoration around shoulder.

Reverse: Deity with tamga indentified by inscription in Bactrian and surrounded by dotted border.

1e* Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, standing facing right, long curled hair tied into a bun at the back, wearing earring, necklace, sleeved ankle-length gown, holding cornucopia with flower like mass at the top with both hands in front of her, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): APΔOXÞO.

2l* Mao, moon god, standing frontally, head to left surrounded by crescent depicted in outline emanating from shoulders, short curly hair, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, cloak over top fastened by two clasps at chest, sword in scabbard, making gesture with right hand, holding hilt of sword in left hand, tamga in left field, inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MAO.

2n* Mao, moon god, standing frontally head to left surrounded by crescent emanating from shoulders, wearing top knot, diadem, calf-length tunic, boots, sword in scabbard at waist, cloak over shoulders, holding sceptre vertically in left hand, holding diadem with ties above and below in oustretched right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription clockwise in right field MAO.

2p Mao, moon god, as for 2n but left hand on waist and legend blundered.

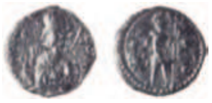
3x Miiro, sun god, standing head turned to left curly hair, wearing short thigh length tunic, sword in scabbard, calf high boots, holding sword hilt with left hand, and garlanded diadem with right, tamga in left field. Inscription clockwise in right field MIOPO.

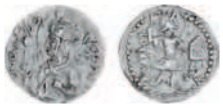
3y Miiro, sun god, as for 3x but with halo, left hand holding spear and right hand making gesture, inscription MYPO.

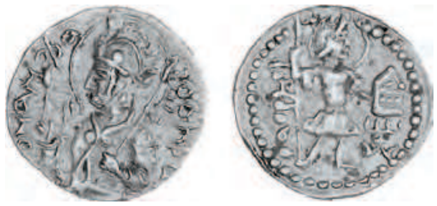
6x* Pharro, personification of royal glory, standing facing frontally, halo, short curly hair, diadem, calf-length length tunic held by belt, calf-high boots, cloak fastened in front of chest with two clasps, sword in scabbard, holding sceptre in left hand vertically behind, holding flames in right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΦAPPO.

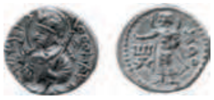
23m Shaoreoro, warrior god, standing frontally with head turned to right, wearing helmet, breastplate, plated skirt, calf-length winged boots, holding spear vertically behind with right hand and holding pentagonal shield in left hand at chest height, tamga in right field, inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): ÞAOPHOPO.

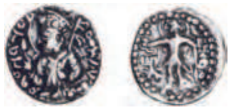
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Göbl 1984: 278/3		1.93	-	-	1A	6x
B*	ANS (1986.149.14)		1.98	13	-	1A	23m
1236*	188235	IOC.310	1.97	12	-	1B	2l
1237	188236	1888,1208.545	2.00	12	-	1B	2l
C*	Göbl 1984: 278/2		1,99	-	-	1B	2n
1238*	188232	IOC.305	1.98	12	-	1C	1e
D*	ISMEO; Göbl 1984: 278/1		-	-	-	1C	2n
E*	Private collection E		-	-	-	1C	2p
1239*	188241	1894,0506.68	1.91	12	-	1C	3x
1240*	188243	IOC.314	1.96	11	-	1C	3y

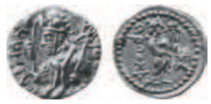

A: E.G1-v ¼d (1A/6x)

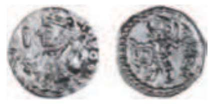

B: E.G1-v ¼d (1A/23m)

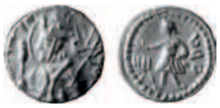

200% enlargement of B

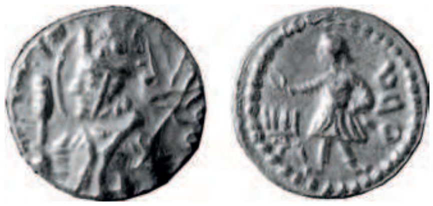

1236: E.G1-v ¼d (1B/2l)

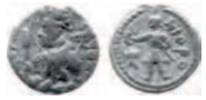

C: E.G1-v ¼d (1B/2n)

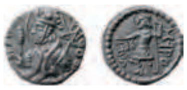

1238: E.G1-v ¼d 1C/1e

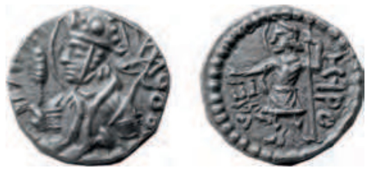

D: E: E.G1-v ¼d 1C/2n

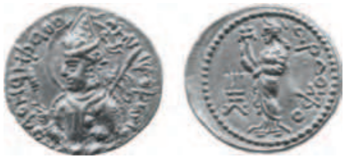

E: E.G1-v ¼d 1C/2p


200% enlargement of E

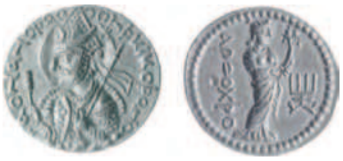

1239: E.G1-v ¼d (1C/3x)


1240: E.G1-v ¼d (1C/3y)

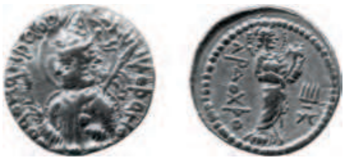

200% enlargement of 1240



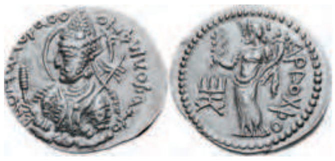
1242: E.G1-vi 1d (1A/1d)



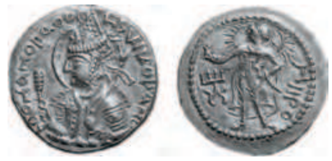
1243: E.G1-vi 1d (1A/1e)



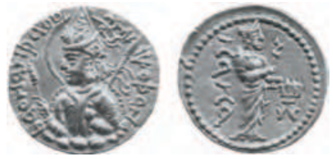
A: E.G1-vi 1d (1A/1f)



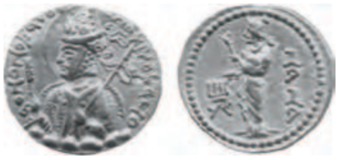
B: E.G1-vi 1d (1A/1j)



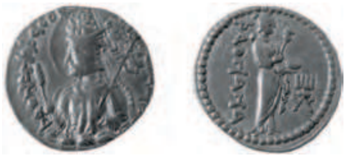
C: E.G1-vi 1d (1A/3d)



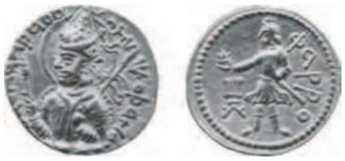
1248: E.G1-vi 1d (1A/4d)



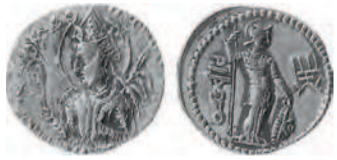
1249: E.G1vi (1A/4f)



1250: E.G1-vi 1d (1A/4g)



1251: E.G1-vi 1d (1A/6q)



D: E.G1-vi 1d (1A/21a)

113 E.G1-vi 1d Main gold mint phase 6 dinars, diadem around cap

Göbl 1984: 280–8

Huvishka (E) main gold mint (G1) sixth phase (vi) dinars (1d), *c.* 8g. The sixth phase uses the same design as phase five but with the thick band of a diadem depicted around the cap.

Obverse: Portrait of king, facing left or right, wearing decorated cap and clothing, holding club and either a spear or standard, emerging from mountain, with inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 7.00) ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKI KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan).

1A Portrait of King, showing upper body, facing left, halo, wearing a decorated conical head-dress (with badge and ear-flaps) and a diadem with two ties tied around the base, two diadem ties depicted behind head, and two laddered ties over shoulders, decorated tunic with arm bands fastened over the chest with two clasps, holding a club in his right hand, and a spear over his left shoulder. The inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 7.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKI KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan).

1B As for 1A but diadem tie over right shoulder replaced with flames.

1C As for 1B but diadem around base of cap has no ties.

Reverse: Deity with tamga indentified by inscription in Bactrian and surrounded by dotted border.

1d* Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, standing facing left, long curled hair tied into a bun at the back, wearing earring, necklace, sleeved ankle-length gown, holding cornucopia with flower like mass at the top with both hands in front of her, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): APΔOXÞO.

1e* Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, as for 1d but Ardochsho facing right, the inscription is anticlockwise in the left field, and tamga is in right field.

1f* Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, as for 1e but with halo.

1j* Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, standing facing left, long curled hair tied into a bun at the back, wearing earring, necklace, sleeved ankle-length gown, holding cornucopia with flower like mass at the top over left shoulder, branch in right hand, tamg in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): APΔOXÞO.

3d* Miiro, sun god, standing frontally, head turned to left, radiating halo, wearing short hair held in a diadem with two ribbons behind and roll of curls below diadem, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, and cloak held by two clasps on chest, sword in scabbard suspended at waist, making gesture with right hand, holding hilt of sword in left hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field) MIIPO.

4d* Nana, royal goddess, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with crescent on top, wearing short hair held in diadem with two ribbons, sleeved ankle-length gown and shawl around waist and draped over left forearm, holding wand tipped with lion-forepart in right hand, and bowl in left hand at waist, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (anti-clockwise in left field): NANA.

4f Nana, royal goddess, as for 4d but Nana facing left in mirror image of previous design, tamga is in left field and inscription clockwise in right.

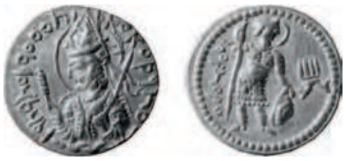
4g Nana, royal goddess, as for 4d but inscription: ÞAONANA.

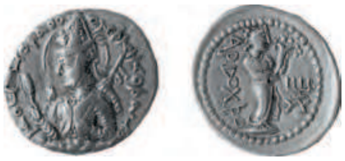
21a Rishti, warrior goddess, standing facing right, wearing plumed helmet, full length sleeved dress, armour over torso, holding spear vertically behind in right hand, resting left hand on top of round shield decorated with gorgons head, in right field a tamga. Inscription in Bactrian (anti-clockwise in left field), PIÞTO.

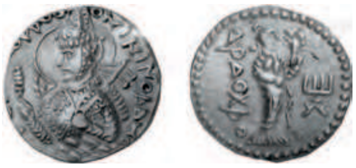
23a* Shaoreoro, warrior god, standing frontally with head turned to right, wearing plumed helmet, halo, breastplate, plated skirt, and calf-length winged boots, holding spear vertically behind with right hand and resting left hand on top of round shield, tamga in right field, inscription in Bactrian (anti-clockwise in left field): ÞAOPHOPO.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
1241	188365	1894,0506.40	7.97	19	-	1A	1d
1242*	188364	IOC.304	8.01	20	-	1A	1d
1243*	25351	1879,0501.43	8.07	19	-	1A	1e
1244	189033	1964,1203.11	7.82	19	-	1A	1e
1245	188360	1987,0649.24	7.91	22	-	1A	1e
1246	188361	1845, 0613.86	7.94	19	-	1A	1e
1247	188362	1879,0501.46	8.01	20	-	1A	1e
A*	Private collection W		-	-	-	1A	1f
B*	Triton Sale X (2007: 487) and XII (2009: 439),		-	-	-	1A	1j
C*	Shown to authors; www. columbia.org (Aug. 2008)		-	-	-	1A	3d
1248*	188368	1894,0506.55	7.97	20	-	1A	4d
1249*	188367	1879,0501.70	7.91	20	-	1A	4f
1250*	188369	1888,1208.556	7.84	20	-	1A	4g
1251*	188370	IOC.337	7.96	20	-	1A	6q
1252	188461	1894,0506.85	7.98	19	-	1A	6q
1253	188371	1860,1220.204	7.99	20	-	1A	6q
D*	Gorny&Mosch, 155, 425		-	-	-	1A	21a
E*	Private collection E		-	-	-	1A	23a
F*	Karachi Museum		-	-	-	1B	1e
G*†	Hess Divo Auction, 310, Oct. 2008		-	-	-	1C	1e

† This is the only example of this die so its authenticity is open to question.


E: E.G1-vi 1d (1A/23a)


F: E.G1-vi 1d (1B/1e)


G: E.G1-vi 1d (1C/1e)

Subsidiary gold mint, Peshawar or Taxila (E.G2)

The subsidiary mint was located south of the Hindu Kush, possibly at Peshawar or east of the Indus at Taxila. It produced coins at roughly one half the rate of the main mint which it followed in terms of design and types. These coins were issued in two denominations, dinars (*c.*8g) and quarter dinars (*c.* 2g). The mint used a variety of different portrait types for its obverse but the majority showed the torso of the king emerging from mountain top holding a club. An inscription in Bactrian gave the king's titles and name. The reverse design depicted a deity. The deities depicted at this mint were Ardochsho (1), Mao (2), Miiro (3), Nana (4), Oesho (5), Pharro (6), Ashaeichsho (7), Athsho (8), Heracles (11), Maaseno (14), Maiisoph (15), Oxus (17), Rishti (21) and Shaoreoro (23). The reverse inscriptions named the depicted deity (though mistaken labels were not unusual). The royal tamga appeared in the reverse field, and in the first phase this was unchanged from the reign of Kanishka.

The issues of this mint were produced in three phases:

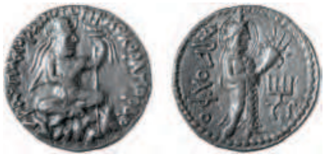
Phase 1 production consisted of dinars and quarter. Obverse depictions included a copy of the main mint's torso emerging from mountain top design, and king seated on elephant or cross-legged. Deities depicted on the reverse included Ardochsho (1), Mao (2), Nana (4), Oesho (5), Heracles (11) and Maaseno (14) in the dinars and Nana (4) and Pharro (6) in the quarters. The same tamga was used as under Kanishka.

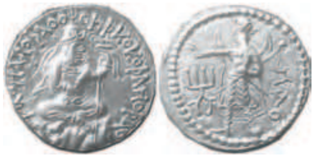
Phase 2 production consisted of dinars and quarters. The phase was marked by the introduction of a barred tamga. Deities used on the reverse included Ardochsho (1), Mao (2), Miiro (3), Nana (4), Oesho (5) and Maaseno (14), but in the quarters only Mao and Nana are known.

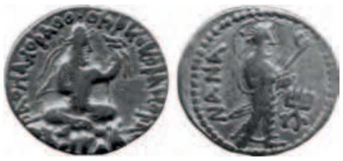
Phase 3 production consisted of dinars and quarters. Obverse designs included crude versions of previous phases and torsos. Deities used on the reverse included Ardochsho (1), Mao (2), Miiro (3), Nana (4), Oesho (5), Pharro (6), Oxus (17) and Rishti (21). In the quarters only Miiro and Nana are known.

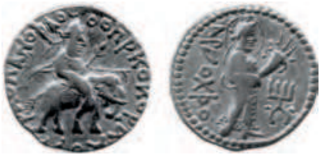
Phase 4 production consisted of dinars and quarters. Obverse designs followed those of the main mint (E.G2-v). Deities used on the reverse included Ardochsho (1), Mao (2), Miiro (3), Nana (4), Pharro (6), Ashaeichsho (7), Athsho (8), Maiisoph (15), Rishti (21) and Shaoreoro (23). In the quarters only Mao and Miiro are known.

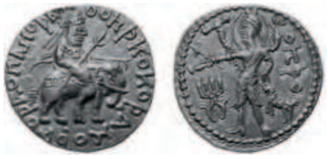
114 E.G2-i 1d Subsidiary gold mint phase 1 dinars, unbarred tamga

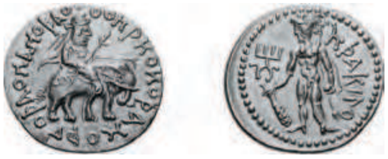

A E.G2-i 1d (1A/1a)

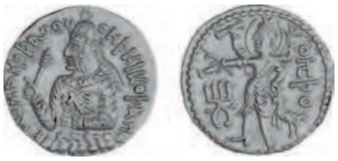

B: E.G2-i 1d (1A/2a)

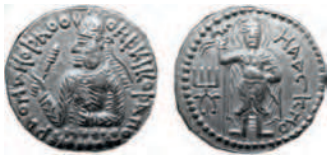

1254: E.G2-i 1d (1A/4a)


1256: E.G2-i 1d (2A/1a)


C: E.G2-i 1d (2A/5a)


D: E.G2-i 1d (2A/11a)


E: E.G2-i (3A/5a)


1257: E.G2-i (3A/14a)

Göbl 1984: 298, 299, 305, 305A

Huvishka (E) subsidiary gold mint (G2) first phase (i) dinars (1d), *c.* 2g.

Obverse: Depiction of King. Inscription in Bactrian: ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKI KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan).

1A King seated cross-legged on mountain top, wearing phrygian cap, diadem with two ties, knee-length tunic held by belt with double buckle at waist, trousers and boots, all under cloak over shoulders with upper part of cloak depicted as pointed extensions and tied on chest with double clasp, holding animal standard with ribbon in left hand, right hand covered at waist. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 8.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKO KOÞANO ÞAO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan).

2A King seated on elephant riding to right, wearing phrygian cap, diadem with two ties, knee-length tunic held by belt with double buckle at waist, trousers and boots, all under cloak over shoulders with upper part of cloak depicted as pointed extensions, holding spear in right hand and elephant goad in left hand. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 7.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKO KOÞANO ÞAO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan).

3A King, torso emerging from mountain top facing to left, circular mark on cheek, beardless with moustache and sideburns, wearing tall cap with brim two pronged badge on front a crescent on the side and surmounted with a crescent device, diadem with small dashes resembling a laddered design, tied at the back, wearing a tunic with a jewelled collar, holding the hilt of a sword with a projection resembling an animal at the pommel in left hand, and a club in right hand. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 7.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKI KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan).

Reverses: Depiction of deity with tamga and label in Bactrian, surrounded by a dotted border. The reverses of this phase use an unbarred tamga like that used in the period of Kanishka. Until 2012 only five designs were known but general indications are the mint would use six. A Pharro design would have been expected as this is known in the quarters, but the most recently discovered design (2a) is actually a Mao, for a fuller discussion of the reverse designs see Ch. 2 §E.5.1.

1a Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with device on top, wearing hair held in badged diadem with two ribbons behind and roll of curls below diadem and hair bun at back, earring, necklace, sleeved ankle-length gown, holding cornucopia with three projections with both hands in front of her, unbarred tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (anti-clockwise in left field): APΔOXÞO.

2a Mao, moon god, standing frontally head turned to left, moon rising behind shoulders, short hair tied in diadem, wearing long tunic, cloak, calf high boots, holding sceptre in left hand over left shoulder, right hand extended in gesture of blessing, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MAO.

4a Nana, royal goddess, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with crescent on top, short hair held in diadem with two ties, earring, sleeved ankle-length gown and shawl around waist and draped over left forearm, sword in scabbard drawn as three lines suspended from strap tied with single clasp on left thigh, holding wand tipped with lion-forepart in right hand, and bowl in left hand at waist, unbarred tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): NANA.

5a Oesho, mountain god, four armed standing frontally head to left surrounded by halo, long hair in top-knot, moustache, knee-length dhoti and string of beads across chest from left shoulder and armlets and bracelets on each arm, holding trident diagonally in upper left hand, horned animal (goat?) in lower left hand at waist, thunderbolt in upper right hand and water-pot and elephant goad in lower right hand, unbarred tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): OHÞO.

11a Heracles, warrior god, standing frontally with head turned to right, long matted hair and bearded, naked, holding club in right hand and lion skin draped over left arm, unbarred tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): HÞAKIΛO, the Þ for P is clearly an engraver's error.

14a Maaseno, warrior god, standing facing frontally, head surrounded by halo, moustache, wearing peaked cap, diadem with ties hanging either side of head, light tunic, and calf-length dhoti tied by belt at waist, calf-high boots, cloak fastened at chest by two large clasps, holding hilt of sword with left hand, and bird standard with two ribbons with right, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MAACHNO.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Bern (88.158); Göbl 1984: 305/1; Göbl 1993a: 275		7.97	-	-	1A	1a
B*	Shown to authors		-	-	-	1A	2a
1254*	187911	1879,0501.62	7.84	20	-	1A	4a
1255	187913	IOC.328	7.75	19	-	1A	4a
1256*	187909	1879,0501.6	7.85	19	-	2A	1a
C*	Private collection G; Triton VI, Jan. 2003: 544		7.95	-	-	2A	5a
D*	Triton X, Jan. 2007: 488		7.99	-	-	2A	11a
E*	ANS (1944.100.63654)		7.83	20	-	3A	5a
1257*	187917	IOC.306	8.13	19	-	3A	14a

115 E.G2-i ¼d Subsidiary gold mint phase 1 quarter dinars

Göbl 1984: 312, 314

Huvishka (E) subsidiary gold mint (G2) first phase (i) quarter dinars (¼d), *c.* 2g.

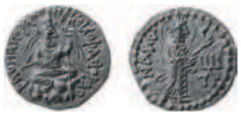
Obverse Two different designs are employed reflecting two of the designs used on the full dinars.

1A King seated cross-legged on mountain top, wearing tall cap with brim, diadem with two ties, knee-length tunic held by belt with double buckle at waist, trousers and boots, all under cloak over shoulders with upper part of cloak depicted as pointed extensions and tied on chest with double clasp, holding animal standard with ribbon in left hand, right hand holding a club before chest. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 8.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKO KOÞANO ÞAO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan).

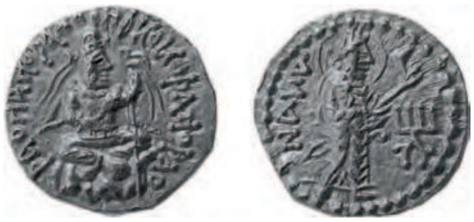
3A King, torso emerging from mountain top facing to left, circular mark on cheek, beardless with moustache and sideburns, wearing tall cap with brim two pronged badge on front a crescent on the side and surmounted with a crescent device, diadem with small dashes resembling a laddered design, tied at the back, wearing a tunic with a jewelled collar, holding the hilt of a sword with a projection resembling an animal at the pommel in left hand, right hand holding a club. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 7.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKI KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan).

Reverses: Depiction of deity with tamga and label in Bactrian, surrounded by a dotted border. The reverses of this phase use an unbarred tamga like that used in the period of Kanishka.

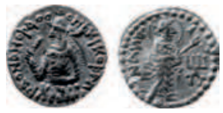
4a Nana, royal goddess, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with crescent on top, short hair held in diadem with two ties, earring, sleeved ankle-length gown and shawl around waist and draped over left forearm, sword in scabbard drawn as three lines suspended from strap tied



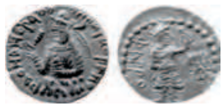
A: E.G2-i ¼d (1A/4a)



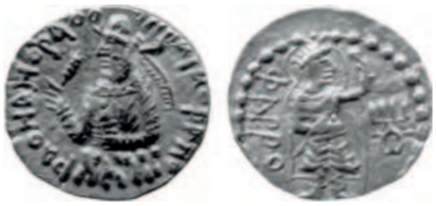
200% enlargement of A



1258: E.G2-i ¼d (3A/4a)



1259: E.G2-i ¼d (3A/6a)



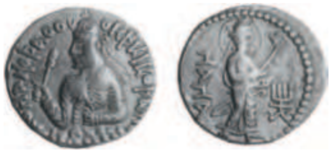
200% enlargement of 1259

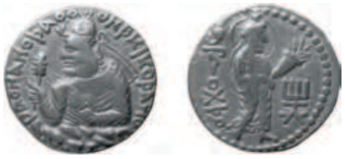
with single clasp on left thigh, holding wand tipped with lion-forepart in right hand, and bowl in left hand at waist, unbarred tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): NANA.

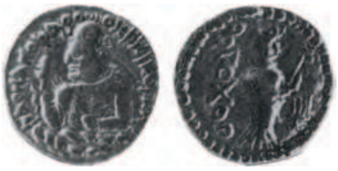
6a Pharro, personification of royal glory, standing frontally, head to right with halo, wearing diadem, knee length tunic held by belt, boots, cloak, and sword in scabbard, holding sceptre with left hand and hilt of sword with right, in right field unbarred tamga. Inscription in Bactrian (anti-clockwise in left field ΦΑΡΡΟ.

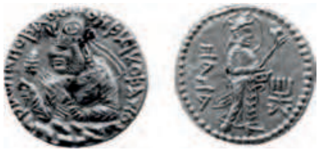
No.	PRN	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Seen by authors		-	-	-	1A	4a
1258*	188098	1894,0506.58	1.92	13	-	3A	4a
1259*	187982	1894,0506.87	1.98	12	18.41	3A	6a

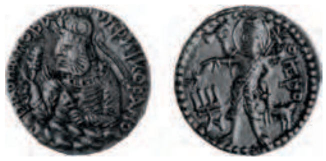
116 E.G2-ii 1d Subsidiary gold mint phase 2 dinars, barred tamga

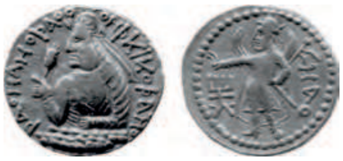

A: E.G2-ii 1d (1A/4b)

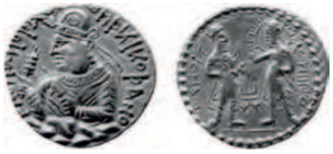

B: E.G2-ii 1d (1B/1b)

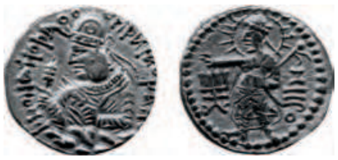

C: E.G2-ii 1d (1B/1c)


1262: E.G2-ii 1d (1B/4b)


D: E.G2-ii 1d (1B/5c)


1263: E.G2-ii 1d (1C/2b)


1264: E.G2-ii 1d (1C/2c)


1266: E.G2-ii 1d (1C/3a)

Göbl 1984: 291, 295, 296, 298, 300, 303, 306–8, 310

Huvishka (E) subsidiary gold mint (G2) second phase (ii) dinars (1d), *c.* 8g.

Obverse: Torso of king emerging from mountain top facing left. Inscription in Bactrian: ÞΑΟΝΑΝΟ ÞΑΟ ΟΟΗÞΚΙ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan).

1A King, torso emerging from mountain top facing to left, circular mark on cheek, beardless with moustache and sideburns, wearing tall cap with brim two pronged badge on front a crescent on the side and surmounted with a crescent device, diadem with small dashes resembling a laddered design, tied at the back, wearing a tunic with a jewelled collar, holding the hilt of a sword with a projection resembling an animal at the pommel in left hand, and a club in right hand. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 7.00): ÞΑΟΝΑΝΟ ÞΑΟ ΟΟΗÞΚΙ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan). This type is known from a single die which was retained from the first phase.

1B As for 1A but there is no device on the king's cap, flames emanate from the right shoulder, and the diadem tie is no longer laddered. This type is transitional in the mint establishing its design independent of the main mint.

1C As for 1B but there are three prongs on the top of the club

Reverses: Depiction of deity with tamga and label in Bactrian, surrounded by a dotted border. The reverses of this phase use a barred tamga. Types which differ only from the first phase in the use of the barred tamga.

1b* Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with device on top, wearing hair held in badged diadem with two ribbons behind and roll of curls below diadem and hair bun at back, earring, necklace, sleeved ankle-length gown, holding cornucopia with three projections with both hands in front of her, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (anti-clockwise in left field): ΑΡΔΟΧÞΟ.

1c Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, standing facing right, with device on top, wearing earring, necklace, sleeved ankle-length gown, holding cornucopia with flower-like mass on top, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (anti-clockwise in left field): ΑΡΔΟΧΟΡ.

2b Mao, moon god, standing frontally, head to left surrounded by crescent depicted as outlined crescent emanating from shoulders, short curly hair tied by diadem with two ties, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, cloak over top fastened by two clasps at chest, sword in scabbard, making gesture with right hand, holding hilt of sword in left hand, sceptre with ribbons over shoulder, tamga in left field, inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MAO.

2c Mao and Miiro, moon and sun gods, facing each other, tamga between. Mao depicted as in 2b facing right, and Miiro depicted as in 3a facing left. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field) MIIPO (anti-clockwise in left field) MAO.

3a Miiro, sun god, standing frontally, head to left surrounded by radiating halo, short curly hair tied by diadem with two ties, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, cloak over top fastened by two clasps at chest, sword in scabbard, making gesture with right hand, holding hilt of sword in left hand, sceptre with ribbons over shoulder, tamga in left field, inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MIIPO.

4b* Nana, royal goddess, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with crescent on top, short hair held in diadem with two ties, earring, sleeved ankle-length gown and shawl around waist and draped over left forearm, sword in scabbard drawn as three lines suspended from strap tied with single clasp on left thigh, holding wand tipped with lion-forepart in right hand, and bowl in left hand at waist, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (anti-clockwise in left field): NANA.

5b Oesho, mountain god, four armed standing frontally head to left surrounded by halo, long hair in top-knot, moustache, knee-length dhoti and string of beads across chest from left shoulder and armlets and bracelets on each arm, holding trident diagonally in upper left hand, horned animal (goat?) in lower left hand at waist, thunderbolt in upper right hand and water-pot pouring water and elephant goad in lower right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): OHÞO.

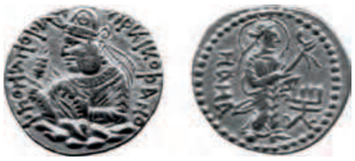
5c Oesho, mountain god, as for 5b but does not carry the elephant goad.

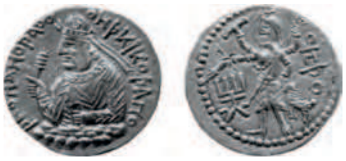
5d Oesho and Umma, mountain god and his consort, facing each other, a tamga between. Oesho four armed standing frontally head to left surrounded by halo, long hair in top-knot, moustache, knee-length dhoti and string of beads across chest from left shoulder and armlets and bracelets on each arm, holding trident diagonally in upper left hand, horned animal (goat?) in lower left hand at waist, thunderbolt in upper right hand and water-pot and elephant goad in lower right hand. Ommo, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with crescent on top, short hair held in diadem with two ties, earring, sleeved ankle-length gown and shawl around waist and draped over left forearm, holding flower in right hand. Tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): OHÞO (anti-clockwise in left field) OMMO.

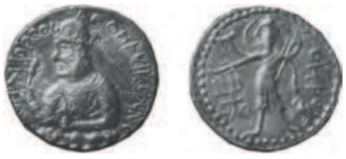
14a Maaseno, warrior god, standing facing frontally, head surrounded by halo, moustache, wearing peaked cap, diadem with ties hanging either side of head, light tunic, and calf-length dhoti tied by belt at waist, calf-high boots, cloak fastened at chest by two large clasps, holding hilt of sword with left hand, and bird standard with two ribbons with right, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MAACHNO. The use of this type appears to be an error as the die is used after the barred tamga has otherwise replaced the unbarred tamga in all designs.

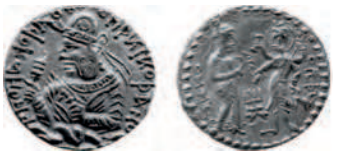
14b Maaseno, warrior god, as for 14a but with barred tamga.

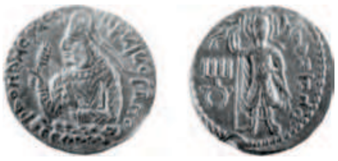
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Göbl 1984: 300/7		-	-	-	1A	4b
B*	Private collection W		-	-	-	1B	1b
C*	Göbl 1984: 307/1		-	-	-	1B	1c
1260	188101	IOC.325	7.93	19	-	1B	4b
1261	188102	1879,0501.63	7.77	20	-	1B	4b
1262*	187948	IOC.321	7.67	20	-	1B	4b
D*	Shown to authors		7.79	-	-	1B	5c
1263*	188070	1850,0305.198	7.86	20	-	1C	2b
1264*	188071	1879,0501.8	7.87	19	-	1C	2c
1265	188073	1894,0506.63	8.05	20	-	1C	3a
1266*	188076	1857,0813.68	7.98	20	-	1C	3a
1267	188074	1894,0506.66	7.72	18	-	1C	3a
1268*	188100	1879,0501.64	7.91	20	-	1C	4b
1269* †	188104	1857,0813.70	7.95	20	-	1C	5b
1270	188105	1879,0501.28	7.88	19	-	1C	5b
1271	188106	IOC.333	7.80	19	-	1C	5b
E*	Göbl 1984: 308/17		8.05	-	-	1C	5c

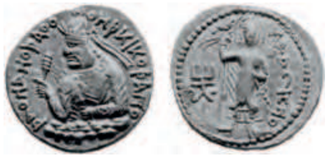

1268: E.G2-ii 1d (1C/4b)


1269: E.G2-ii 1d (1C/5b)


E: E.G2-ii 1d (1C/5c)


1272: E.G2-ii 1d (1C/5d)


F: E.G2-ii 1d (1C/14a)


G: E.G2-ii 1d (1C/14b)

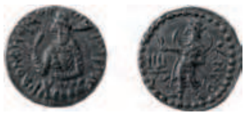
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
1272*	188103	1888,1208.557	7.98	20	-	1C	5d
F*	Watanabe 1973, 126		-	-	-	1C	14a
G*	Göbl 1984, 298/5A; Sotheby, 1&2.10.1987, 862; Spink, Singapore 20 Feb 1991 (Skanda) 37;		-	-	-	1C	14b

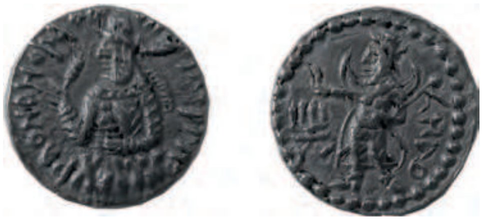
† The Museum has a 19th-century forgery of this type (1893,0506.18, 187972).

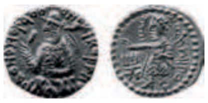
117 E.G2-ii ¼d Subsidiary gold mint phase 2 quarter dinars, barred tamga

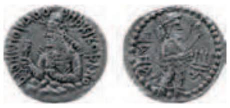
Göbl 1984: 311, 313, 315

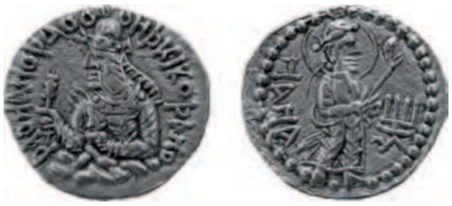
Huvishka (E) subsidiary gold mint (G2) second phase (ii) quarter dinars (¼d), *c.* 2g.


A: E.G2-ii ¼d (1A/2b)


200% enlargement of A


1274: E.G2-ii ¼d (1A/3a)


1275: E.G2-ii ¼d (1B/4b)


200% enlargement of 1275

Obverse: Torso of king emerging from mountain top facing left. Inscription in Bactrian: ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKI KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan).

1A King, torso emerging from mountain top facing to left, circular mark on cheek, beardless with moustache and sideburns, wearing tall cap with brim two pronged badge on front a crescent on the side and surmounted with a crescent device, diadem with small dashes resembling a laddered design, tied at the back, wearing a tunic with a jewelled collar, holding the hilt of a sword with a projection resembling an animal at the pommel in left hand, and a club in right hand. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 7.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKI KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan). This type is known from a single die which was retained from the first phase.

1B As for 1A but there is no device on the king's cap, flames emanate from the right shoulder, and three prongs on top of the club.

Reverses: Depiction of deity with tamga and label in Bactrian, surrounded by a dotted border. The reverses of this phase use a barred tamga. Types which differ only from the first phase in the use of the barred tamga are marked with an asterisk.

2b* Mao, moon god, standing frontally, head to left surrounded by crescent depicted as outlined crescent emanating from shoulders, short curly hair tied by diadem with two ties, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, cloak over top fastened by two clasps at chest, sword in scabbard, making gesture with right hand, holding hilt of sword in left hand, sceptre with ribbons over shoulder, tamga in left field, inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MAO.

3a* Miiro, sun god, standing frontally, head to left surrounded by radiating halo, short curly hair tied by diadem with two ties, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, cloak over top fastened by two clasps at chest, sword in scabbard, making gesture with right hand, holding hilt of sword in left hand, sceptre with ribbons over shoulder, tamga in left field, inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MIIPO.

4b* Nana, royal goddess, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with crescent on top, short hair held in diadem with two ties, earring, sleeved ankle-length gown and shawl around waist and draped over left forearm, sword in scabbard drawn as three lines suspended from strap tied with single clasp on left thigh, holding wand tipped with lion-forepart in right hand, and bowl in left hand at waist, unbarred tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (anti-clockwise in left field): NANA.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Private collection V		-	-	-	1A	2b
1273	188079	1847,1201.259	1.95	13	-	1B	3a
1274*	188080	1894,0506.69	1,95	13	-	1A	3a
1275*	188099	1888,1208.552	1.97	13	-	1B	4b

118 E.G2-iii 1d Subsidiary gold mint phase 3 dinars, torso only and crude

Göbl 1984: 290, 292–4, 297, 300–3, 309, 317–35

Huvishka (E) subsidiary gold mint (G2) third phase (iii) dinars (1d), *c.* 8g. Having established a torso portrait based upon the main mint the subsidiary mint then made a dramatic change and introduces a torso type (facing left in the dinars and right in the quarters, see below) before reverting to a crude version of the phase II portrait.

Obverse: Portrait of king facing left. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 7.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKI KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan).

1A King, head and shoulder torso facing left, circular mark on cheek, beardless with moustache and sideburns, wearing tall cap (device on front, disc on side surrounded by jewels), wearing diadem with two ties, earring, tunic with a jewelled collar. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 7.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKI KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan).

1B King, torso emerging from mountain top facing to left, circular mark on cheek, beardless with moustache and sideburns, wearing tall cap with brim two pronged badge on front a crescent on the side and surmounted with a crescent device, diadem tied at the back with two ties, wearing a tunic with a jewelled collar, holding the hilt of a sword with a projection resembling an animal at the pommel in left hand, and a club with three prongs in right hand. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 7.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKI KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan).

Reverse: Deity indentified by inscription in Bactrian, surrounded by dotted border. The engraving at this stage become deeply unreliable, there are many errors in the inscriptions, and the bar on the tamga is frequently ommitted.

1d Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, standing facing right, long hair tied in a bun at the back, earring, necklace, sleeved ankle-length gown, shawl draped over left arm, holding cornucopia with flower-like mass with both hands in front of her, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): AΡΔOXÞO.

1e Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, standing facing left, long hair tied in a bun at the back, earring, sleeved ankle-length gown, waist length tunic, holding cornucopia with flower-like mass in left hand over left shoulder, diadem (ties above and below arm) in extended right hand, unbarred tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (anti-clockwise in right field): ΔOXÞO.

2d Mao, moon god, standing frontally, head to left surrounded by crescent depicted as outlined crescent emanating from shoulders, short curly hair, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, cloak over top fastened by two clasps at chest, sword in scabbard, making gesture with right hand, holding hilt of sword in left hand, sceptre with ribbons over shoulder (the sceptre is not always visible due to poor engraving), tamga in left field, inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MAO.

3a* Miiro, sun god, standing frontally, head to left surrounded by radiating halo, short curly hair tied by diadem with two ties, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, cloak over top fastened by two clasps at chest, sword in scabbard, making gesture with right hand, holding hilt of sword in left hand, sceptre with ribbons over shoulder, tamga in left field, inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MIIPO.

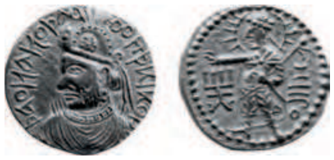
3b Miiro, sun god, as for 3a but with inscription: MIOPO.

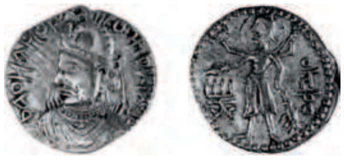
3c Miiro, sun god, as for 3a and 3b but with various blundered inscriptions: MIPO, MEIPPO, MYPO, HÞO are known.

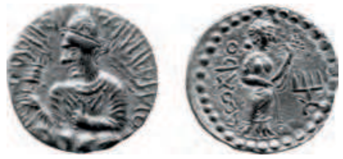
3d Miiro, sun god, as for 3a but with no sceptre, on some examples the tamga is depicted without a bar.

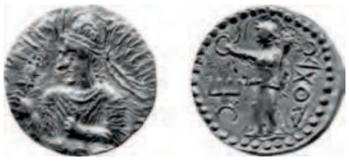
3e* Miiro, sun god, as for 3d but with blundered inscription, characters unclear.

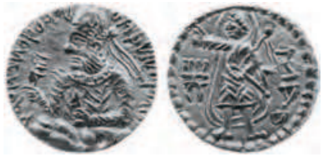
4b* Nana, royal goddess, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with crescent on top, short hair held in diadem with two ties, earring, sleeved ankle-length gown and shawl around waist and draped over left forearm, sword in scabbard drawn as three lines suspended from strap tied

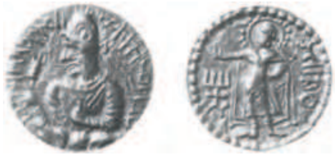

1276: E.G2-iii 1d (1A/3a)

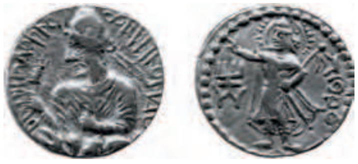

A: E.G2-iii 1d (1A/5b)

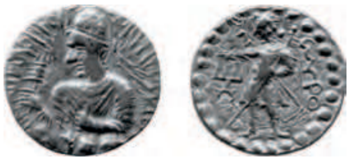

1279: E.G2-iii 1d (1B/1d)

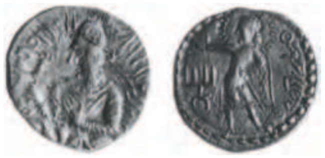

1280: E.G2-iii 1d (1B/1e)

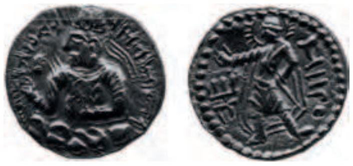

B: E.G2-iii 1d (1B/2d)

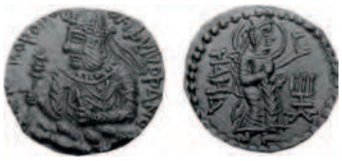

C: E.G2-iii 1d (1B/3a)


1282: E.G2-iii 1d (1B/3b)

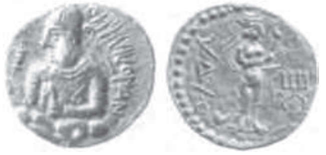

1283: E.G2-iii 1d (1B/3c)


D: E.G2-iii 1d (1B/3e)

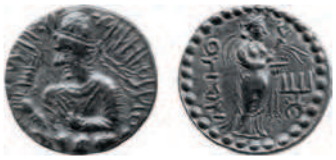

E: E.G2-iii 1d (1B/3d)



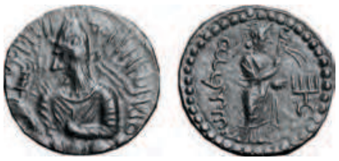
F: E.G2-iii 1d (1B/4b)



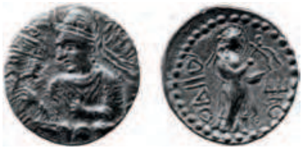
G: E.G2-iii 1d (1B/4c)



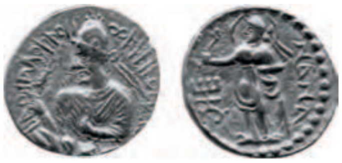
1284: E.G2-iii 1d (1B/4d)



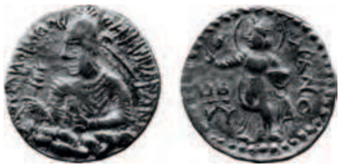
H: E.G2-iii 1d (1B/4f)



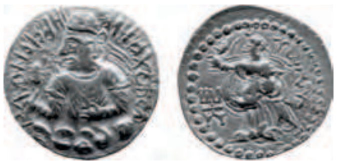
1285: E.G2-iii 1d (1B/4g)



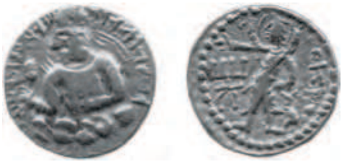
1286: E.G2-iii 1d (1B/4h)



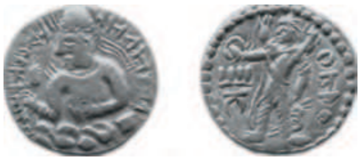
1287: E.G2-iii 1d (1B/4i)



1290: E.G2-iii 1d (1B/4j)



I: E.G2-iii 1d (1B/5c)



J: E.G2-iii 1d (1B/5e)

with single clasp on left thigh, holding wand tipped with lion-forepart in right hand, and bowl in left hand at waist, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (anti-clockwise in left field): NANA.

4c Nana, royal goddess, as for 4b but ribbons on lion wand, no sword, and tamga is unbarred.

4d Nana, royal goddess, as for 4c but inscription (clockwise in left field): NANO.

4f Nana, royal goddess, as for 4c but inscription (clockwise in left field): ΝΩΝΕΙΤΟ.

4g Nana, royal goddess, as for 4c but inscription has been blundered: ΟΝΟ, ΟΔΙΙΟ.

4h Nana, royal goddess, standing facing frontally head turned to left, halo around head, long hair tied by diadem with two ties, wearing sleeved floor-length gown tied at waist, shawl draped over left arm, holding object (platter, bowl, or pot) in left hand at waist, lion wand in outstretched right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): NANA.

4i Nana, royal goddess, as for 4h but inscription: NANO.

4j Nana, royal goddess, as for 4i but inscription: ΝΩΝΕΙΤΟ.

5c* Oesho, mountain god, four armed standing frontally head to left surrounded by halo, long hair in top-knot, moustache, knee-length dhoti and string of beads across chest from left shoulder and armlets and bracelets on each arm, holding trident diagonally in upper left hand, horned animal (goat?) in lower left hand at waist, thunderbolt in upper right hand and water-pot pouring water in lower right hand, unbarred tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΟΗÞΟ.

5e Oesho, mountain god, as for 5c but holding diadem instead of water pot.

5f Oesho, mountain god, as for 5e but with blunder inscription: ΟΜÞΟ.

6b Pharro, personification of royal glory, standing facing frontally head turned to left, surrounded by halo, short hair tied by diadem, wearing a bird head-dress, torque or necklace, knee-length tunic, cloak fastened by three clasps over chest, calf-high boots, holding bird standard in left hand, making gesture with right hand, pool of coins around feet, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΦΑΡΡΟ.

6c Pharro, personification of royal glory, as for 6b but holding sceptre with ribbons rather than standard, tamga is unbarred, and inscription: ΦΑΡΟ.

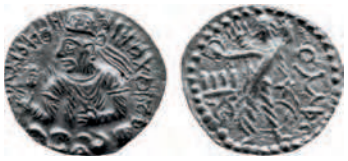
17a God standing head surrounded by halo turned to left, short hair and beard, wearing polos head dress, calf-length robe draped over left shoulder, holding sceptre in left hand, and making gesture with right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian in right field: ΟΡΟΗ (or possibly ΟΡΟΜ). The identity of the god is unclear, it could be Oxus, Ahura Mazda, or Sarapis are intended.

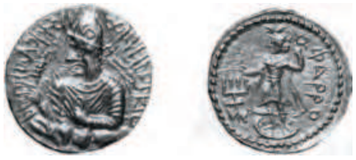
17b God as for 17a but with unbarred tamga and inscription: ΟΧÞΟ.

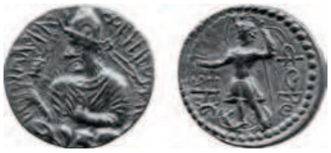
21a Rishti, warrior goddess, standing facing right, wearing plumed helmet, full length sleeved dress, armour over torso, holding spear vertically behind in right hand, resting left hand on top of round shield, in right field a tamga. Inscription in Bactrian (anti-clockwise in left field), ΡΙÞΤΟ, the inscription is badly engraved and was initially misread as ΡΙΟΜ.

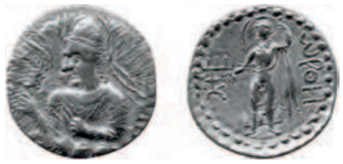
No.	PRN	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
1276*	188107	IOC.317	7.92	20	-	1A	3a
1277	188751	1894,0506.67	7.91	20	-	1A	3a
1278	188108	1879,0501.77	7.79	19	-	1A	3a
A*	Lucknow; Nasik		-	-	-	1A	5b
1279*	188177	1992,0229.15	7.99	20	18.81	1B	1d
1280*	188178	1898,0712.3	7.99	20	18.61	1B	1e
1281	188179	1879,0501.42	7.94	20	18.58	1B	1e
B*	Spink 6003, Mar 2006: 1163		7.96	-	-	1B	2d

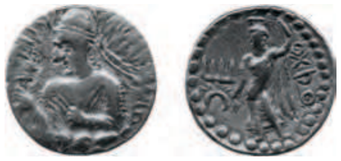
No.	PRN	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
C*	Berlin, Göbl 1984: 318/1		7.83	-	-	1B	3a
1282*	188181	1879,0501.76	7.88	19	18.41	1B	3b
1283*	188180	IOC.318	7.96	19	18.68	1B	3c
D*	Private collection W		-	-	-	1B	3d
E*	Den Haag, Göbl 1984: 321/1		8.05	-	-	1B	3e
F*	Triton XII, Jan. 2009: 441		8.00	-	-	1B	4b
G*	Morton & Eden 10, Nov. 2004: 690		7.88	-	-	1B	4c
1284*	188182	1879,0501.65	7.89	20	18.86	1B	4d
H*	Shown to authors		-	-	-	1B	4f
1285*	188184	1879,0501.74	7.76	19	18.81	1B	4g
1286*	188185	IOC.331	7.88	20	18.68	1B	4h
1287*	188183	1879,0501.67	7.94	20	-	1B	4i
1288	188187	1857,0813.71	7.84	20	18.41	1B	4i
1289	188186	IOC.332	7.78	20	18.75	1B	4i
1290*	188158	1879,0501.66	7.87	20	-	1B	4j
I*	Private collection W		-	-	-	1B	5c
J*	Shown to authors		-	-	-	1B	5e
1291*	188159	1879,0501.27	7.98	20	-	1B	5f
1292*	188189	IOC.343	7.93	19	18.63	1B	6b
1293	188190	1879,0501.37	7.79	20	18.53	1B	6b
1294*	188191	1879,0501.36	7.83	19	18.51	1B	6c
1295*	188192	1894,0506.90	7.92	20	18.61	1B	17a
1296	188194	1879,0501.10	7.90	20	18.77	1B	17a
1297*	188188	1893,0506.20	7.87	19	18.64	1B	17b
1298*	25344	1894.0506.75	8.02	20	-	1B	21a

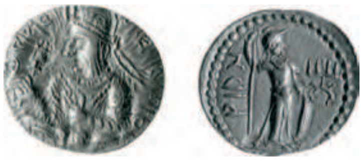

1291: E.G2-iii 1d (1B/5f)


1292: E.G2-iii 1d (1B/6b)


1294: E.G2-iii 1d (1B/6c)


1295: E.G2-iii 1d (1B/17a)


1297: E.G2-iii 1d (1B/17b)


1298: E.G2-iii 1d (1B/21a)

119 E.G2-iii ¼d Subsidiary gold mint phase 3 quarter dinars

Göbl 1984 : 315A, 316†, 336

Huvishka (E) subsidiary gold mint (G2) third phase (iii) quarter dinars (¼d), *c.* 2g.

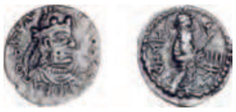
Obverse: Portrait of king facing right.

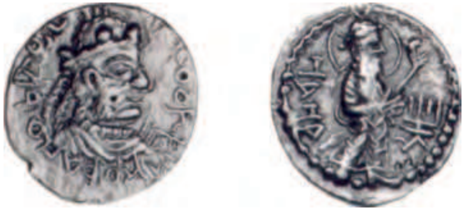
1A Bust of king facing right, wearing elaborated decorated crown, diadem, and simple tunic. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 7.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKI KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan).

1B King, torso emerging from mountain top facing to left, circular mark on cheek, beardless with moustache and sideburns, wearing tall cap with brim two pronged badge on front a crescent on the side and surmounted with a crescent device, diadem tied at the back with two ties, wearing a tunic with a jewelled collar, holding the hilt of a sword with a projection resembling an animal at the pommel in left hand, and a club with three prongs in right hand. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 7.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKI KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan).

Reverse: Deity† indentified by inscription in Bactrian, surrounded by dotted border.

3a* Miiro, sun god, standing frontally, head to left surrounded by radiating halo, short curly hair tied by diadem with two ties, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, cloak over top fastened by two clasps at chest, sword in scabbard, making gesture with right hand, holding hilt of sword in left hand, sceptre with ribbons over shoulder, tamga in left field, inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MIIPO.


A: E.G2-iii ¼d (1A/4b)


100% enlargement of A

1k Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, as for 1j but cornucopia is depicted as a palm fond, right arm is outstretched, and the inscription (anticlockwise in right field) is an error: OÞTO.

2e* Mao, moon god, standing frontally, head to left surrounded by crescent depicted as outlined crescent emanating from shoulders, short curly hair, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, cloak over top fastened by two clasps at chest, sword in scabbard, making gesture with right hand, holding hilt of sword in left hand, tamga in left field, inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MAO.

2f Mao, moon god, as for 2d but holding diadem in right hand.

2g Mao, moon god, as for 2e with flames emanating from left shoulder.

2h Mao, moon god, as for 2e but holding sceptre in left hand.

2i Mao, moon god, as for 2f but with ribbons on the sceptre.

2j Mao, moon god, as for 2d but holding sceptre in left hand.

2k Mao, moon god, as for 2d but sword in wide scabbard and inscription counter-clockwise.

3f Miiro, sun god, standing frontally, head to left surrounded by radiating halo, short curly hair tied by diadem with two ties, knee-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, cloak over top fastened by two clasps at chest, left hand on waist, holding diadem with outstetched right hand, tamga in left field, inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MIOPO.

3g Miiro, sun god, As for 3e but holding diadem in right hand and sword is absent.

3h Miiro, sun god, as for 3f but holding sceptre vertically behind in left hand.

4e* Nana, royal goddess, standing facing right, head surrounded by halo and with crescent on top, short hair held in diadem with two ties, earring, sleeved ankle-length gown and shawl around waist and draped over left forearm, holding wand tipped with lion-forepart and ribbons in right hand, and bowl in left hand at waist, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): NANO.

4f* Nana, royal goddess, as for 4e but inscription (clockwise in left field): NΩNEITO.

4g* Nana, royal goddess, as for 4e but inscription has been blundered: ONO, OΔIIO, NANA (with incorrect letter forms).

4i* Nana, royal goddess, standing facing frontally head turned to left, halo around head, long hair tied by diadem with two ties, wearing sleeved floor-length gown tied at waist, shawl draped over left arm, holding bowl in left hand at waist, lion wand in outstretched right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): NANO.

4j Nana, royal goddess, as for 4i but inscription: NΩNEITO.

4k Nana, royal goddess, as for 4e but not wearing diadem and inscription: NANA.

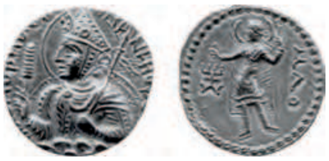
4l Nana, royal goddess, seated facing frontally head turned to right, halo around head, long hair tied by diadem with two ties, wearing sleeved floor-length gown tied below chest, holding bowl in left hand, lion wand over right shoulder. Seated on lion facing right with left front paw raised, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): NANO.

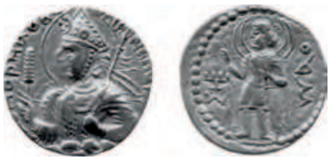
5g Oesho, mountain god, four armed and three headed, standing frontally, long hair in top-knot, moustache, knee-length dhoti and string of beads across chest from left shoulder and armlets and bracelets on each arm, holding trident in upper left hand, club in lower left hand at waist, thunderbolt in upper right hand and water-pot in lower right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): OHÞO.

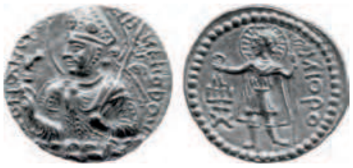
6d Pharro, personification of royal glory, standing facing frontally head turned to left surrounded by halo, short curly hair, wings above head, torque or necklace, knee-length tunic, cloak fastened by single clasp on right shoulder, calf-high boots, holding sceptre in left hand, purse with right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΦAPO.

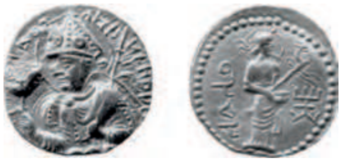
6e Pharro, personification of royal glory, as for 6d but inscription: ΦAPPO.

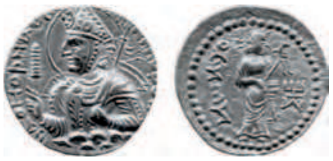
6f Pharro, personification of royal glory, standing facing frontally head turned to left surrounded by halo, short curly hair, ankle-length tunic,

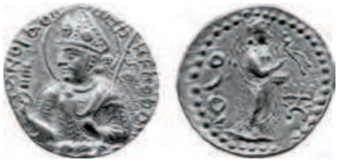

1301: E.G2-iv 1d (1A/2j)

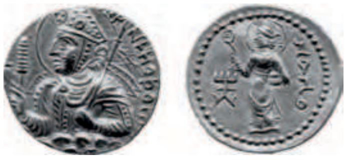

1303: E.G2-iv 1d (1A/2k)

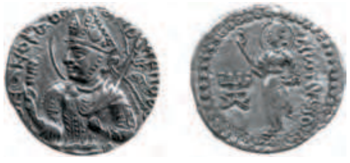

1304: E.G2-iv 1d (1A/3h)

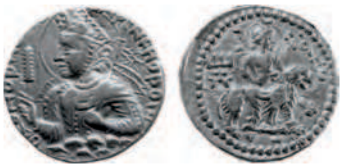

1305: E.G2-iv 1d (1A/4e)

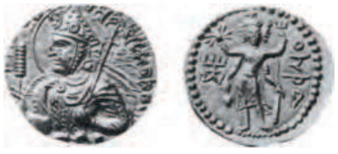

1306: E.G2-iv 1d (1A/4f)


1308: E.G2-iv 1d (1A/4g)


1309: E.G2-iv 1d (1A/4i)


G: E.G2-iv 1d (1A/4j)


1310: E.G2-iv 1d (1A/4l)


H: E.G2-iv 1d (1A/5g)

cloak fastened by two clasps on chest, sword in scabbard, calf-high boots, holding hilt of sword in left hand, flames in outstretched right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): Φ?P blundered with exact intent unclear.

7a Ashaeichsho, sun god, standing frontally, head to left surrounded by radiating halo, short curly hair tied by diadem with two ties, knee-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, cloak over top fastened by single clasp at chest, sword in scabbard, making gesture with right hand, left hand at waist, tamga in left field, inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): AÞAEIXÞO. Whether a distinct solar divinity is intended or Miiro is depicted with a blundered version of the Ardochsho legend, in similar fashion to 1h, is unclear, see full discussion on p. 000.

8a Athsho, fire god, standing frontally head turned to right, long curly hair and beard, wearing modius on top of head, ankle length tunic, shawl over shoulder and left arm, tongs in left hand, hammer in right hand over shoulder, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): APZÞO.

15a Maiissoph, unknown god, standing facing frontally head turned to left, long curly hair and beard, wearing modius on top of head, ankle length tunic, shawl over shoulder and left arm, holding garlanded diadem in right hand, tongs in left hand over shoulder, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MAIICCOΦ.

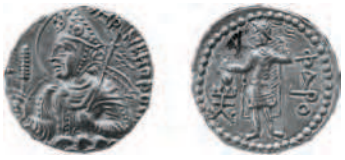
21a* Rishti, warrior goddess, standing facing right, wearing plumed helmet, full length sleeved dress, armour over torso, holding spear vertically behind in right hand, resting left hand on top of round shield, in right field a tamga. Inscription in Bactrian (anti-clockwise in left field): PIÞTO. The only die known for this type is the same die as was employed in the previous phase.

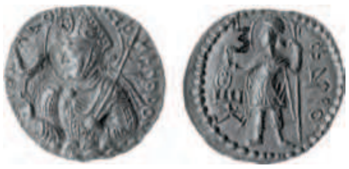
23a Shaoreoro, warrior god, standing frontally with head turned to right, wearing plumed helmet, plated corslet, skirt, and calf-length boots, holding spear vertically behind with right hand and resting left hand on top of round shield, tamga in right field, inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): ÞAOPHOA or ÞAOPHOAO, blundered.

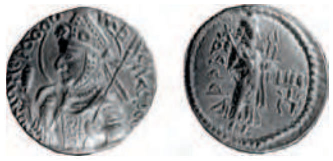
23b Shaoreoro, warrior god, standing frontally with head turned to right, wearing plumed helmet, plated corslet, skirt, and calf-length boots, holding spear vertically behind with right hand and resting left hand on top of round shield (shield facing left), tamga in left field, inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ÞAOPHOAO, blundered.

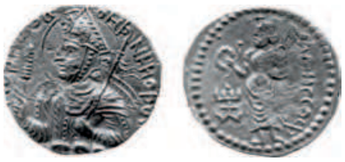
23c Shaoreoro, warrior god, standing frontally with head turned to left, wearing plumed helmet, plated corslet, skirt, and calf-length boots, holding spear vertically in front with right hand and resting left hand on top of round shield (shield facing left), tamga in left field, inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ÞAOPH, blundered.

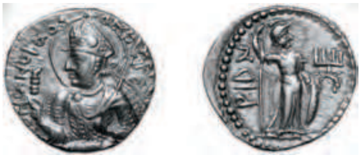
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A	Seen by authors					1A	1d
B	Bibliothèque nationale; Göbl 1984: 363/1		7.47	-	-	1A	1f
C	Göbl 1984: 362/2		7.90	-	-	1A	1g
D	Triton XI, Jan 2008: 380		7.89	-	-	1A	1i
E	Shown to authors†		-	-	-	1A	1k
1300	188329	IOC.308	7.99	19	-	1A	2g
F	Hermitage; Göbl 1984: 349/1		7.72	-	-	1A	2h
1301*	188301	IOC.309	7.94	19	-	1A	2j
1302	188303	1894,0506.50	7.89	21	-	1A	2j
1303*	188302	1888,1208.544	7.88	19	-	1A	2k
1304*	188305	IOC.312	7.89	21	18.40	1A	3h
1305*	188307	1879,0501.69	7.98	19	18.71	1A	4e
1306*	188306	IOC.317	7.96	20	-	1A	4f
1307	188311	1879,0501.72	7.95	20	-	1A	4f

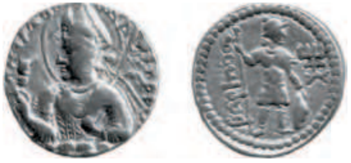

1313: E.G2-iv 1d (1A/6d)

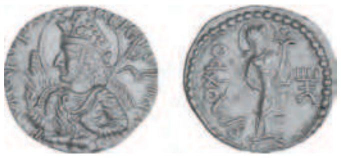

1314: E.G2-iv 1d (1A/6e)

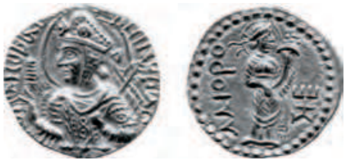

I: E.G2-iv 1d (1A/8a)

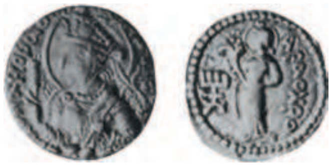

1315: E.G2-iv 1d (1A/15a)

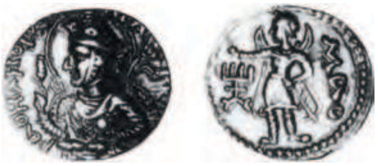

1316: E.G2-iv 1d (1A/21a)


J: E.G2-iv 1d (1A/23a)


K: E.G2-iv 1d (1B/1g)

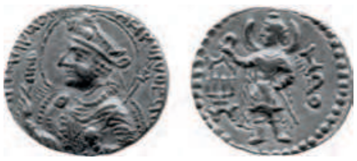

1318: E.G2-iv 1d (1B/1h)

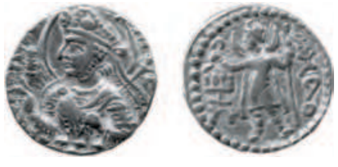

L: E.G2-iv 1d (1B/1i)

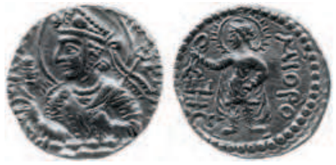

M: E.G2-iv 1d (1B/2e)

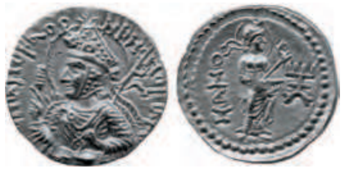
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
1308*	188310	1879,0501.73	7.87	20	18.62	1A	4g
1309*	188309	1894,0506.59	7.87	20	-	1A	4i
G*	Private collection W		-			1A	4j
1310*	188308	1888,1208.555	7.89	20	-	1A	4l
H*	Göbl 1984: 367/1		7.97	-	-	1A	5g
1311	188314	1879,0501.29	8.02	19	-	1A	6d
1312*	188313	1893,0506.10	7.93	20	-	1A	6d
1313	188316	IOC.339	7.92	20	18.10	1A	6e
1314*	25350	1888,1208.559	7.83	21	-	1A	6e
I*	Shown to authors†		-	-	-	1A	8a
1315*	188304	1956,0710.48	7.97	21	-	1A	15a
1316*	188312	1879,0501.9	7.89	20	18.58	1A	21a
J*	Private collection W		-	-	-	1A	23a
K*	ANS (1944.100.63648); Göbl 1984: 364/1		7.96	20	-	1B	1g
1317*	188320	1879,0501.45	7.98	20	-	1B	1h
L*	Göbl 1984, 365A/1		-	-	-	1B	1i
M*	Göbl 1984: 351/1		7.9	-	-	1B	2e
1318*	188330	1894,0506.49	7.92	20	-	1B	2g
N*	Private collection W (01.03.01)		7.95	-	-	1B	2i
O*	Spink, 6003: 1157		-	-	-	1B	3g
1319*	188326	IOC.326	8.03	20	-	1B	4e
1320*	188325	1879,0501.68	7.87	21	-	1B	4k
P*	Triton, XII, Jan 2009: 442		7.99	-	-	1B	6e
1321*	188319	1879,0501.85	8.01	20	-	1B	7a
1322	188328	IOC.302	7.96	22	-	1B	7a
Q*	Private collection G		-	-	-	1B	23a
R*	Hague; Göbl 1984: 383/1		-	-	-	1B	23c
S*	Göbl 1984:378/1		-	-	-	1C	1g
T*	Göbl 1984: 380/1;		-	-	-	1C	1h
1323*	188372	1894,0506.41	7.95	21	18.08	1C	1j
1324*	188375	1888,1208.548	7,98	21	-	1C	3f
1325*	188373	IOC.324	7.95	21	-	1C	4e
U*	Private collection W		7.80	20	-	1C	4k
V*	Gemini LLC Auction 4, Jan 2008: 259		7.93	-	-	1C	7a
1326*	188377	IOC.334	7.91	20	-	1C	23a
1327*	188376	1879,0501.14	7.97	20	-	1C	23b
W*	Hague; Göbl 1984: 383/1		-	-	-	1C	23c
X*	Fritz Rudolf Kunker Auction, Oct 2008, 143: 923		-	-	-	2A	2k
Y*	Classical Numismatic Group Auction 81 pt.1, May 2009: 718;		7.88	-	-	2A	4f
Z*	Burns, 1990, 3; Topi Hoard		-	-	-	2A	4g
1328*	188295	1879,0501.26	7.93	20	-	2A	5g
AA*	Zeymal, Tf III/28; Göbl 1984, 344/1		7.89	-	-	2A	6d
1329*	188298	1879,0501.34	8.05	21	-	2A	6f

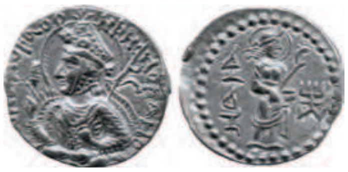
† There is no particular reason to doubt these coins but they have been examined only through photographs, there are no die links to other obverse dies and all the reverse dies used (1k and 8a) are stylistically unusual, so some caution is warranted.

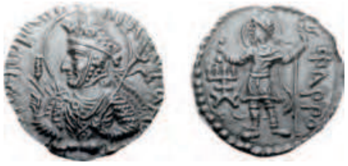

1318: E.G2-iv 1d (1B/2f)

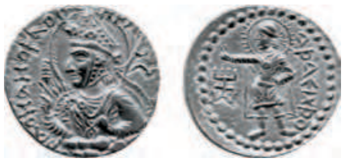

N: E.G2-iv 1d (1B/2i)

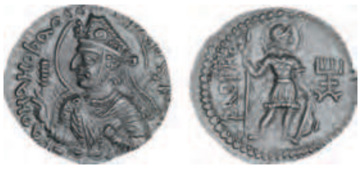

O: E.G2-iv 1d (1B/3g)

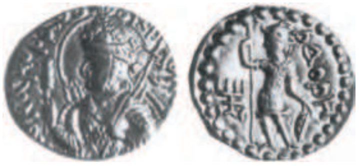

1319: E.G2-iv 1d (1B/4e)

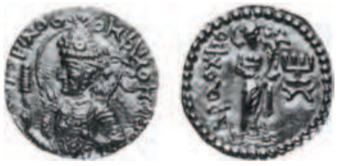

1320: E.G2-iv 1d (1B/4k)

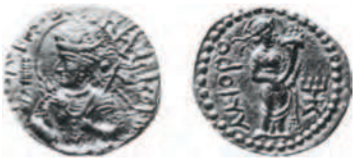

P: E.G2-iv 1d (1B/6e)


1321: E.G2-iv 1d (1B/7a)

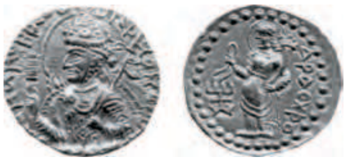

Q: E.G2-iv 1d (1B/23a)


R: E.G2-iv 1d (1B/23c)

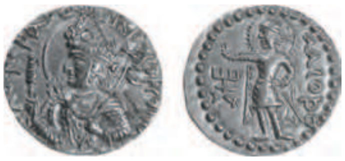

S: E.G2-iv 1d (1C/1g)



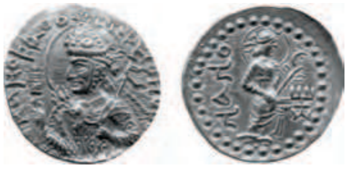
T: E.G2-iv 1d 1C/1h



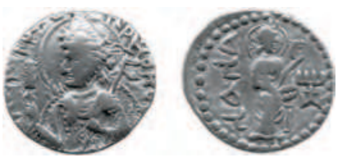
1323: E.G2-iv 1d (1C/1j)



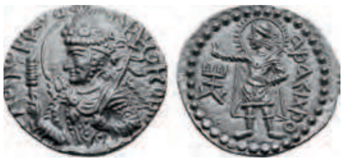
1324: E.G2-iv 1d (1C/3f)



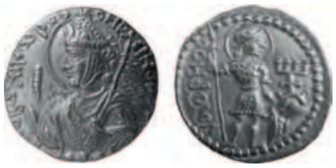
1325: E.G2-iv 1d (1C/4e)



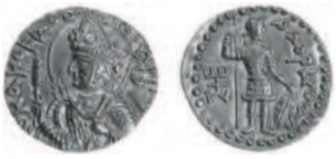
U: E.G2-iv 1d (1C/4k)



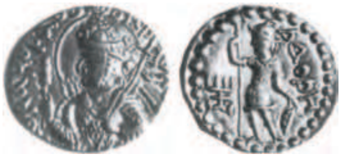
V: E.G2-iv 1d (1C/7a)



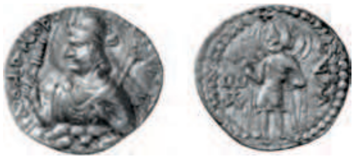
1326: E.G2-iv 1d (1C/23a)



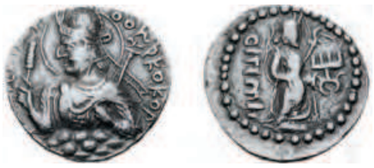
1327: E.G2-iv 1d (1C/23b)



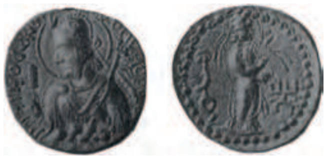
W: E.G2-iv 1d (1C/23c)



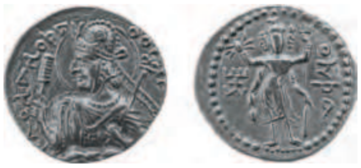
X: E.G2-iv 1d (2A/2k)



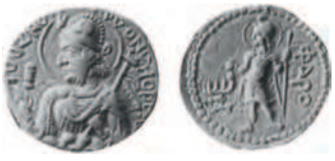
Y: E.G2-iv 1d (2A/4f)



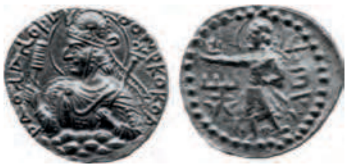
Z: E.G2-iv 1d (2A/4g)



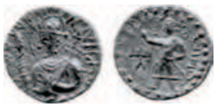
1328: E.G2-iv 1d (2A/5g)



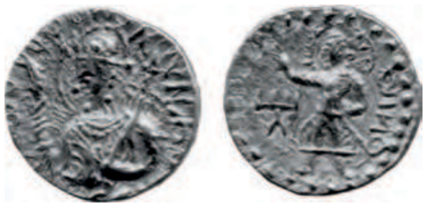
AA: E.G2-iv 1d (2A/6d)



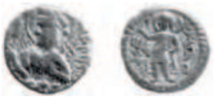
1329: E.G2-iv 1d (2A/6f)



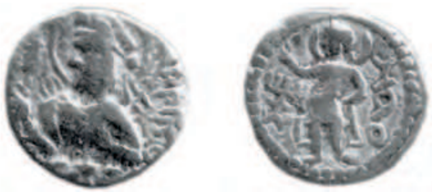
1330: E.G2-iv ¼d (1A/3h)



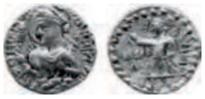
200% of enlargement of 1330



A: E.G2-iv ¼d (2A/2d)



200% of enlargement of A



1332: E.G2-iv ¼d (2A/3i)

121 E.G2-iv ¼d Subsidiary gold mint phase 4 quarter dinars

Göbl 1984: 371–3

Huvishka (E) subsidiary gold mint (G2) first phase (iv) dinars (¼d), *c.* 2g. The first obverse produced in this group (1A) appears to be based on a main mint prototype and may predate the introduction of the fourth phase dinars.

Obverse: Portrait of King, showing upper body emerging from mountain top, facing left, halo, flames emenating from right shoulder wearing a decorated head-dress, cloak over shoulders fastened by single clasp at right shoulder, holding a club in his right hand, and a spear over his left shoulder. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 7.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKI KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan). The inscription is truncated, ending usually part way through the name of Huvishka.

1A As above but the king wearing a rounded cap and a simple tunic.

2A As above but the king wearing a pointed cap and a decorated tunic in the same design as E.G2-iv 1d (1A).

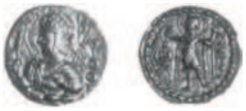
Reverse: Depiction of deity with tamga and label in Bactrian, surrounded by a dotted border. Reverses used in previous phases of the subsidiary mint are marked with an asterisk. There are probably some combinations with 1A missing.

2d* Mao, moon god, standing frontally, head to left surrounded by crescent depicted as outlined crescent emanating from shoulders, short curly hair, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf-high boots, cloak over top fastened by two clasps at chest, sword in scabbard, making gesture with right hand, holding hilt of sword in left hand, tamga in left field, inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MAO.

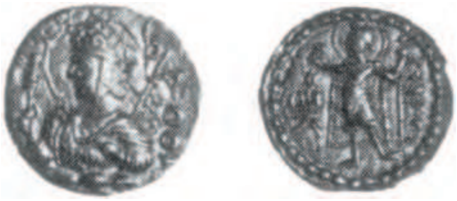
3i Miiro, sun god, standing frontally, head to left surrounded by radiating halo wearing calf-length tunic held by belt at waist and calf high boots, sword in scabbard, making gesture with right hand, holding hilt of sword in left hand, tamga in left field. Blundered insciption in Bactrian (in right field) resembling: OINO.

3j Miiro, sun god, as for 3h but instead of holding hilt of sword holding a sceptre or spear vertically behind with left hand.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
1330*	188257	IOC.323	1.98	13	-	1A	3i
A*	Private collection W		1.58	12	-	2A	2d
1331	188322	1857,0813.72	1.98	13	-	2A	3i
1332*	188323	IOC.322	1.68	11	-	2A	3i
1333	188324	1894,0506.73	1.86	12	-	2A	3i
B*	Göbl 1984: 373/1		-	-	-	2A	3j



B: E.G2-iv ¼d (2A/3j)



200% enlargement of B

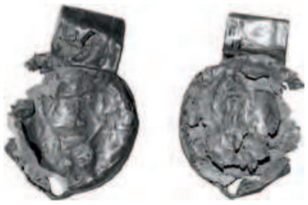
122 E.G-imit Imitations of gold coins, jewellery copies

Zwalf 1985: 14

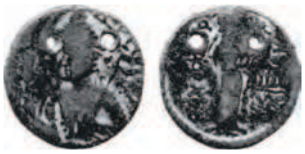
A number of examples of imitations of Huvishka coins which have clearly been intended to be worn as jewellery have been discovered. Some, such as 1335 are copper pieces similar to examples known of other kings. Several are more elaborate pieces which probably originate from Eastern India (Bihar or Bengal).

1334: This gold foil impression was found at Bodh Gaya beneath the Vajrāsana throne along with some silver punch marked coins and various decorative pieces of gold, silver, coral, crystal, sapphire, ruby, and emerald presumably representing the seven previous treasures of Buddhism (Cunningham, 1892: 20). Both sides show the torso of the king facing left, presumably created by impressing a thin piece of foil on a coin of Huvishka. One portrait is taken from a later coin of the main mint (compare E.G1-v 1d), the other design is unclear.

1335: Obverse depicting the king facing left, probably based upon a later coin of the main mint (compare E.G1-vi) and a reverse depicting the goddess Ardochsho.



1334: E.G-imit



1335: E.G-imit

No.	PRN	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
1334	RRI4816	1892,1103.14	-	25
1335	188366	1850,0305.280	3.78	19

Huvishka copper coinage

Huvishka's copper coins were issued at four copper mints. The main mint at Begram, in production throughout his reign, was responsible for the majority of his copper coins. The subsidiary mint in Gandhara also operated throughout the reign, but with a much smaller production. Both mints only made tetradrachms, but their issues can be distinguished by the form of their tamgas, unbarred at the main mint and barred at the subsidiary mint. Their use of designs was also different. About midway through Huvishka's reign a crisis caused a collapse in the weight standard, *c.* 16g, used at both mints, which was stabilised by the end of the reign, but at a lower standard, *c.* 10g. at the main mint and *c.* 11.5g at the subsidiary mint. The other two mints were local and only operated for a short period. The Kashmir mint only made drachms, *c.* 4g, at the beginning of the reign, retaining the design used on Kanishka's copper coins. The Mathura mint only issued coins at the end of the reign, small versions, *c.* 8.5g, of the main and subsidiary mint coins.

Huvishka imitations

A large series of imitations of Huvishka's copper coins appear to have been the consequence of the economic problems which beset the production of coins in the middle of Huvishka's reign. The main copper mint's failure to maintain the *c.* 16g Attic standard used in the previous reign introduced into circulation severely underweight coins towards the end of its first phase. An attempt was made in the second to reestablish a fixed standard at *c.* 10g. The reduced weight coins encouraged the production of unofficial imitations, which in turn aggravated the situation at the mint. The actions of both the official mint and the workshops of the imitators led to further reduction in the weight of the coins in circulation. This situation continued until the main copper mint stabilised the currency by issuing coins with a new design at *c.* 10g. A separate series of imitations circulated in Gandhara, copying the issues of both the main mint and the subsidiary mint, but keeping closer in weight to the official standard.

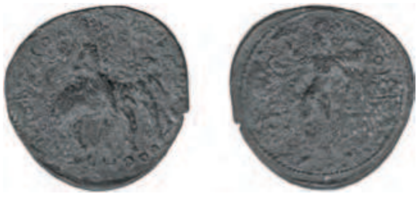
Main copper mint, Begram (E.C1)

Huvishka's main copper mint appears to have been located at Begram or in its vicinity. It was in production throughout Huvishka's reign, continuing the production from the reign of Kanishka I and into the next reign. The distinctive tamga used at this mint is the unbarred tamga used on Huvishka's first gold issues. The mint's production went through three phases, distinguished by weight standard and by variations in the use of obverse and reverse types. The majority of Huvishka's copper coins were made at this mint and they circulated throughout his territory. The heavier coins continued in circulation after his reign in northern India.

Phase 1 production was of copper units, equal to the Attic standard tetradrachm, initially at the same slightly reduced standard, *c.* 16g, as used under Kanishka I. However, one multiple unit equal to about 20 Attic drachms has also been recorded. Throughout phase 1 the mint produced coins with three different obverse: 1 king on elephant, 2 king on mountain and 3 king on couch, and six reverses: Mao (2), Miiro (3), Nana (4), Oesho (5), Athsho (8) and Oado (18). Towards the end of the phase the designs of the coins deteriorated at the same time as the weight standard dropped as low as about *c.* 12g and only three reverse designs were normally used: Mao (2), Miiro (3) and Athsho (8).

Phase 2 represented an attempt to stabilise the weight of the unit at *c.* 10g, but the deterioration continued and it produced coins as light as *c.* 4g. The three obverse designs used in phase 1 continued through phase 2, but the reverses normally featured only Mao (2) or Miiro (3). Many unofficial imitations were made of this phase (see E-imit.C1, phases 1–3, below).

Phase 3 reasserted the *c.* 10g standard for the unit, but only obverse 1 king on elephant with Oesho (5) reverses were used during it.



A: E.C1-i 5u (1A/5c)

123 E.C1-i 5u Main copper mint phase 1 twenty drachms (5 units)

Huvishka (E), main copper mint (C1), Begram, first phase (i), Attic standard twenty drachms, five unit denomination (5u), weighing *c.* 75g.

Obverse: King, full figure, riding elephant walking to right, facing right, head surrounded by halo, wearing indistinct crown with diadem, knee-length tunic and leggings, with cloak over both shoulders and floating behind back, holding ribboned long staff in right hand and elephant goad in left hand; elephant with tusks, trunk down end curled into circle and with dotted cloth over back. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 12.00 to 11.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKE KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan), as E.C1-i 1u (1A) below.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god with four arms, standing facing front, head to left, surrounded by halo, details of hair and jewellery unclear, wearing dhoti and string across chest, holding trident in raised upper left hand, animal skin in lower left hand, thunderbolt in raised upper right hand and offering diadem with extended lower right hand, tamga in left field, all within dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, in right field): OHÞO, as E.C1-i 1u (5c) below.

No.			Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Private collection P		75.56	25	1A	5c

124 E.C1-i 1u Main copper mint phase 1 tetradrachms (units)

Göbl 1984: 820–43; 847–54

Huvishka (E), main copper mint (C1), first phase (i), falling Attic standard four drachm, unit denomination (1u), weighing *c.* 12–16g.

Obverse: King, full figure, in various representations. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, 12.00 to 11.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKE KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan) often blundered.

1A King, riding elephant walking to right, facing right, head surrounded by halo, wearing crown with v shaped motif on front and crescent on top, with diadem, knee-length tunic and leggings, with loose cloak over shoulders, holding staff in right hand and ankus in left hand; elephant with tusks, trunk down and end curled into circle, wearing ornamented cloth over back.

1B as 1A, but no halo.

1C as 1A, but holding spear (sometimes ribboned) in right hand.

1D as 1B, but holding spear (sometimes ribboned) in right hand.

1E as 1A, but holding trident, ribboned, in right hand.

1F as 1B, but holding trident, ribboned, in right hand.

1G as 1A, but holding elephant goad in right hand.

2A King, seated cross-legged on mountain top, facing front, head to right, head and upper body enclosed in circular halo, wearing crown with v-shaped motif on front, crescent on top, with diadem, knee-length tunic and leggings, with loose cloak over shoulders, holding staff in raised left hand and club in right hand before chest; mountain represented as rocks, two rocks each to right and left of king's knees and larger below his feet.

2B as 2A, but two-part halo, linked arcs, often rayed, around head and body, and mountain represented as two joined elongated curved rocks to right and left of king's knees, meeting at smaller rock between feet.

2C as 2A, but circular halo around body only and mountain represented as two elongated rocks each, one above the other, to right and left of king's knees, and two, one small resting on one large rocks below his feet.

2D as 2C, but king's head to left and holding staff in raised right hand and club in left hand before chest.

2E as 2B, but mountain represented as eight equally sized rocks, three each side of knees and two below feet.

2F as 2B, but mountain represented as six equally sized rocks, two each side of knees and two next to each other below feet.

2G as 2C, but mountain represented as six equally sized rocks, two each side of knees and two next to each other below feet.

2H as 2C, but mountain represented as five equally sized rocks, two each side of knees and one between feet.

2I as 2C, but mountain represented as three equally sized rocks, one each side of knees and one between feet.

3A King, seated on couch, resting left elbow on pillow and with right leg raised with foot on end of couch, left foot on floor, facing front, head to right, crown with v-shaped motif on front, crescent on top, with diadem, wearing earrings and bracelets, knee-length tunic and leggings, with loose cloak over shoulders, holding cup in both hands before chest, sword hanging from sword belt from left thigh; couch covered with ornamented cloth and legs decorated with three rings.

3B as 3A, but couch with legs in the form of elephant's heads facing out, with tusks and trunk down with curled tip.

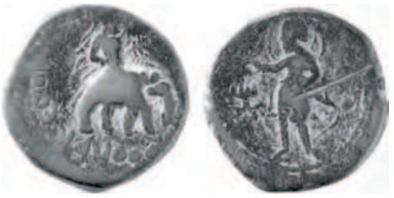
3C as 3A, but without sword and king's head and body surrounded by rayed double halo.

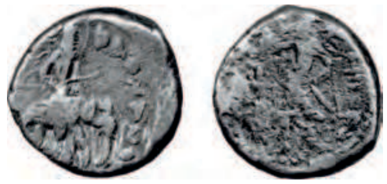
3D as 3B, but king's head to front, head and torso surrounded by rayed double halo, diadem ribbons over both shoulders, flames emerging from shoulders (details often unclear).

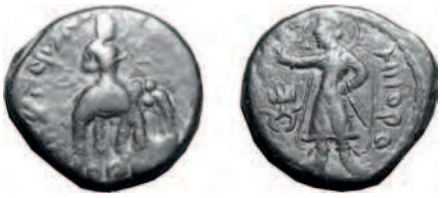
3E as 3D, but without sword.

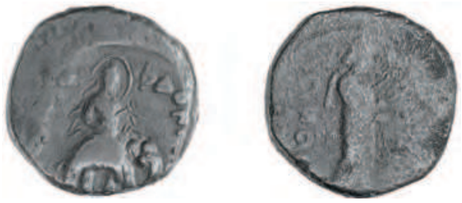
3F as 3E, but without diadem ribbons or flames.

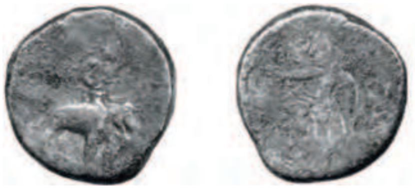
3G as 3E, but with single diadem ties and no flames, elephant's head legs very simplified.

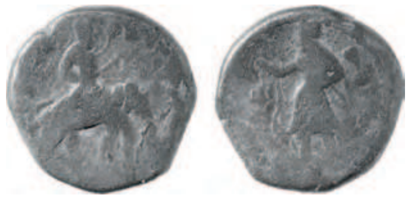

1336: E.C1-i 1u (1A/2a)

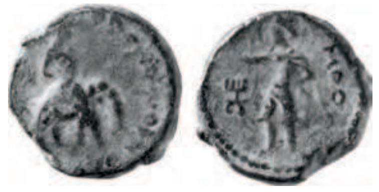

A: E.C1-i 1u (1A/3b)

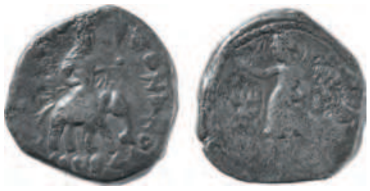

B: E.C1-i 1u (1A/3b)

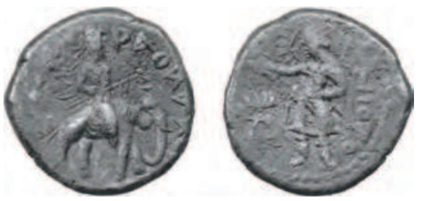

C: E.C1-i 1u (1A/4a)


D: E.C1-i 1u (1A/5a)

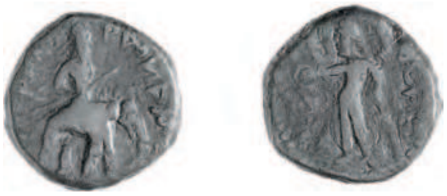

1337: E.C1-i 1u (1A/8a)


1339: E.C1-i 1u (1B/2a)

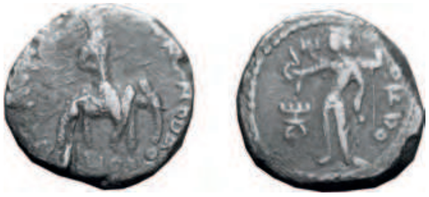

1340: E.C1-i 1u (1B/2a)



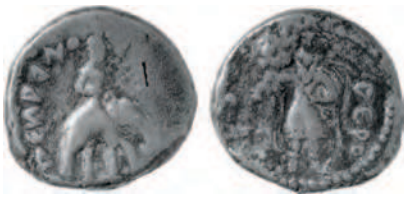
E: E.C1-i 1u (1B/3a)



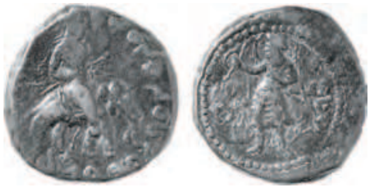
F: E.C1-i 1u (1B/5a)



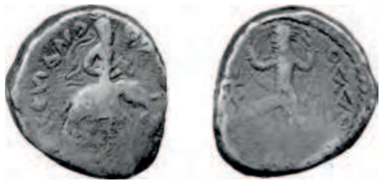
G: E.C1-i 1u (1B/5b)



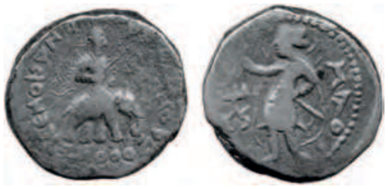
1343: E.C1-i 1u (1B/8a)



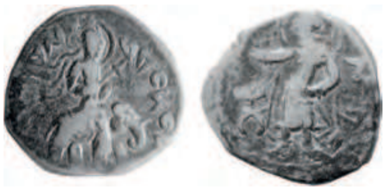
1348: E.C1-i 1u (1B/8b)



H: E.C1-i 1u (1B/18a)



1349: E.C1-i 1u (1C/2a)



1352: E.C1-i 1u (1C/2a)

3H as 3G, but double diadem ribbons.

3I as 3H, but cup not visible and king's left hand resting on couch.

Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, all within dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian: name of deity.

2a Mao, moon god, standing facing front, head to left and surrounded by crescent emanating from shoulders, with short hair held in diadem with two ribbons behind and roll of curls below diadem, wearing calf-length tunic, held by belt at waist, and boots, with long cloak over both shoulders, held by clasp on chest, holding sword, hung on strap on left thigh, in left hand at waist, making gesture of blessing with index and little fingers with extended right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, in right field): MAO.

2b Mao, moon god, as 2a, but very thin figure.

3a Miiro, sun god, standing facing front, head to left and surrounded by rayed halo, with short hair held in diadem with two ribbons behind and roll of curls below diadem, wearing calf-length tunic, held by belt at waist, and boots, with long cloak over both shoulders, held by clasp on chest, holding sword, hung on strap on left thigh, in left hand at waist, making gesture of blessing with index and little fingers with extended right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, in right field): MIOPO.

3b Miiro, sun god, as 3a, but inscription: MIIOPO.

3c Miiro, sun god, as 3a, but inscription: MIIPO (on some dies the P is reversed).

3d Miiro, sun god, as 3c, but very thin figure.

4a Nana, royal goddess, standing facing forward, head to right and surrounded by halo, wearing crescent on top of head, hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, roll of hair below diadem and bun behind, long ankle-length dress, with scarf over left shoulder, round waist and falling from left arm, holding up wand with lion forepart at tip in right hand and flat dish (?) in left hand, tamga in right field. Inscription: Greek (clockwise, in left field): NANA.

4b Nana, royal goddess, as 4a, but inscription (anticlockwise).

5a Oesho, mountain god with four arms, standing facing front, head to left, hair tied in top-knot, wearing armlets and bracelets on arms, calf-length dhoti and string across chest from left shoulder, holding trident vertically in raised upper left hand, water pot in lower left hand, thunderbolt in raised upper right hand and offering diadem with extended lower right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, in right field): OHÞO.

5b Oesho, mountain god, as 5a, but god's head surrounded by halo.

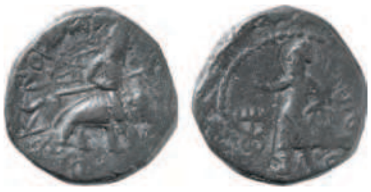
5c Oesho, mountain god, as 5b, but holding horned animal (goat) in lower left hand.

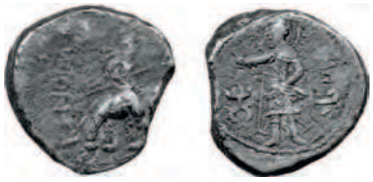
8a Athsho, fire god, standing facing front, head to left and surrounded by flames emanating from shoulders, with beard and short hair held in diadem with two ribbons behind and roll of curls below diadem, wearing calf-length tunic, held by belt at waist, and boots, with cloak over both shoulders, held by clasp on chest, holding tongs in left hand at waist and offering diadem with extended right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, in right field): AΘÞO.

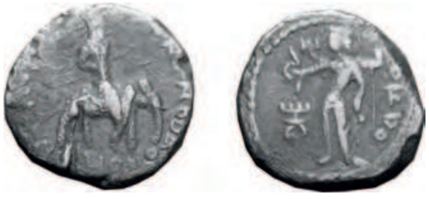
18a Oado, wind god, running to left, with beard and wind-swept hair, naked apart from dhoti to mid thigh, holding billowing cloak over head and down back with both raised hands, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, in right field): OAΔO.

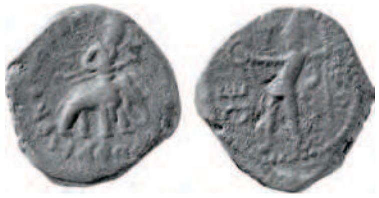
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
1336*	300362	1894,0506.1489	15.09	25	1A	2a
A*	272540	IOLC.3073	14.67	23	1A	3b
B*	Private collection B		-	-	1A	3b
C*	ANS (1944.100.66711)		15.43	26	1A	4a
D*	272521	IOLC.3065	15.35	24	1A	5a
1337*	300351	OR.8261	15.42	25	1A	8a

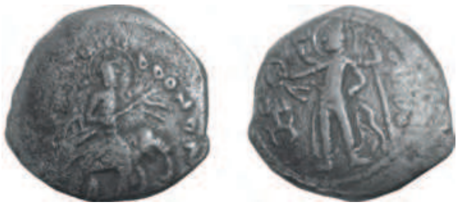
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
1338	300875	1928,0108.22	14.86	25	1A	8a
1339*	300365	OR.8264	15.04	24	1B	2a
1340*	300369	1847,0309.23	15.29	24	1B	2a
1341	304807	1847,1201.239	16.24	24	1B	2a
1342	192798	1989,0904.684	14.33	25	1B	2a
E*	272546	IOLC.3079	15.15	26	1B	3a
F*	ANS (1944.100.66642)		16.07	25	1B	5a
G*	Private collection B		-	-	1B	5b
1343*	300357	1847,1201.253	14.80	25	1B	8a
1344	25368	1979,0215.34	15.08	25	1B	8a
1345	25369	1979,0215.35	14.38	25	1B	8a
1346	25370	1979,0215.36	14.18	25	1B	8a
1347	25371	1979,0215.37	14.89	25	1B	8a
1348*	300356	1894,0506.1483	15.84	24	1B	8b
H*	272559	IOLC.3092	15.38	23	1B	18a
1349*	190622	IOC.347	15.72	25	1C	2a
1350	300363	1843,0721.9	15.94	24	1C	2a
1351	300364	1835,0901.14	15.43	21	1C	2a
1352*	300368	1850,0305.263	15.17	24	1C	2a
1353*	300376	IOC.348	14.84	24	1C	3b
1354	300371	OR.8267	14.07	26	1C	3b
1355	300373	OR.8269	15.37	23	1C	3b
1356	280955	1838,EIC.108	15.20	25	1C	3b
I*	272547	IOLC.3080	15.65	23	1C	3c
J*	Private collection B		-	-	1C	5a
1357*	300383	OR.8290	14.34	25	1C	5a
K*	Ashmolean (de Shortt)		15.62	26	1C	5c
L*	Bern (88.217); Göbl 1993a: 309		14.28	25	1C	8a
1358*	300353	OR.8262	14.55	24	1C	8a
1359	300359	1850,0305.267	15.08	24	1C	8a
1360	300380	1847,1201.184	13.67	24	1C	8a
1361	300366	OR.8265	15.21	24	1D	2a
M*	272496	IOLC.3040	15.63	26	1D	2a
1362	25367	1979,0215.33	15.50	24	1D	2a
N*	ANS (1944.100.66644)		15.59	24	1D	3a
O*	Bern (88.215); Göbl 1993a: 307		15.11	26	1D	3b
1363	300370	OR.8266	15.23	22	1D	3c
1364*	300375	1853,0301.1356	15.59	23	1D	3c
1365	300372	OR.8268	15.32	23	1D	3c
1366	273179	1989,0104.4	15.40	27	1D	4a
1367	300378	1894,0506.1492	15.25	23	1D	4a
1368*	300377	1922,0424.3623	15.10	24	1D	4a
1369*	300381	OR.8289	14.88	24	1D	5a
1370	300379	1835,Bur.44	14.57	25	1D	5a
1371	300382	OR.8270	15.50	25	1D	5b
1372*	300384	1847,1201.226	14.62	25	1D	5b

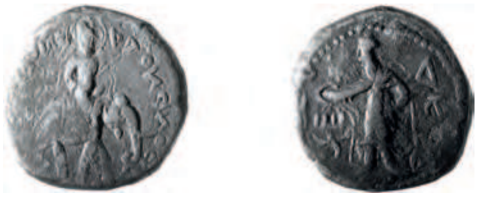

1353: E.C1-i 1u (1C/3b)

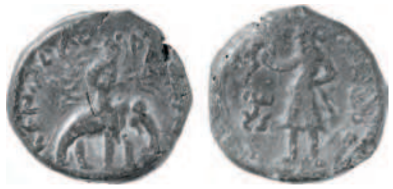

I: E.C1-i 1u (1C/3c)

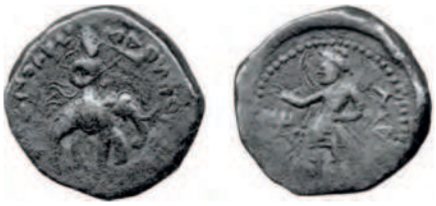

J: E.C1-i 1u (1C/5a)

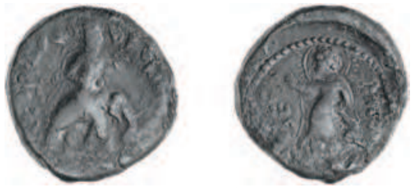

1357: E.C1-i 1u (1C/5a)


K: E.C1-i 1u (1C/5c)

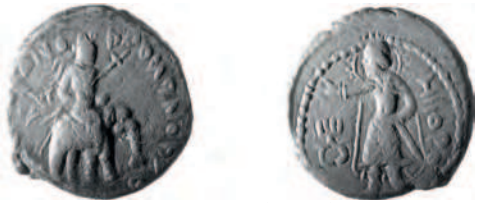

L: E.C1-i 1u (1C/8a)


1358: E.C1-i 1u (1C/8a)

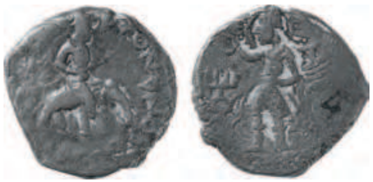

M: E.C1-i 1u (1D/2a)



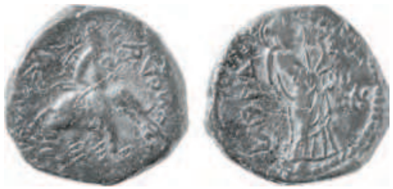
N: E.C1-i 1u (1D/2a)



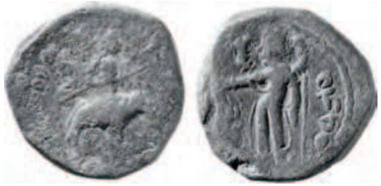
O: E.C1-i 1u (1D/2a)



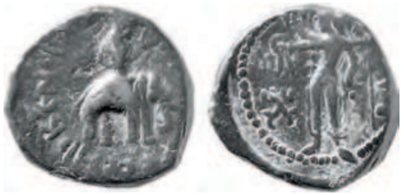
1364: E.C1-i 1u (1D/3c)



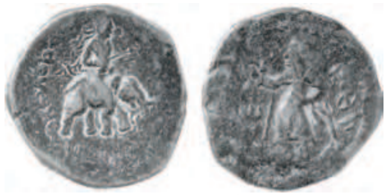
1368: E.C1-i 1u (1D/4a)



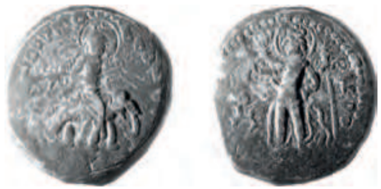
1369: E.C1-i 1u (1D/5a)



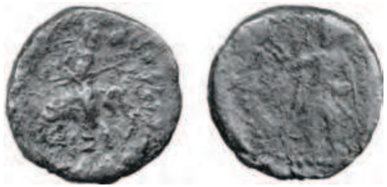
1372: E.C1-i 1u (1D/5b)



1374: E.C1-i 1u (1D/8a)



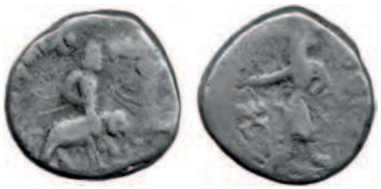
P: E.C1-i 1u (1E/5c)

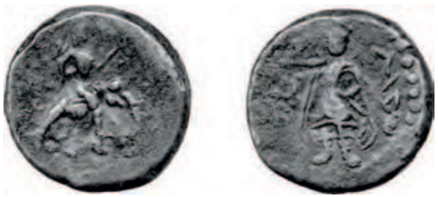


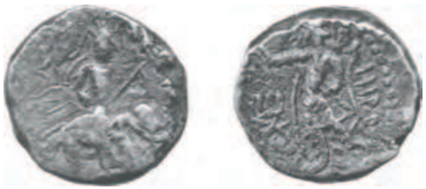
Q: E.C1-i 1u (1F/3c)

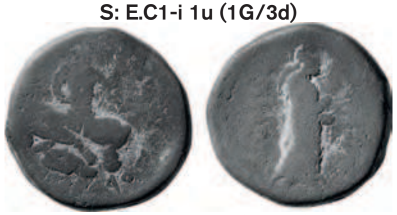
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
1373	300360	1847,1201.254	15.86	25	1D	8a
1374*	300355	1894,0506.1484	15.61	25	1D	8a
1375	300354	OR.8263	15.22	24	1D	8a
1376	300352	1894,0506.1481	14.41	22	1D	8a
1377	300361	1835,Bur.45	14.09	25	1D	8a
P*	Bern (88.214); Göbl 1993a: 333		15.04	24	1E	5c
Q*	272543	IOLC.3076	14.54	24	1F	3c
1378*	280953	1838,EIC.111	15.61	24	1F	8a
1379	273180	1988,0322.46	13.15	25	1G	2b
1380	273183	1988,0322.47	12.87	25	1G	2b
R*	272505	IOLC.3049	14.64	25	1G	2b
1381	300385	1928,0108.19	13.51	24	1G	3d
S*	272549	IOLC.3082	14.61	24	1G	3d
1382	273182	1988,0322.45	14.24	24	1G	3d
1383	273181	1988,0322.43	13.73	24	1G	3d
1384	25366	1979,0215.32	14.88	25	1G	3d
1385*	300436	1989,0904.4021	14.66	25	2A	4a
T*	ANS (1997.66.2503)		14.07	25	2A	8a
1386	300425	1889,0105.1151	15.53	26	2B	2a
1387*	300426	1922,0424.2987	15.43	25	2B	2a
1388*	190625	IOC.350	15.44	24	2B	2a
1389*	300430	1835,0901.17	15.29	22	2B	2a
1390	280947	OR.335	15.11	24	2B	2a
1391	273191	1988,0322.24	15.03	24	2B	2a
1392	300431	1847,1201.225	14.77	25	2B	2a
1393	300422	OR.8278	14.36	24	2B	2a
1394	300429	1889,0105.1152	14.02	24	2B	2a
1395	313765	1850,0305.272.B	13.00	24	2B	2a
1396*	190623	IOC.353	15.14	24	2B	3a
1397	300433	OR.269	14.64	24	2B	3a
1398*	300432	1847,1201.234	14.85	23	2B	3c
1399*	190621	IOC.354	15.04	25	2B	4a
U*	Bern (90.3); Göbl 1993a: 331		14.98	24	2B	4b
V*	272618	IOLC.3151	14.87	25	2B	5a
1400*	25374	1979,0205.40	15.39	25	2B	5b
1401	300439	OR.8279	14.78	23	2B	5b
1402*	300420	1894,0506.1466	15.35	25	2B	8a
1403	300421	1850,0305.82	14.63	24	2B	8a
1404	300423	1928,0108.21	14.27	24	2B	8a
W*	272602	IOLC.3135	15.42	25	2B	8a
1405*	300438	1922,0424.3616	15.51	23	2B	18a
X*	272608	IOLC.3141	13.93	25	2C	2a
1406*	300427	1894,0506.1459	15.39	25	2D	2a
1407	300428	1894,0506.1460	14.44	23	2D	2a
1408	25372	1979,0205.38	15.01	25	2D	2a
Y*	272610	IOLC.3143	14.05	26	2E	2a

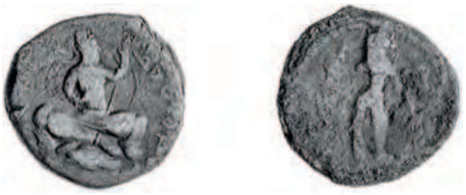
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
Z*	ANS (1997.66.2500)		15.35	24	2E	8a
1409*	300424	1894,0506.1461	15.90	24	2F	2a
1410*	300434	1981,0324.5	14.95	24	2F	3c
AA*	Private collection B		-	-	2G	2a
1411*	300437	1894,0506.1465	14.25	26	2G	4b
AB*	ANS (1944.100.66655)		15.60	26	2G	8a
AC*	272605	IOLC.3138	15.07	24	2H	2a
AD*	272613	IOLC.3146	12.33	24	2H	2a
1412	273190	1988,0322.23	15.07	25	2H	2a
AE*	ANS (1997.66.3500)		13.85	23	2H	2b
AF*	Bern (88.256); Göbl 1993a: 328		14.36	23	2H	2c
AG*	272616	IOLC.3149	13.28	25	2H	3d
1413*	300441	1847.1201.232	15.62	24	2H	5a
1414*	280948	1838,EIC.97	15.08	23	2H	5c
AH*	Private collection B		-	-	2H	8b
1415*	300597	1853,0301.1330	16.02	25	2I	2b
1416	25373	1979,0205.39	15.35	25	2I	2b
1417*	300435	1853,0301.1350	14.40	23	2I	3d
1418*	300410	1922,0424.3614	15.54	25	3A	3a
1419*	300415	OR.8277	15.05	25	3A	5a
AI*	Private collection B		-	-	3A	8a
AJ*	272579	IOLC.3112	15.24	25	3B	2a
AK*	Private collection B		-	-	3B	4b
AL*	272567	IOLC.3111	15.40	26	3B	8a
AM*	Vienna; Göbl 1984: 850/1		16.97	-	3C	5a
1420	300398	1837,1030.160	15.14	25	3D	2a
AN*	ANS (1997.66.2478)		14.65	23	3D	2a
1421*	300411	1847,1201.196	15.55	25	3D	3b
1422	300407	OR.8276	15.47	24	3D	3c
AO*	272595	IOLC.3128	15.49	24	3D	3e
AP*	Bern (88.274); Göbl 1993a: 330		15.43	25	3D	4a
AQ*	272599	IOLC.3132	15.76	25	3D	4b
AR*	Bern (85.8): Göbl 1993a: 335		16.07	27	3D	5b
1423*	300388	OR.8271	15.61	25	3D	8a
1424	300391	1922,0424.3612	15.57	25	3D	8a
1425*	300389	1989,0904.4022	14.24	27	3D	8a
1426	232794	1847,1201.237	14.77	24	3D	8a
AS*	Bern (88.271); Göbl 1993a: 313		15.83	24	3D	8a
1427	300399	OR.8273	15.80	22	3E	2a
1428	300400	OR.8274	15.44	24	3E	2a
1429*	300405	1894,0506.1508	14.94	26	3E	2a
1430	300401	OR.8275	13.55	24	3E	2a
1431	192799	1989,0904.685	14.50	25	3E	2a
AT*	272586	IOLC.3119	14.96	25	3E	2a
1432*	300408	1894,0506.1528	15.24	25	3E	3a
AU*	272601	IOLC.3134	13.87	21	3E	4a

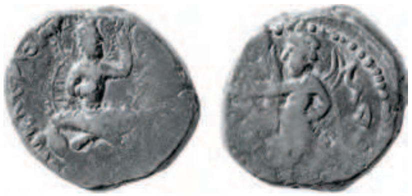

1378: E.C1-i 1u (1F/8a)

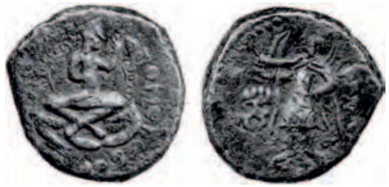

R: E.C1-i 1u (1G/2b)

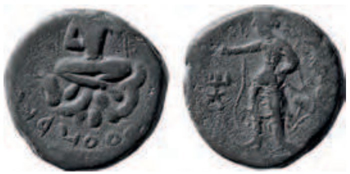

S: E.C1-i 1u (1G/3d)

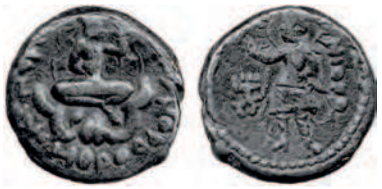

1385: E.C1-i 1u (2A/4a)

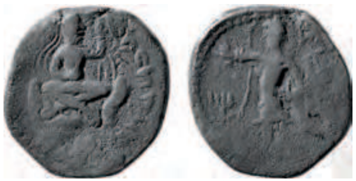

T: E.C1-i 1u (2A/8a)

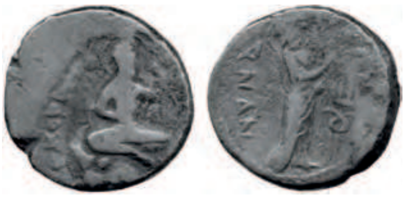

1387: E.C1-i 1u (2B/2a)

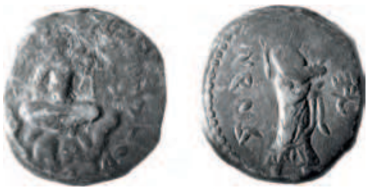

1388: E.C1-i 1u (2B/2a)

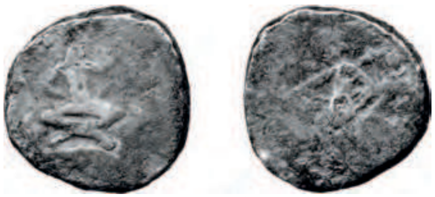

1389: E.C1-i 1u (2B/2a)

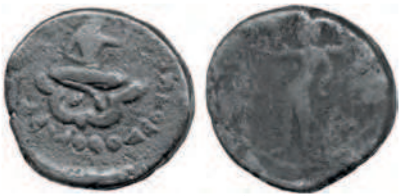

1396: E.C1-i 1u (2B/3a)

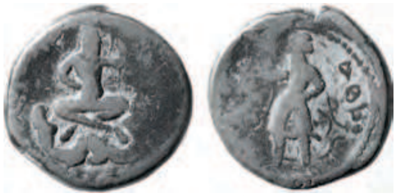

1398: E.C1-i 1u (2B/3c)

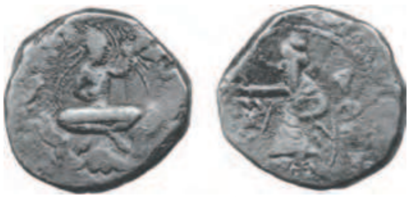

1399: E.C1-i 1u (2B/4a)

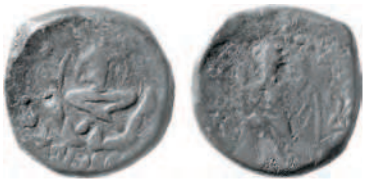

U: E.C1-i 1u (2B/4b)

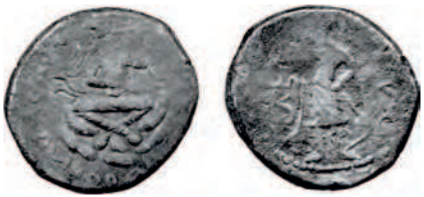

V: E.C1-i 1u (2B/5a)


1400: E.C1-i 1u (2B/5b)

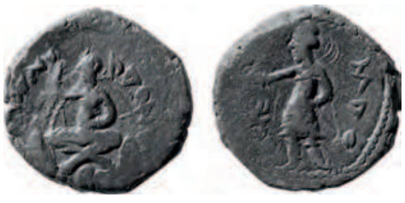

1402: E.C1-i 1u (2B/8a)

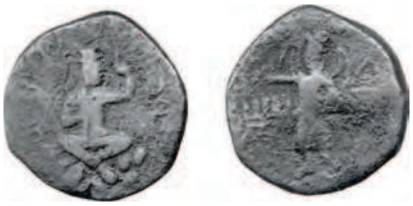

W: E.C1-i 1u (2B/8a)

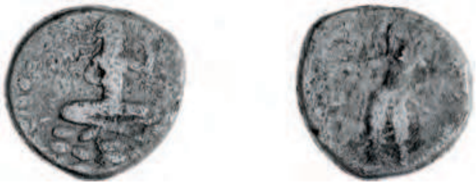

1405: E.C1-i 1u (2B/18a)

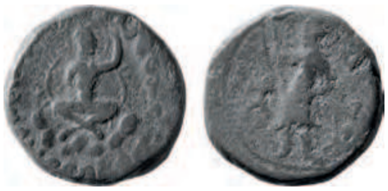

X: E.C1-i 1u (2C/2a)

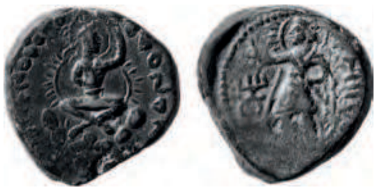
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
1433*	300414	1889,0105.1154	15.48	25	3E	4b
1434*	300416	1894,0506.1507	15.70	24	3E	5a
1435	300419	1894,0506.1519	15.26	25	3E	5a
1436	300417	1922,0424.3673	15.68	25	3E	5b
1437*	190624	IOC.355	15.29	25	3E	5b
1438	300418	1881,0707.4	16.28	25	3E	5b
AV*	Bern (88.270); Göbl 1993a: 312		16.06	24	3E	8a
1439	300390	1894,0506.1506	14.23	24	3E	8a
1440	300392	1844,0921.31	15.88	24	3E	8a
1441	300395	1928,0108.20	14.11	23	3E	8a
1442	300412	1847,1201.240	15.25	25	3E	8a
1443	273184	1988,0322.18	15.15	26	3E	8a
1444*	300403	1835,0901.18	15.52	24	3F	2a
1445	300404	1894,0506.1513	16.14	23	3F	2a
AW*	272583	IOLC.3116	15.40	25	3F	2b
AX*	Bern (92.4); Göbl 1993a: 306		15.06	25	3F	3a
AY*	Private collection B		-	-	3F	3c
AZ*	ANS (1944.100.66735)		15.03	26	3F	3d
BA*	272600	IOLC.3133	13.02	25	3F	4a
BB*	Berlin; Göbl 1984: 850/12		14.40	-	3F	5b
BC*	Bern (88.275); Göbl 1993a: 303		15.30	25	3F	5c
1446*	300394	1853,0301.1342	15.52	25	3F	8a
1447	300393	1889,0105.1155	15.09	25	3F	8a
1448	300397	OR.8272	14.25	24	3F	8a
1449	273188	1988,0322.17	13.47	25	3F	8a
BD*	Bern (88.278); Göbl 1993a: 337		13.88	23	3F	18a
BE*	ANS (1944.100.66670)		14.53	25	3G	2a
1450*	300469	1989,0904.6024	11.87	25	3G	2b
BF*	272588	IOLC.3121	15.63	23	3G	2b
BG*	272597	IOLC.3130	13.40	23	3G	3c
BH*	Private collection B		-	-	3G	3d
1451	300386	1837,1030.161	15.53	25	3H	2a
1452*	300396	1850,0305.275	15.14	24	3H	2a
BI*	272589	IOLC.3122	14.15	24	3H	2b
1453*	300409	1847,1201.244	14.36	22	3H	3c
1454*	273188	1988,0322.17	13.47	25	3H	3d
1455	273187	1988,0322.6	14.52	25	3H	3d
1456*	190633	OR.6824	14.67	24	3I	2a
1457	300472	1889,0105.1153	12.15	22	3I	2a
1458	273185	1988,0322.16	15.49	25	3I	2a
1459*	300402	1989,0904.4023	14.08	25	3I	2b
1460*	300413	1894,0506.1520	15.09	25	3I	3d

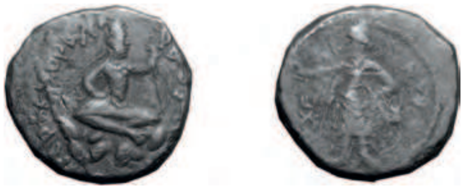

1406: E.C1-i 1u (2D/2a)

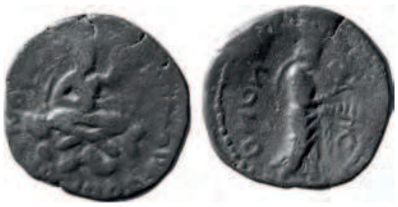

Y: E.C1-i 1u (2E/2a)

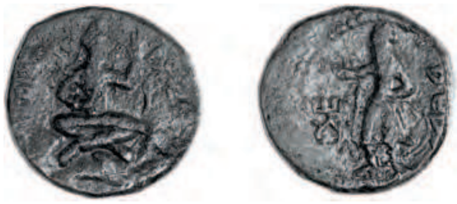

Z: E.C1-i 1u (2E/8a)

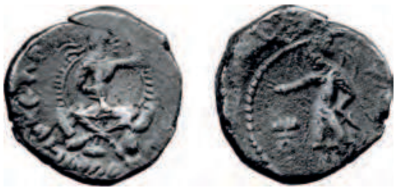

1409: E.C1-i 1u (2F/2a)

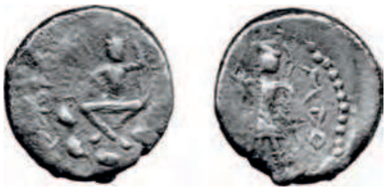

1410: E.C1-i 1u (2F/3c)

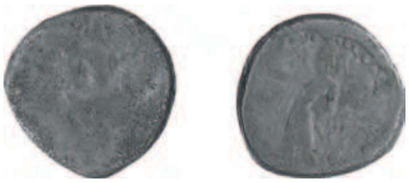

AA: E.C1-i 1u (2G/2a)

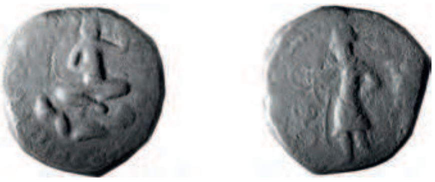

1411: E.C1-i 1u (2G/4b)

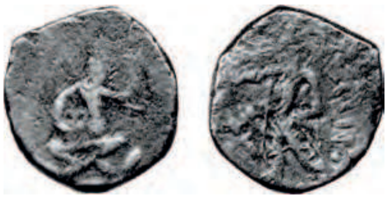

AB: E.C1-i 1u (2G/8a)

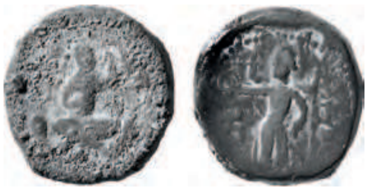

AC: E.C1-i 1u (2H/2a)

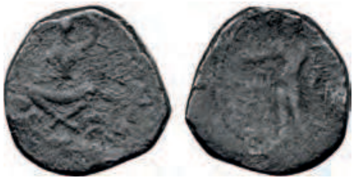

AD: E.C1-i 1u (2G/2a)

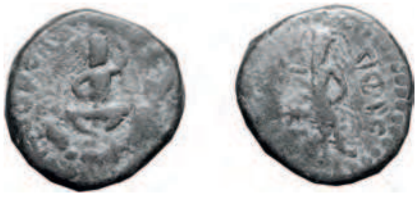

AE: E.C1-i 1u (2H/2b)

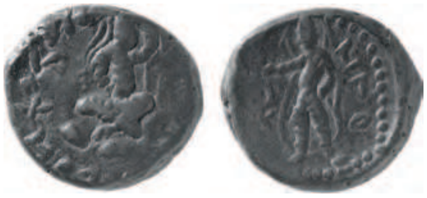

AF: E.C1-i 1u (2H/3d)

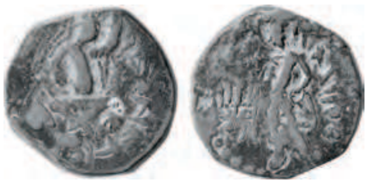

AG: E.C1-i 1u (2H/3d)

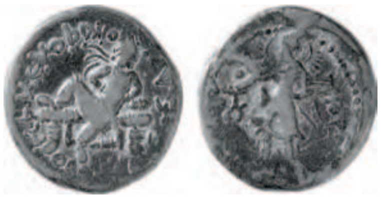

1413: E.C1-i 1u (2H/5a)

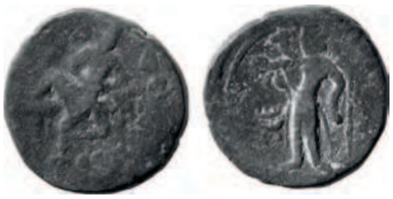

1414: E.C1-i 1u (2H/5c)

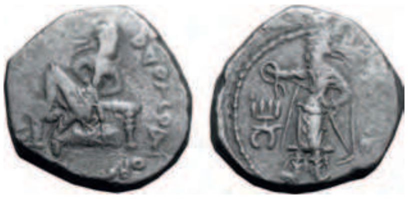

AH: E.C1-i 1u (2H/8b)

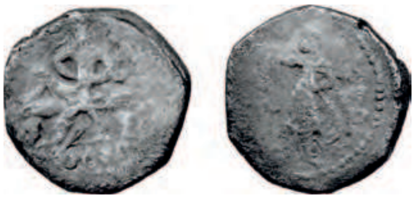

1415: E.C1-i 1u (2I/2b)

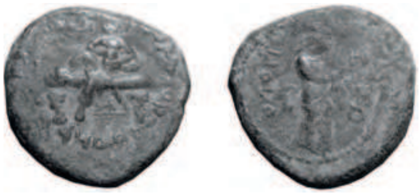

1417: E.C1-i 1u (2I/3d)

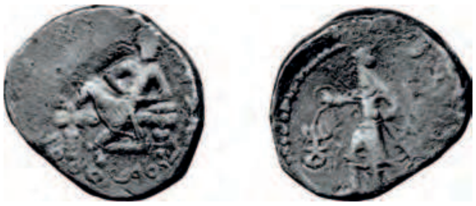

1418: E.C1-i 1u (3A/3a)

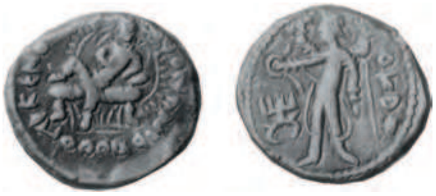

1419: E.C1-i 1u (3A/5a)

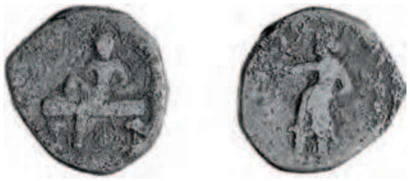

AI: E.C1-i 1u (3A/8a)

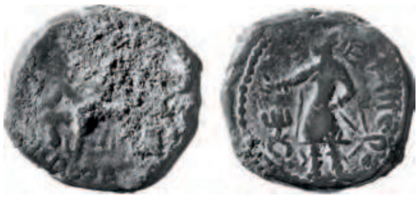

AJ: E.C1-i 1u (3B/2a)

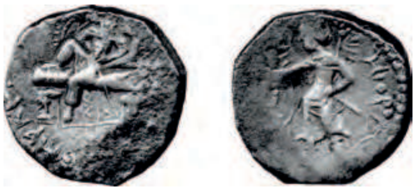

AK: E.C1-i 1u (3B/4b)

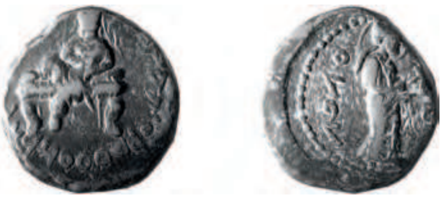

AL: E.C1-i 1u (3B/8a)

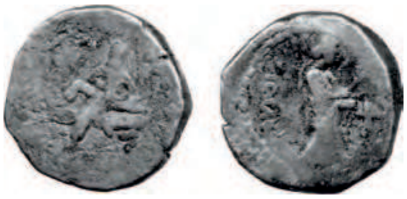

AM: E.C1-i 1u (3C/5a)

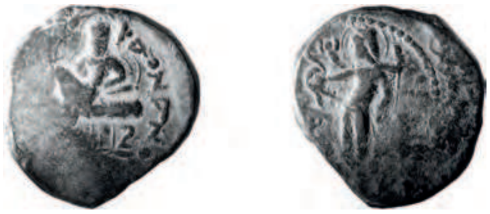

AN: E.C1-i 1u (3D/2a)

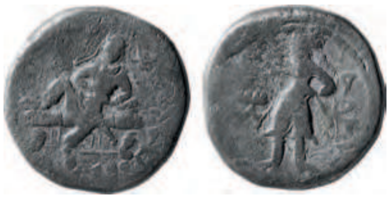

1421: E.C1-i 1u (3D/3b)

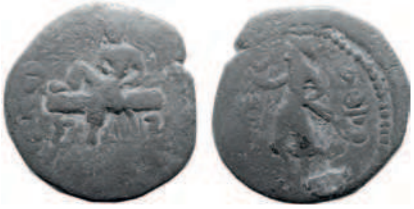

AO: E.C1-i 1u (3D/3e)

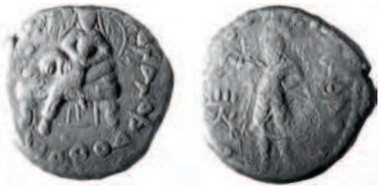

AP: E.C1-i 1u (3D/4a)

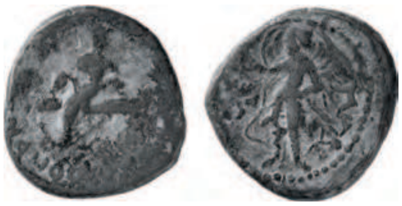

AQ: E.C1-i 1u (3D/4b)

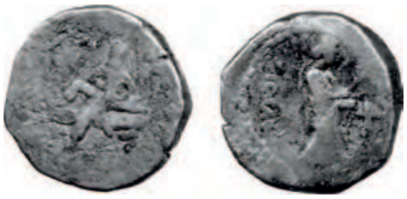

AR: E.C1-i 1u (3D/5b)

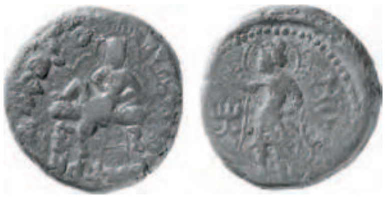

1423: E.C1-i 1u (3D/8a)

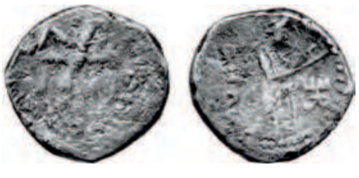

1425: E.C1-i 1u (3D/8a)

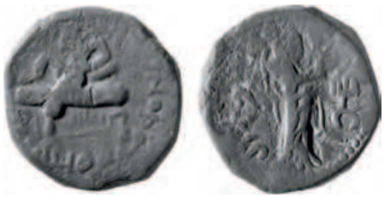

AS: E.C1-i 1u (3D/8a)

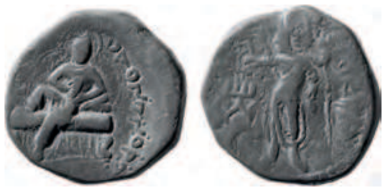

1429: E.C1-i 1u (3E/2a)

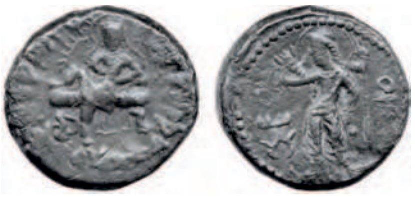

AT: E.C1-i 1u (3E/2a)

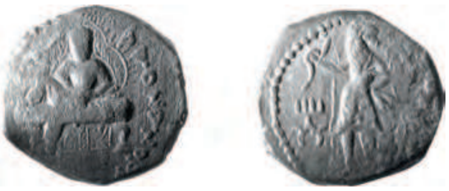

1432: E.C1-i 1u (3E/3a)

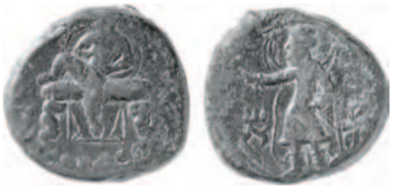

AU: E.C1-i 1u (3E/4a)

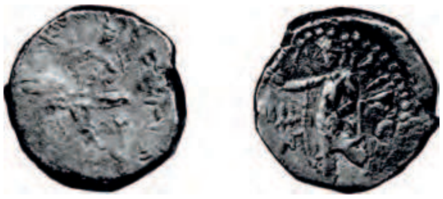

1433: E.C1-i 1u (3E/4b)

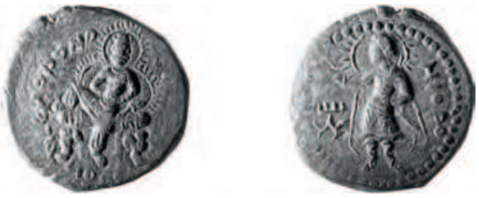

1434: E.C1-i 1u (3E/5a)

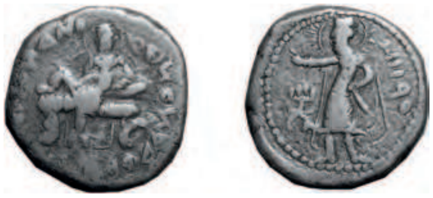

1437: E.C1-i 1u (3E/5b)

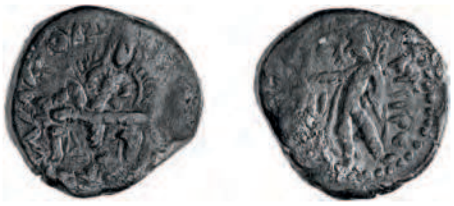

AV: E.C1-i 1u (3E/8a)

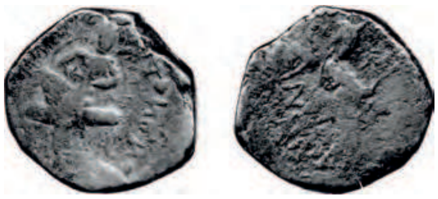

1444: E.C1-i 1u (3F/2a)

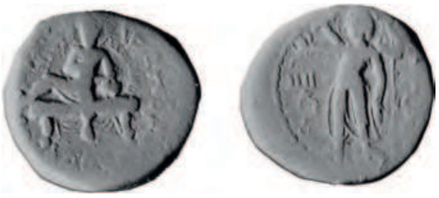

AW: E.C1-i 1u (3F/2b)

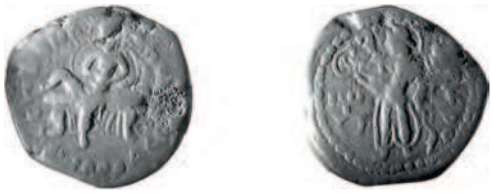

AX: E.C1-i 1u (3F/3a)

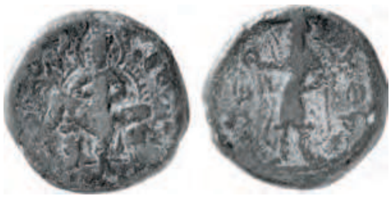

AY: E.C1-i 1u (3F/3c)

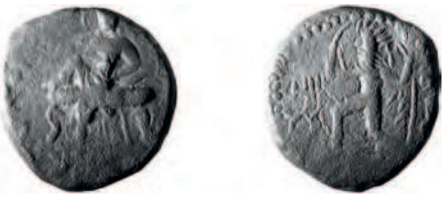

AZ: E.C1-i 1u (3F/3d)

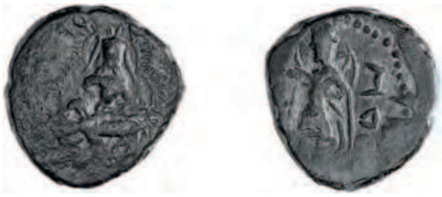

BA: E.C1-i 1u (3F/4a)

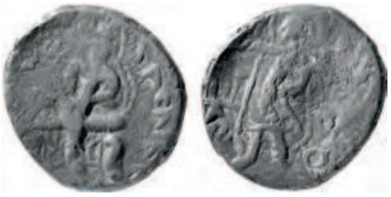

BB: E.C1-i 1u (3F/5b)

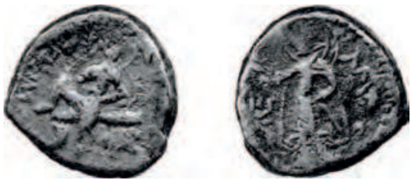

BC: E.C1-i 1u (3F/5c)

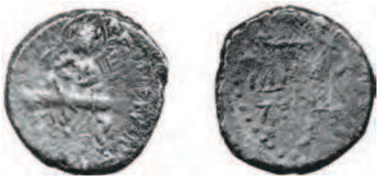

1446: E.C1-i 1u (3F/8a)

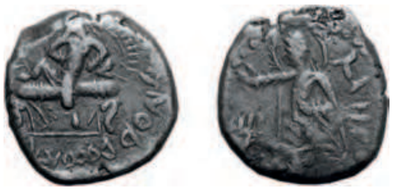

BD: E.C1-i 1u (3F/18a)

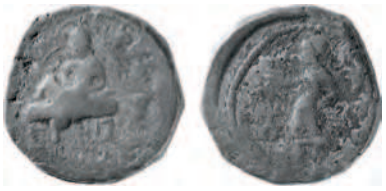

BE: E.C1-i 1u (3G/2a)

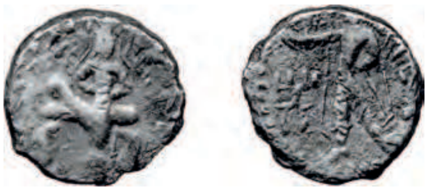

1450: E.C1-i 1u (3F/8a)

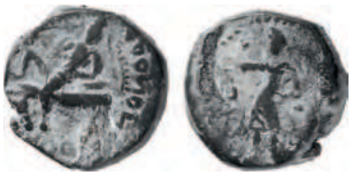

BF: E.C1-i 1u (3G/2b)

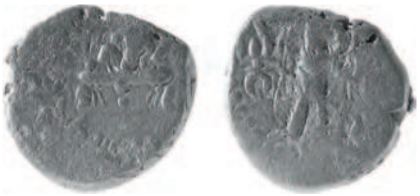

BG: E.C1-i 1u (3G/3c)

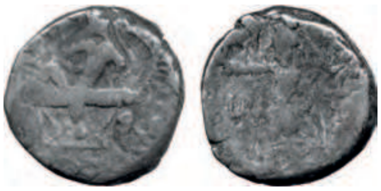

BH: E.C1-i 1u (3G/3d)

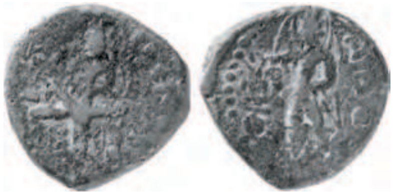

1452: E.C1-i 1u (3H/2a)

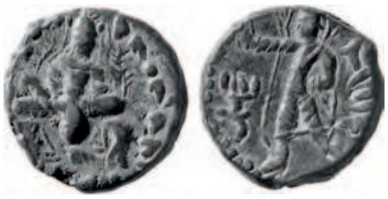

BI: E.C1-i 1u (3H/3c)


1453: E.C1-i 1u (3H/3c)


1454: E.C1-i 1u (3H/3d)


1456: E.C1-i 1u (3I/2a)


1459: E.C1-i 1u (3I/2b)


1460: E.C1-i 1u (3I/3d)

125 E.C1-ii 1u Main copper mint phase 2 tetradrachms (units)

Göbl 1984: 821–2, 824, 835–7 and 848

Huvishka (E), main copper mint (C1), Begram, second phase (ii), falling new reduced standard four drachms, unit denomination (1u), weighing *c.* 4–10g.

Obverse: King, full figure, in various representations. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 12.00 to 11.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKE KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan), only partly visible and often blundered.

1A king, riding elephant walking to right, facing right, head surrounded by halo, wearing crown with v shaped motif on front and crescent on top, with diadem, with one or two ribbons, wearing knee-length tunic and leggings, with loose cloak over shoulders, holding ankus in right hand; elephant with tusks, trunk down and end curled into circle and wearing cloth over back.

2A king, seated cross-legged on mountain top, facing front, head to right, head and upper body enclosed in two-part rayed halo, wearing crown with v-shaped motif on front, crescent on top, with diadem, wearing knee-length tunic and leggings, holding staff in raised left hand and club in right hand before chest; mountain represented as rocks, two rocks each to right and left of king's knees and one or two below his feet.

3A king, seated on couch, resting left elbow on pillow and with right leg raised with foot on end of couch, left foot on floor, facing front, head to front, wearing crown with v-shaped motif on front, with diadem, ribbon over each shoulder, knee-length tunic and leggings, holding cup in both hands before chest; couch covered with ornamented cloth and curved legs (simplified version of elephant head).

3B as 3A, but two diadem ribbons over each shoulder.

Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, all within dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian: name of deity.

2a Mao, moon god, standing facing front, head to left and surrounded by crescent emanating from shoulders, with short hair held in diadem with two ribbons behind and roll of curls below diadem, wearing calf-length tunic, held by belt at waist, and boots, with cloak over both shoulders, held by clasp on chest, holding sword, hung on strap on left thigh, in left hand at waist and making gesture of blessing with index and little fingers with extended right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, in right field): MAO.

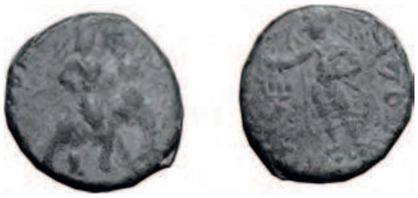
2b Mao, moon god, as 2a, but very thin figure.

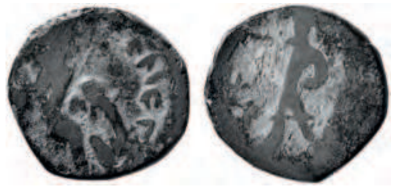
3c Miiro, sun god, standing facing front, head to left and surrounded by rayed halo, with short hair held in diadem with two ribbons behind and roll of curls below diadem, wearing calf-length tunic, held by belt at waist, and boots, with cloak over both shoulders, held by clasp on chest, holding sword, hung on strap on left thigh, in left hand at waist and making gesture of blessing with index and little fingers with extended right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, in right field): MIIPO.

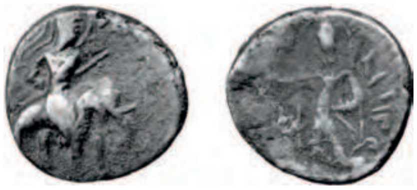
3d Miiro, sun god, as 3c, but very thin figure.

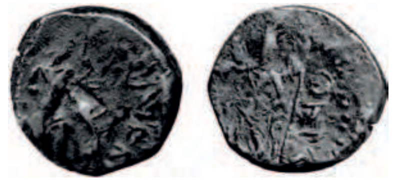
5d Oesho, mountain god with four arms, standing facing front, head to left, hair tied in top-knot, wearing armlets and bracelets on arms, calf-length dhoti and string across chest from left shoulder, holding trident vertically in raised upper left hand, horned animal (goat?) in lower left hand, thunderbolt in raised upper right hand and offering diadem with extended lower right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, in right field): OHÞO.

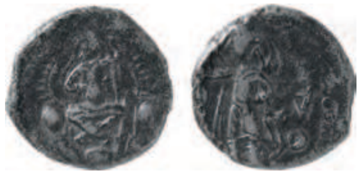
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Private collection B		-	-	1A	2a
1461*	300442	1853,0501.1362	9.08	24	1A	2b
B*	272630	IOLC.3163	8.94	24	1A	3d
C*	272634	IOLC.3167	9.9	23	1A	5d
1462*	300617	1922,0424.2988	9.81	22	2A	2a
1463	300466	1894,0506.1463	8.10	22	2A	2a

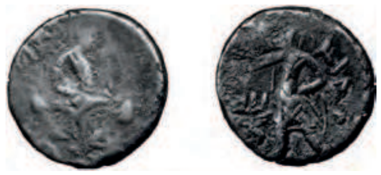

A: E.C1-ii 1u (1A/2a)

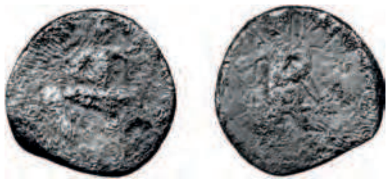

1461: E.C1-ii 1u (1A/2b)

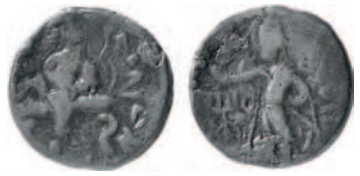

B: E.C1-ii 1u (1A/3d)

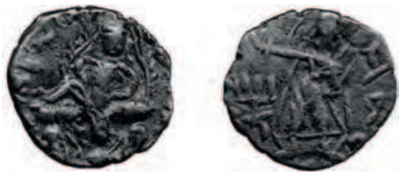

C: E.C1-ii 1u (1A/5d)

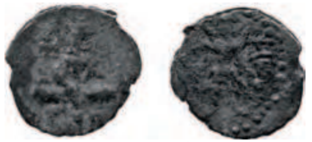

1462: E.C1-ii 1u (2A/2a)

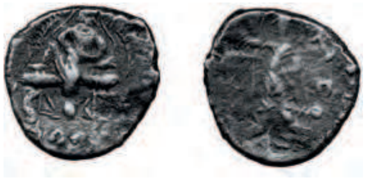

D: E.C1-ii 1u (2A/2d)

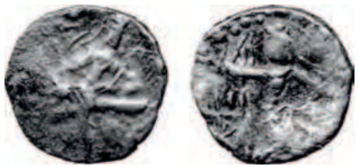

E: E.C1-ii 1u (2A/3c)

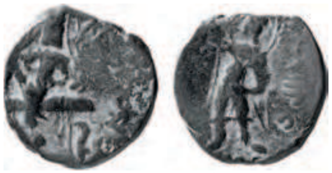

1467: E.C1-ii 1u (3A/2a)

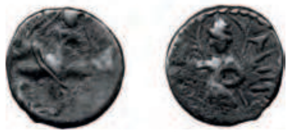

F: E.C1-ii 1u (2A/2a)

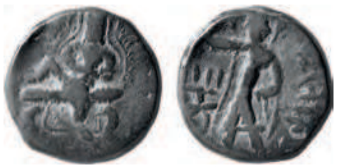

G: E.C1-ii 1u (3A/2a)

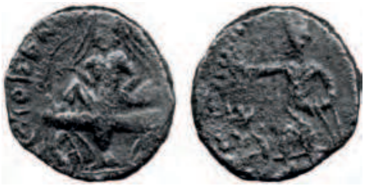

H: E.C1-ii 1u (3A/2b)

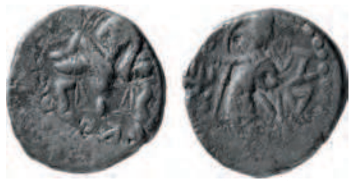

I: E.C1-ii 1u (3A/2b)

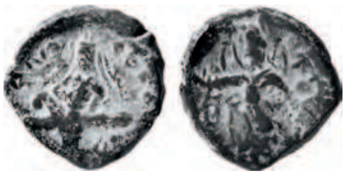

1473: E.C1-ii 1u (3A/3c)

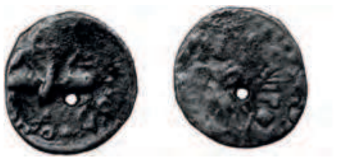

J: E.C1-ii 1u (3A/3c)


1475: E.C1-ii 1u (3A/3d)

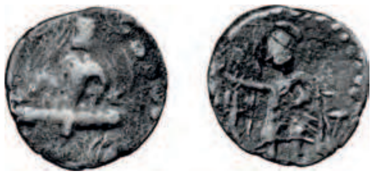

1477: E.C1-ii 1u (3B/2a)

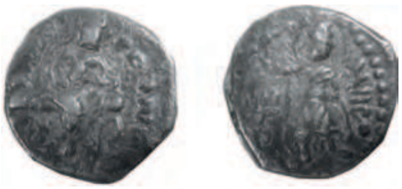

1478: E.C1-ii 1u (3B/2a)

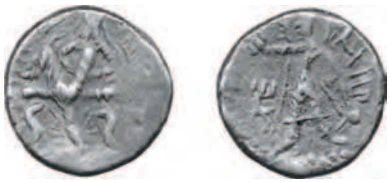

1482: E.C1-ii 1u (3B/2a)


M: E.C1-ii 1u (3B/3c)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
1464	300482	OR.340	8.02	22	2A	2a
D*	272662	IOLC.3195	8.81	22	2A	2b
E*	272668	IOLC.3201	9.30	23	2A	3c
1465	300480	1894,0506.1464	8.98	22	2A	3d
1466	273200	1988,0322.10	9.42	23	3A	2a
1467*	300463	1996,1030.31	8.88	22	3A	2a
1468	300474	1853,0301.1331	8.16	22	3A	2a
1469	300654	1989,0904.4028	7.12	21	2A	3d
F*	272673	IOLC.3206	4.58	22	3A	2a
G*	272786	IOLC.3319	2.04	18	3A	2a
H*	272647	IOLC.3180	9.99	23	3A	2b
1470	300619	1894,0506.1524	9.68	23	3A	2b
1471	300468	1844,0909.66	8.84	22	3A	2b
I*	272674	IOLC.3207	4.39	21	3A	2b
1472	300479	1889,0105.1156	9.16	22	3A	3c
1473*	300476	1894,0506.1521	8.47	22	3A	3c
J*	272675	IOLC.3208	4.80	19	3A	3c
1474	300639	1894,0506.1515	4.28	21	3A	3c
1475*	300477	OR.267	9.90	21	3A	3d
1476	300478	1933,0703.2	9.32	21	3A	3d
1477*	190626	IOC.351	8.26	24	3B	2a
1478*	300470	1853,0301.1332	9.91	23	3B	2a
1479	300471	1847,1201.252	9.80	22	3B	2a
1480	300473	1835,Bur.63	9.95	25	3B	2a
1481	300475	1894,0506.1522	8.10	23	3B	2a
K*	272776	IOLC.3309	5.21	22	3B	2a
1482*	300464	1894,0506.1523	9.59	22	3B	2b
1483	300465	1894,0506.1525	8.56	21	3B	2b
1484	300467	2001,1201.7679	8.32	23	3B	2b
L*	Ashmolean (de Shortt)		11.58	24	3B	3c
M*	272788	IOLC.3321	3.33	20	3B	3c
N*	272648	IOLC.3181	9.63	23	3B	3d


K: E.C1-ii 1u (3B/2a)


L: E.C1-ii 1u (3B/3c)


N: E.C1-ii 1u (3B/3d)

126 E.C1-iii1u Main copper mint phase 3 tetradrachms (units)

Göbl 1984: 855

Huvishka (E), main copper mint (C1), third phase (iii), new reduced standard four drachms, unit denomination (1u), weighing *c.* 10g.

Obverse: King, full figure, riding elephant walking to right, facing right, wearing crown with v shaped motif on front and crescent on top (depicted as four prongs on top of headdress), with diadem, with one or two ribbons, head surrounded by halo, knee-length tunic and leggings, with loose cloak over shoulders, holding ankus in right hand; elephant with tusks, trunk down and end curled into circle and wearing cloth over back. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 12.00 to 11.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKE KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan) only partly visible and often blundered).

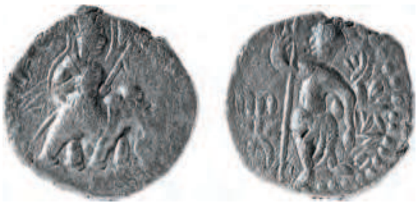
Reverse: Oesho, mountain god with two arms, standing facing front, head to left, hair tied in top-knot, wearing armlets and bracelets on arms, calf-length dhoti and string across chest from left shoulder, erect linga emerging from top of dhoti, holding trident vertically in raised right hand and water pot in left hand by hip, with animal skin draped over left arm; nandipada symbol in upper right field, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, in right field): OHÞO.

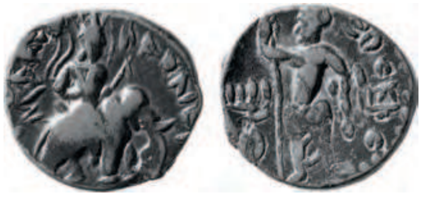
5e Oesho, mountain god, with animal skin drawn as ball-shaped left part and sausage-shaped right part, either side of left arm.

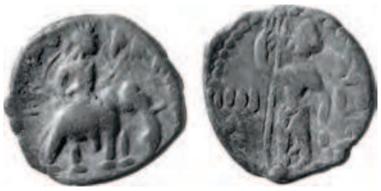
5f Oesho, mountain god, with animal skin drawn as curved sausage crossing left arm.

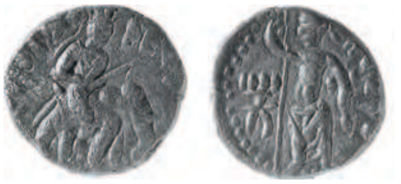
5g Oesho, mountain god, with animal skin drawn as thin lines.

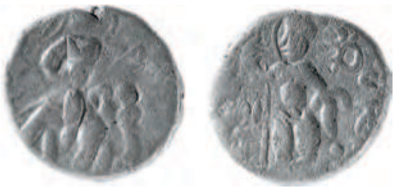
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Rev.
1485	273250	1988,0322.110	10.65	26	5e
1486*	273245	1988,0322.107	10.52	26	5e
1487	300443	OR,8281	10.48	24	5e
1488	273246	1988,0322.108	10.42	25	5e
1489	300444	1844,0921.33	10.42	24	5e
1490	273235	1989,0104.63	10.36	26	5e
1491	280949	1838,EIC.104	10.36	25	5e
1492	273241	1988,0322.105	10.29	25	5e
1493	273254	1989,0104.64	10.17	26	5e
1494	300446	IOC.349	10.04	22	5e
1495	273248	1989,0104.60	10.03	25	5e
1496	273255	1989,0104.69	10.02	25	5e
1497	300453	1922,0424.2984	9.93	26	5e
1498	300447	1889,0105.1149	9.87	23	5e
1499	300454	1835,0901.16	9.81	25	5e
1500	273260	1988,0322.96	9.81	23	5e
1501	273244	1988,0322.106	9.78	25	5e
1502	273238	1988,0322.102	9.70	23	5e
1503	300448	1853,0301.1361	9.66	25	5e
1504	300450	OR.8280	9.60	24	5e
1505	273237	1989,0104.66	9.64	24	5e
1506*	300449	1922,0424.2983	9.57	25	5e
1507	273253	1988,0322.113	9.52	22	5e
1508	273242	1988,0322.109	9.51	25	5e

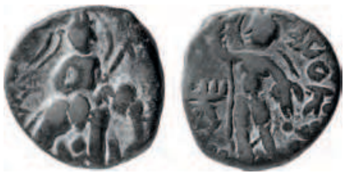

1486: E.C1-iii 1u (5e)

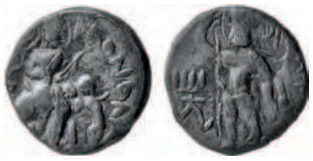

1506: E.C1-iii 1u (5e)

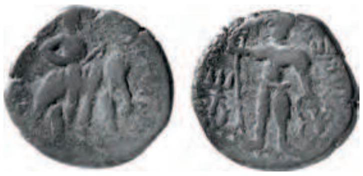

1509: E.C1-iii 1u (5e)

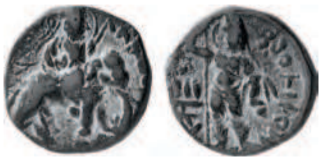

1513: E.C1-iii 1u (5e)


1524: E.C1-iii 1u (5f)


1529: E.C1-iii 1u (5f)


1532: E.C1-iii 1u (5f)


1533: E.C1-iii 1u (5f)


1535: E.C1-iii 1u (5f)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Rev.
1509*	300452	OR.8283	9.45	24	5e
1510	273261	1988,0322.97	9.45	24	5e
1511	273249	1989,0104.62	9.42	23	5e
1512	273247	1989,0104.61	9.27	26	5e
1513*	273239	1988,0322.95	9.16	23	5e
1514	300459	1889,0105.1150	8.61	21	5e
1515	273262	1988,0322.100	8.55	23	5e
1516	273236	1988,0322.111	8.48	22	5e
1517	273263	1988,0322.103	8.18	24	5e
1518	280951	1838,EIC.107	8.16	24	5e
1519	273240	1988,0322.104	7.49	24	5e
1520	273258	1988,0322.98	7.45	22	5e
1521	273251	1989,0104.67	10.25	25	5f
1522	273252	1989,0104.65	10.25	25	5f
1523	273264	1988,0322.112	9.94	24	5f
1524*	273243	1988,0322.99	9.86	24	5f
1525	273259	1988,0322.101	9.82	25	5f
1526	273257	1989,0104.68	9.32	25	5f
1527	300461	OR.8285	9.05	22	5f
1528	273256	1988,0322.114	8.91	23	5f
1529*	300456	1850,0305.266	8.68	22	5f
1530	300455	1847,1201.229	8.61	21	5f
1531	300460	OR.8284	8.24	21	5f
1532*	300458	1847,1201.249	8.11	20	5f
1533*	300462	OR.8286	8.86	22	5g
1534	300451	OR.8282	8.77	21	5g
1535*	300457	1894,0506.1491	7.18	20	5g

Subsidiary mint, Gandhara (E.C2)

Huvishka's subsidiary mint appears to have been located in Gandhara, probably at Peshawar. It appears to have begun production some time after the start of Huvishka's reign. It perhaps represented a revival of the production of Kanishka's subsidiary mint, but there is no continuity of style between reigns. The distinctive tamga used at this mint was the barred tamga used on most of Huvishka's gold issues. The mint's production went through four phases, with an associated production which is identified here as phase 5, which appears to be contemporary with phase 3, perhaps at a branch of this mint. The coins of this mint are distinguished from those of the main mint by the different range of deities depicted on their reverses. The phases are distinguished by their weight standard and by variations in their obverse and reverse types. Production at this mint was small, though very varied, and rarely circulated outside Gandhara.

Phase 1 production at this mint was of copper units corresponding to the main mint's Attic tetradrachm units, on the slightly reduced standard *c.* 16g. They are distinguished by the use of a Kharoshthi inscription on the reverse. Only a handful of examples survive, closely die linked with phase 2. Only one obverse type has been recorded: 1 king on elephant, and three reverse types Ardochsho (1), Oado (18) and an eight-armed Hindu god (26).

Phase 2 production shared the distinctive Kharoshthi reverse of phase 1, but were struck to a reduced weight standard, *c.* 11.5g. Most examples have obverse 1 king on elephant, but a few obverse 2 king on mountain have been recorded and one coin with obverse 4 king sacrificing at altar. Reverses recorded are Ardochsho (1), Nana (4), Oesho (5), Pharro (6), Oado (18) and bowman (25).

Phase 3 production replaced the Kharoshthi inscriptions with Bactrian, and was struck on the same reduced weight standard *c.* 11.5g as phase 2. Although obverse type 1 king on elephant was predominant, early in the production types 2 king on mountain and 3 king on couch were also produced. The use of reverse types changed during the period, with normally only two designs in use at a time, first Mao (2), Miiro (3), then Erakilo (11) and Oado (18) and finally Ardochsho (1) and Pharro (6). A few exceptional examples of other types are also found: Nana (4) (some showing a karalrang named in the inscription kneeling before the goddess), Oesho (5) and Athsho (8).

Phase 4 production was on the same standard as phase 3, but all the coins had the same design, obverse 1 king on elephant and reverse Ardochsho (1). They were distinguished from phase 3 coins of the same type by their crude treatment of the obverse and the misspelling of the reverse inscription: ΑΡΟΟΧÞ.

Phase 5 production was on the same standard as phase 3. Like phase 4 the coins all used the same designs, obverse 1 king on elephant and reverse Ardochsho (1), except for a few with the reverse Athsho (8). All issues were distinguished from phase 3 coins by the inappropriate use of the inscription MAO on their reverses.

127 E.C2-i 1u Subsidiary copper mint phase 1 tetradrachms (units)

Huvishka (E), subsidiary copper mint (C1), first phase (i), Attic standard four drachms, unit denomination (1u), weighing *c.* 16g, with Kharoshthi inscription.

Obverse: King, full figure, in various representations. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, 1.00 to 11.00): ÞΑΟΝΑΝΟ ÞΑΟ ΟΟΗÞΚΕ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan) often blundered.

1A King, riding elephant walking to right, facing right, wearing tall headdress (details unclear), diadem with two ties, knee-length tunic and leggings, holding club in right hand, before face, and sword hilt in left hand at waist; elephant with tusks and trunk down, wearing saddle and ornamented cloth over back. Ground line below elephant.

1B as 1A but elephant walking to left and king facing left.

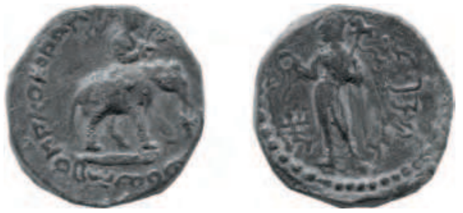
Reverse: Deity, full figure, barred tamga in field, all within dotted border. Inscription in Kharoshthi (in field): *yodhavade*.

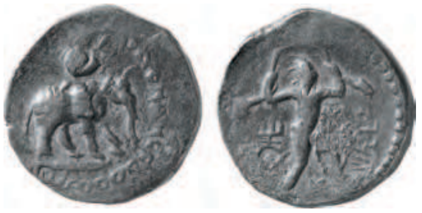
1a Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, standing facing frontally, head to right, surrounded by halo, with hair dressed in bun at back, wearing earring, sleeved ankle-length gown, with shawl (position unclear), end hanging from left arm, resting cornucopia in left arm, held by right hand at bottom, tamga in right field. Inscription (anticlockwise, in left field).

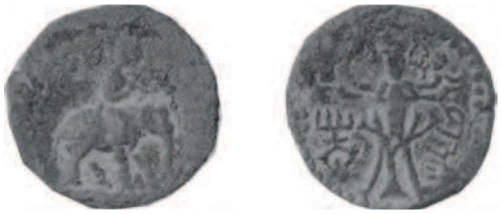
4c Nana, royal goddess, standing facing frontally, head to left, wearing tiara (?) with crescent at front, sleeved ankle-length gown, with shawl (position unclear), end hanging from left arm, holding staff topped by lion in left hand over shoulder and diadem in extended right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription (anticlockwise, in right field).

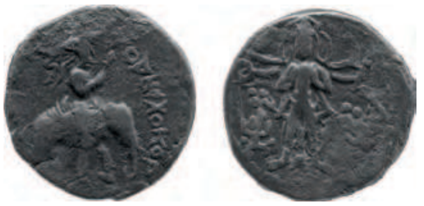
18b Oado, wind god, running to right, head to right, with wind-blown hair, wearing short dhoti, both hands raised holding scarf in arc above head, with ends to right and left, tamga in left field. Inscription (anticlockwise, in right field).

26a Eight-armed god, standing frontally, head to front, surrounded by halo, wearing tripartite crown, with ribbons to right and left, calf-length dhoti, holding in both lowest hands the stems to right and left of a lotus plant growing from between the god's legs, a conch-shell between the pair of hands before his chest, a round emblem in extended upper left hand and a crescent in extended lower left hand, the objects in the god's extended right hands are unclear (perhaps a club in the upper hand?), tamga in left field. Inscription (anticlockwise, in right field).

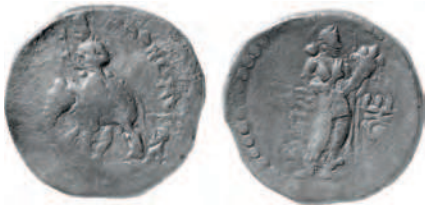

A: E.C2-i 1u (1A/4c)


1536: E.C2-i 1u (1A/18b)

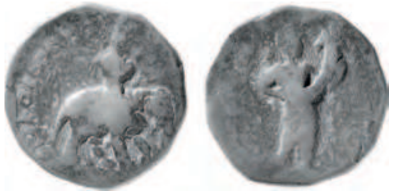

B: E.C2-i 1u (1A/26a)



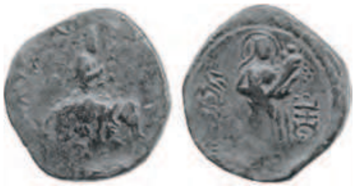
1537: E.C2-i 1u (1A/26b)



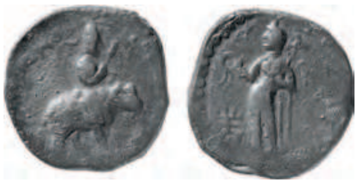
1538: E.C2-i 1u (1B/1a)



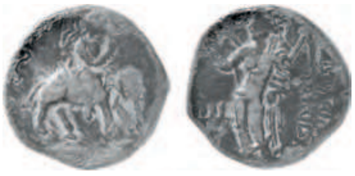
1539: E.C2-ii 1u (1A/1a)



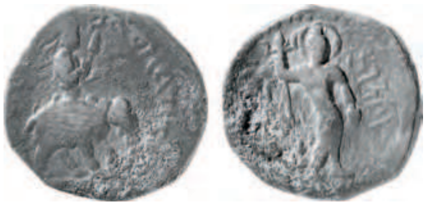
A: E.C2-ii 1u (1A/1b)



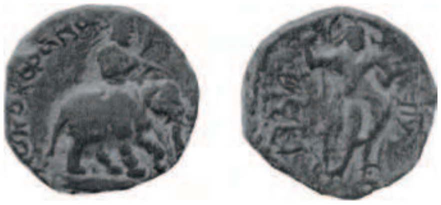
1540: E.C2-ii 1u (1A/4c)



1541: E.C2-ii 1u (1A/4d)



1542: E.C2-ii1u (1A/5h)



B: E.C2-ii1u (1A/5i)

26b Eight-armed god, as 26a, but god holding club in his extended lower left hand, unclear object in extended upper left hand, disc (chakra?) in extended lower right hand and unclear object in extended upper right hand, tamga (unbarred) in left field. Inscription (anticlockwise, in right field).

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Private collection E		14.70	-	1A	4c
1536*	300545	1991,0416.5	17.00	27	1A	18b
B*	Khan *et al.* 2008: 45		-	-	1A	26a
1537*	221987	1991,0416.4	17.11	26	1A	26b
1538*	300544	1991,0416.6	16.65	27	1B	1a

128 E.C2-ii 1u Subsidiary copper mint phase 2 units

Göbl 1984: 893, 894, 896.4, 897, 899, 900, 901, 903, 905.3, 906, 907

Huvishka (E), subsidiary copper mint (C1), second phase (ii), reduced standard four drachms, unit denomination (1u), weighing *c.* 11.5g, with Kharoshthi inscription.

Obverse: King, full figure, in various representations. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00 to 11.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKE KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan) often blundered.

1A King, riding elephant walking to right, facing right, wearing tall headdress (details unclear), diadem with two ties, knee-length tunic and leggings, holding club in right hand, before face, and sword hilt in left hand at waist; elephant with tusks and trunk down, wearing saddle and ornamented cloth over back. Ground line below elephant.

1B as 1A, but sword hilt not visible.

1C as 1A, but king's upper half surrounded by rayed halo, elephant's trunk end curled up.

1D as 1A, but elephant walking to left and king facing left.

1E as 1D, but king holding club in left hand and sword hilt in right hand.

2A King, seated cross-legged on mountain top, facing front, head to front, wearing high crown (details unclear), diadem with double ribbons to right and left, knee-length tunic and leggings, holding staff in raised left hand and resting right hand on thigh (unclear whether holding club); mountain represented as small rocks.

2B as 2A, but king holding staff in raised right hand and resting left hand on thigh.

3A King, seated on couch, resting left elbow on pillow and with right leg raised with foot on end of couch, left foot on floor, facing front. The details probably resemble other issues of this type (cf. E.C1-iii) and the inscription is likely as above but the type is know from only one worn example.

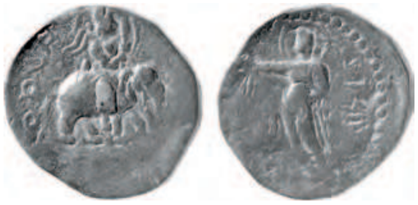
4A King, standing frontally head to front, surrounded by halo, wearing high crown (details unclear), diadem with double ribbons to right and left, knee-length tunic, held by belt at waist, and leggings, with long cloak over both shoulders, holding spear in raised left hand and making offering with extended right hand over small altar.

Reverse: Deity, full figure, barred tamga in field (bar missing in a few examples as indicated), all within dotted border. Inscription in Kharoshthi (anticlockwise, to be read from centre of coin, unless indicated): *yodhavade*.

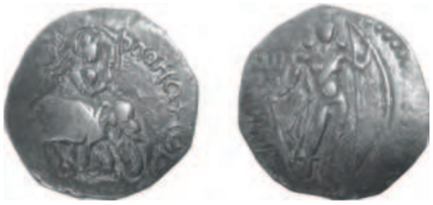
1a Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, standing facing frontally, head to right, surrounded by halo, with hair dressed in bun at back, wearing earring, sleeved ankle-length gown, with shawl (position unclear), end hanging from left arm, resting cornucopia in left arm, held by right hand at bottom, tamga in right field. Inscription (in left field).

1b Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, as 1a, but with out hair bun and long hair lying on goddess's right shoulder.

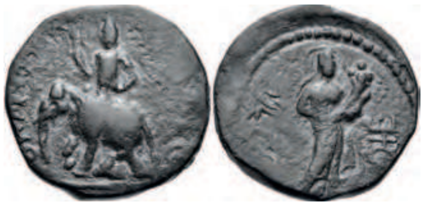
1c Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, as 1a, but hair dressed in small bun, tied in a diadem with two ribbons.



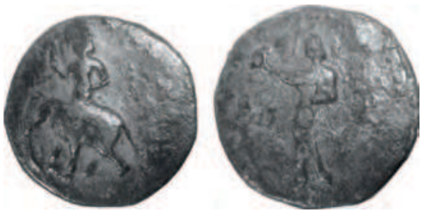
1549: E.C2-ii 1u (1C/4f)



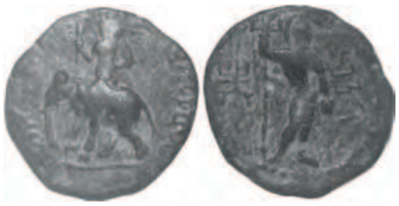
G: E.C2-ii 1u (1C/25b)



H: E.C2-ii 1u (1D/1b)



I: E.C2-ii 1u (1D/4g)

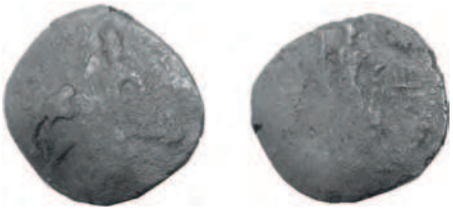


J: E.C2-ii 1u (1D/5h)

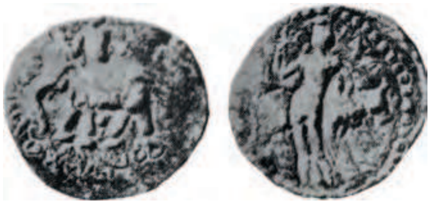
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
1546*	300546	1894,0506.1496	12.62	23	1B	1c
1547	273327	1988,1111.63	10.94	24	1B	1c
D*	Private collection B		-	-	1B	4e
E*	Shown to authors A		-	-	1B	4f
1548*	300553	1894,0506.1504	12.08	22	1B	5j
F*	Seen by authors		12.20	24	1B	5l
1549*	300550	1922,0424.3622	12.67	26	1C	4f
G*	Ashmolean (de Shortt 1975.42)		12.55	26	1C	25b
H*‡	CNG electronic 222: 248		13.29	26	1D	1b
I*	Ashmolean (de Shortt 1975.47)		13.19	27	1D	4g
J*	Private collection B		10.84	26	1D	5h
K*	Private collection H		10.27	27	1D	5k
L*	Burns, 1993: fig. 2-1		13.70	-	1D	5l
M*	Private collection P		10.40	-	1D	18c
N*	Private collection M		9.60	-	1E	1d
O*	Seen by authors (in trade)		-	-	2A	1a
P*	Private collection B		12.63	27	2A	5l
Q*	Mitchiner 1978: 4659		9.90		2A	18d
R*	Bern (92.7); Göbl 1993a: 367		10.95	27	2B	25c
S*	Seen by authors		-	-	3A	4d
T*	Private collection E		12.00	-	4A	6a

‡ Same reverse die as A

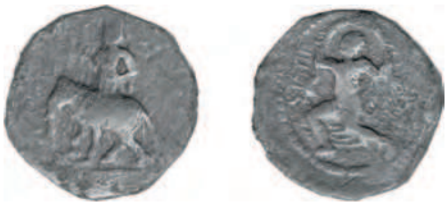
†1542 is struck with the same obverse die as E.C1-i A and 1543 the same obverse die as 1537



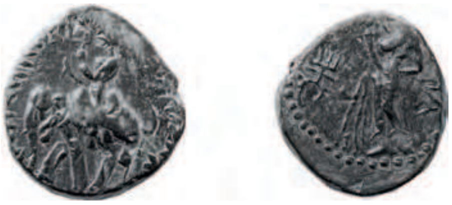
K: E.C2-ii 1u (1D/5k)



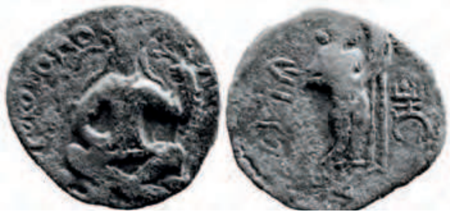
L: E.C2-ii 1u (1D/5l)



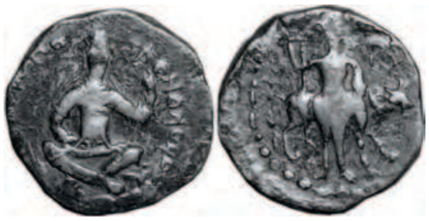
M: E.C2-ii 1u (1D/18c)



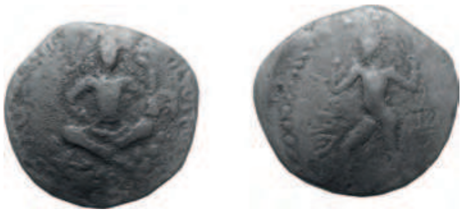
N: E.C2-ii 1u (1E/1d)

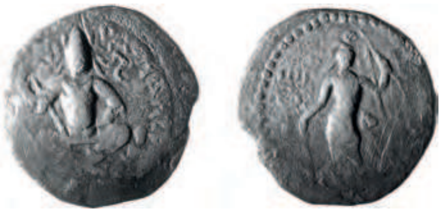


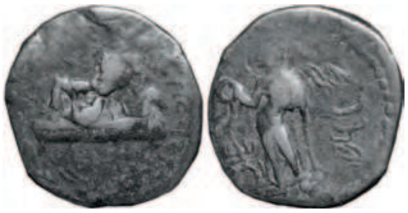
O: E.C2-ii 1u (2A/1a)

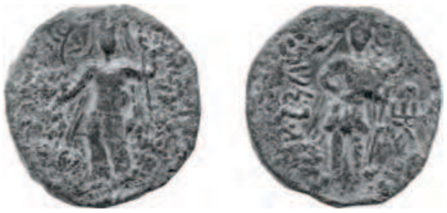


P: E.C2-ii 1u (2A/5l)


Q: E.C2-ii 1u (2A/18d)


R: E.C2-ii 1u (2B/25c)


S: E.C2-ii 1u (3A/4d)


T: E.C2-ii 1u (4A/6a)

129 E.C2-iii 1u Subsidiary copper mint phase 3 units

Göbl 1984: 844–6, 848.3, 856–66, 867A–875, 876.6 and 7, 877, 878, 884–92 Huvishka (E), subsidiary copper mint (C1), third phase (iii), reduced standard four drachms, unit denomination (1u), weighing *c.* 11.5g, with Bactrian inscription.

Obverse: King, full figure, in various representations. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, mostly from 8.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO [O]OHÞKO KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan) often blundered.

1A King, riding elephant walking to right, facing right, head surrounded by halo, wearing crown with v shaped motif on front and crescent on top, with diadem, overcoat, knee-length tunic and leggings, holding double-pronged and ribboned staff in both hands, with right hand by hip and left hand before chest; elephant with tusks, trunk down and end curled up and wearing ornamented cloth over back.

1B as 1A, but king holding elephant goad in both hands, with right hand by hip and left hand before chest.

1C as 1A, but king holding spear in both hands, with right hand by hip and left hand before chest; inscription more blundered.

1D as 1C, but sword hilt also in left hand.

2A King, seated cross-legged on mountain top, facing front, head to right, wearing crown with v shaped motif on front and crescent on top, with diadem with double ribbons to left, overcoat, knee-length tunic and leggings, with cloak over both shoulders, with ends floating to left and right, holding staff in raised left hand and resting right hand on thigh; mountain represented as three large rocks below each knee and between feet, with two smaller rocks separating them below each foot.

2B as 2A, but king's head surrounded by halo.

2C as 2A, but king's head and body surrounded by two-part halo, linked arcs.

2D as 2c, but halo with rays.

2E as 2A, but king's head to front, diadem ribbons to right and left, without cloak.

2F as 2E, but king's head and body surrounded by two-part halo, linked arcs.

2G as 2A, but king's head to left.

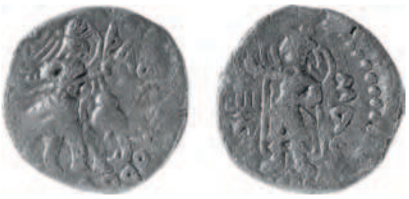
2H as 2G, without cloak.

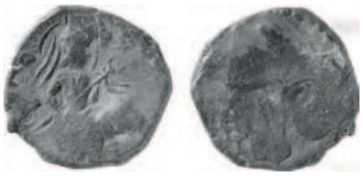
2I as 2H, but king's head surrounded by halo, right hand extended.

2J as 2B, but king, without cloak, holding staff in raised right hand and resting left hand on left thigh.

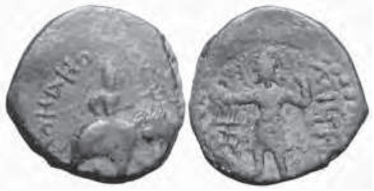
2K as 2I, but king's head to left, without halo, with cloak visible over left shoulder, only three rocks.

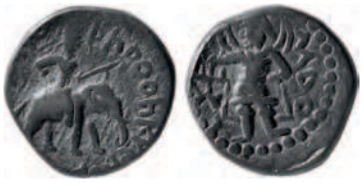
3A King, seated on couch, resting left elbow on pillow and with right leg raised with foot on end of couch, left foot on floor, facing front, head to front, body surrounded by rayed triangular-shaped halo, wearing crown

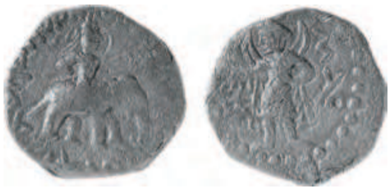

1550: E.C2-iii 1u (1A/2d)

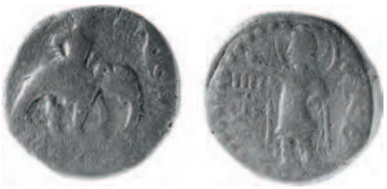

1551: E.C2-iii 1u (1A/2e)

A: E.C2-iii 1u (1A/2f)

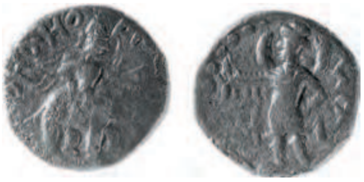

B: E.C2-iii 1u (1A/3f)


1554: E.C2-iii 1u (1B/2d)

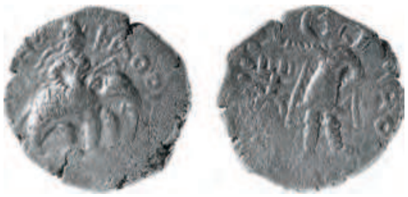

1562: E.C2-iii 1u (1B/2d)



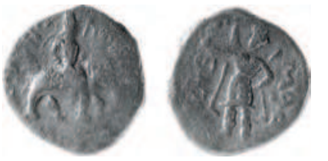
1567: E.C2-iii 1u (1B/2e)



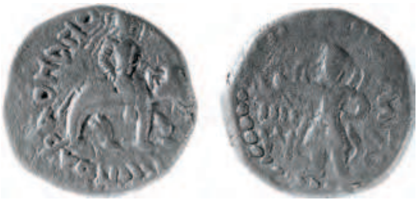
1569: E.C2-iii 1u (1B/2g)



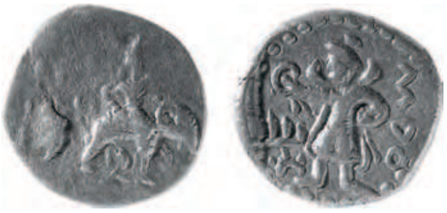
1572: E.C2-iii 1u (1B/2g)



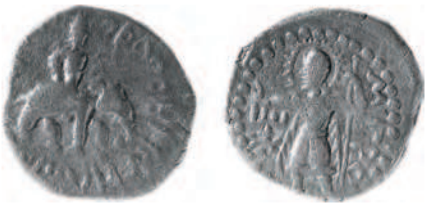
1573: E.C2-iii 1u (1B/2h)



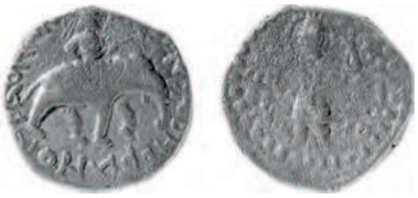
1574: E.C2-iii 1u (1B/2k)



1575: E.C2-iii 1u (1B/2j)



1577: E.C2-iii 1u (1B/3f)



1580: E.C2-iii 1u (1B/3f)

with v-shaped motif on front, crescent on top, with diadem, earrings and bracelets, knee-length tunic and leggings, resting right arm on raised right knee and left hand on couch by left thigh; couch covered with ornamented cloth and curved lion legs.

3B as 3A, but rounded halo.

3C as 3A, two-part halo, linked arcs, king holding cup in both hands before his chest.

3D King, seated on couch, with both feet on floor, holding cup in both hands before chest; couch with ornamented cloth and lion legs.

3E King, seated on cushion, resting left elbow on smaller cushion, legs crossed on cushion, head to left, head and body surrounded by two-part halo, linked arcs, detail of crown unclear, wearing knee-length tunic and leggings, resting left hand on hip and holding club in right hand before face.

Reverse: Deity, full figure, barred tamga in field (bar missing in a few examples), all within dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian (in field).

1e Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, standing facing frontally, head to left, surrounded by halo, with hair dressed in bun at back, wearing earring, sleeved ankle-length gown, with shawl looped over both arms and end hanging from left arm, holding cornucopia in left hand at bottom and resting stem over left shoulder, offering diadem with extended right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription (clockwise, in right field): ΑΡΔΟΧÞΟ.

1f Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, as 1e, but inscription: ΑΡΔΟÞΟ.

1g Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, as 1e, but holding cornucopia in left hand by hip and resting stem in right arm; inscription (clockwise, in right field): ΑΡΔΟΧÞΟ.

1h Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, as 1g, but inscription: ΑΡΔΟΧΟ.

1i Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, as 1g, but blundered inscription: ΧΟΑ.

1j Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, as 1e, but goddess head to right, holding cornucopia in right hand by hip and resting stem in left arm, tamga in right field, inscription (clockwise, in left field): ΑΡΔΟΧÞΟ.

1k Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, as 1j, but inscription: ΑΡΔΟΧÞΑ.

1l Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, as 1k, but goddess's head without halo.

2d Mao, moon god, standing facing front, head to left and surrounded by crescent emanating from shoulders (both horns drawn with two thick lines), with short hair held in diadem and roll of curls below diadem, wearing calf-length tunic, held by belt at waist, and boots, with cloak over both shoulders, held by clasp on chest, holding sword in left hand at waist and making gesture of blessing with two fingers with extended right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription (clockwise, in right field): ΜΑΟ (with Μ of ΜΑΟ written like inverted W).

2e Mao, moon god, as 2d, but taller figure, horns of crescent drawn as two thin lines; inscription: ΜΑΟ (with Μ of ΜΑΟ written like H).

2f Mao, moon god, as 2e, but both horns of crescent drawn with central line.

2g Mao, moon god, as 2d, but both horns of crescent drawn as single thick line.

2h Mao, moon god, as 2d, but right horn of crescent drawn as single thick line.

2i Mao, moon god, as 2d, but left horn of crescent drawn as single thick line.

2j Mao, moon god, as 2g, but both horns of crescent drawn as short thick single line and god offering diadem with extended right hand.

2k Mao, moon god, as 2j, but both horns of crescent drawn as two thick lines.

2l Mao, moon god, as 2g, but Mao holding staff in raised left hand.

2m Mao, moon god, as 2f, but inscription: ΗÞΗ.

2n Mao, moon god, as 2j, but both horns of crescent drawn as two thin lines; blundered inscription.

3f Miiro, sun god, standing facing front, head to left and surrounded by rayed halo, with short hair, wearing calf-length tunic, held by belt at waist, and boots, with cloak over both shoulders, held by clasp on chest, holding staff in raised left hand and making gesture of blessing with two fingers with extended right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription (clockwise, in right field): ΜΙΥΡΟ.

3g Miiro, sun god, as 3f, but inscription: ΜΙΡΟ.

3h Miiro, sun god, as 3f, but resting left hand on hip; inscription: ΜΙΙΡΟ.

3i Miiro, sun god, as 3h, but inscription: ΗÞΑΟ.

3j Miiro, sun god, as 3h, but holding diadem in extended right hand; inscription: ΜΙΟΡΟ.

3k Miiro, sun god, as 3j, but inscription: ΜΙΙΡΟ.

4g Nana, royal goddess, standing facing front, head to left, wearing diadem, sleeved ankle-length gown, with shawl (position unclear), end hanging from left arm, resting left hand on hip and holding diadem in extended right hand, tamga in left field. Blundered inscription (in right field).

4h Nana, royal goddess standing on right facing front, head to left, surrounded by halo, wearing diadem with crescent on front, with two ribbons, sleeved ankle-length gown, with shawl wrapped round arms and hanging from forearms, holding dish with left hand at waist and lion-forepart sceptre in extended right hand, with karalrang kneeling on left before goddess, head to right, surrounded by crescent, wearing rounded crown, tunic and leggings, extending clasped hands towards goddess, tamga in centre between karalrang and goddess. Inscription (clockwise, in right field): ΝΑΝΟ.

4i Nana, royal goddess, as 4h, but goddess standing on left facing front, head to right, with karalrang kneeling on right before goddess, head to left, wearing sword on strap on left thigh, tamga in left field. Inscription (clockwise, in two concentric lines, outer line from 8.00 to 5.00 –inner line from 12.00 to 5.00): ΝΑΝΑ/ ΟΜΟΙΑΓΟΓΑΝΟ ΚΑ – ΡΑΛΡΑΓΓΟ.

4j Nana, royal goddess, as 4h, but tamga in left field; inscription, only partially legible (clockwise, from 9.00 to 1.00): ΚΑ/ΡΑΛΡΑ[ΓΓΟ], (ending at 5.00) …ΡΟ.

5m Oesho, mountain god with three heads and two arms, standing facing front, head to front with side heads to right and left (with undefined details), wearing calf-length dhoti, standing beside trident with axe-head on shaft vertically in left field, resting right hand on hip and holding horned animal (goat?) in left hand, tamga in left field. Inscription (clockwise, in right field): ΟΟΗ[ÞΟ].

5n Oesho, mountain god, as 5m, but god with four arms, holding trident vertically in raised upper left hand, horned animal (goat?) in lower left hand, thunderbolt in raised upper right hand and offering diadem (?) with extended lower right hand, tamga in left field; inscription illegible.

6b Pharro, god of wealth, standing facing front, head to left and surrounded by halo, with short hair held in diadem with hair bun behind and roll of curls below diadem, wearing calf-length tunic, held by belt at waist, and boots, with cloak over both shoulders, held by clasp on chest, holding staff in raised left hand and bag with extended right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription (clockwise, in right field): ΦΑΡΡΟ.

6c Pharro, god of wealth god, as 6b, but inscription: ΦΑΡΟ.

6d Pharro, god of wealth god, as 6b but inscription: ΦΡΑΟ.

6e Pharro, god of wealth god, as 6b but inscription: ΦΑΟ.

6f Pharro, god of wealth god, as 6b, but holding bag on extended right hand; inscription (clockwise, in right field): ΦΑΡΡΟ.

6g Pharro, god of wealth god, as 6b, but holding bowl of fire on extended right hand; inscription: ΦΑΡΟ.

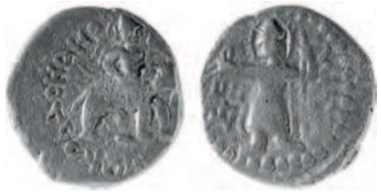
6h Pharro, god of wealth god, as 6b, but holding diadem in extended right hand; inscription: ΦΑΡΟ.

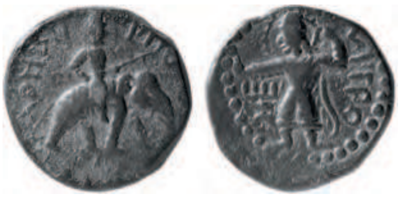
6i Pharro, god of wealth god, as 6h, but rayed halo.

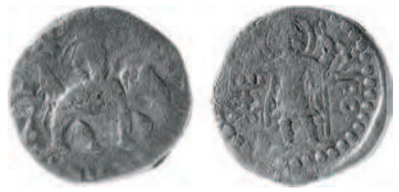
6j Pharro, god of wealth god, as 6h, but inscription anticlockwise.

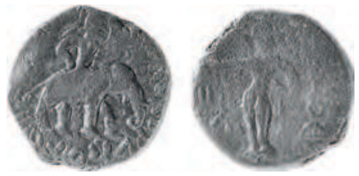
6k Pharro, god of wealth god, as 6b, but god's head to right, holding staff in raised right hand and bag with extended left hand, tamga in right field; inscription (clockwise, in left field): ΦΑΡΟ.

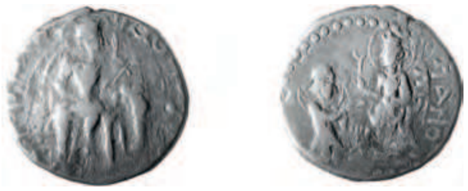
6l Pharro, god of wealth god, as 6h, but without halo; inscription blundered.

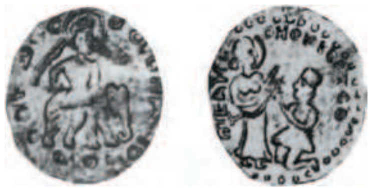

1581: E.C2-iii 1u (1B/3f)

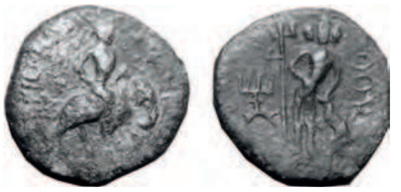

1585: E.C2-iii 1u (1B/3f)

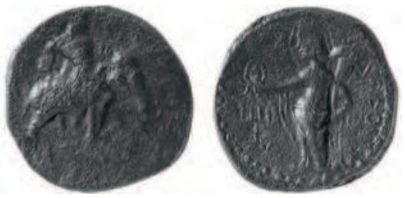

1586: E.C2-iii 1u (1B/3g)

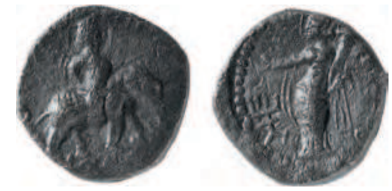

1587: E.C2-iii 1u (1B/4g)

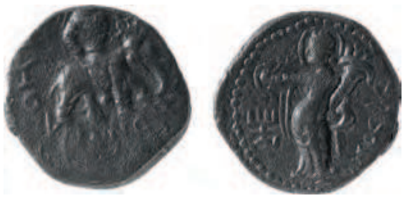

C: E.C2-iii 1u (1B/4h)

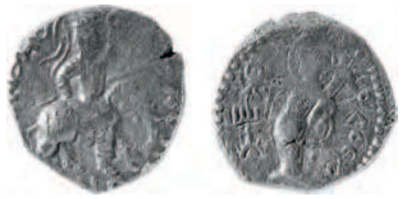

D: E.C2-iii 1u (1B/4i)

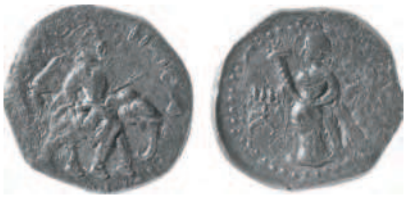

E: E.C2-iii 1u (1B/5m)

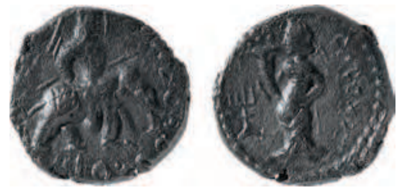

1589: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/1e)

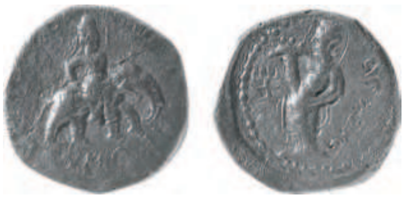

1592: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/1e)

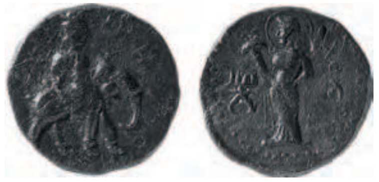

1596: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/1f)

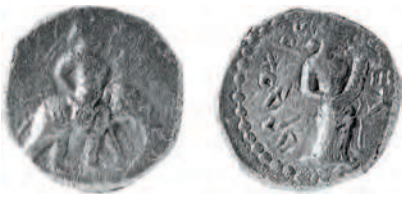

1599: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/1f)


1610: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/1g)


1613: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/1g)


1620: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/1h)


1621: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/1i)


1623: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/1j)

6m Pharro, god of wealth god, as 6h, but with left hand resting on left hip.

8c Athsho, fire god, standing facing front, head to left, bearded, wearing knee-length tunic, with scarf hanging from left arm, holding tongs in left hand over shoulder and hammer in raised right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription (clockwise, in right field): ÞΝΑΟ.

11a Heracles, Greek god, standing facing front, head to right, naked, holding club in right hand by hip and resting on shoulder, and apple in left hand, with lion skin draped over bent left arm, tamga in right field. Inscription (clockwise, in left field): ΗΡΑΚΙΛΟ.

11b Heracles, Greek god, as 11a, but god's head surrounded by halo; inscription: ΗΡΚΙΛΟ.

11c Heracles, Greek god, as 11a, but resting left hand on hip, tamga in left field; inscription: ΗΡΚΙΛΟ.

11d Heracles, Greek god, as 11a, but god's head to right, surrounded by halo, and holding club in left hand by hip and over left shoulder, with lion skin draped over left arm and placing diadem on head with raised right hand, tamga in left field; inscription (in right field): ΗΡΕΙΚΕΙΛΟ.

11e Heracles, Greek god, as 11d, but king's head to right, without halo; and inscription: ΗΡΕΙΚΕΙ.

11f Heracles, Greek god, as 11a, but king's head to left, surrounded by halo, holding club in right hand, with end resting on ground by right foot, and lion skin in left hand by hip; inscription: ΗΡΕΙΚ[ΕΙΛΟ].

11g Heracles, Greek god, as 11f, but god's head to right, tamga in right field; inscription (in left field): ΗΡΕΙΚΕΙΛΟ.

11h Heracles, Greek god, as 11g, god's head without halo; inscription: ΟΟΗ.

11i Heracles, Greek god, as 11a, but god's head to left, surrounded by halo, and holding club in left by hip and over left shoulder, with lion skin draped over left arm, and offering diadem with extended right hand, tamga in left field; inscription: ΗΡΕΙ[ΚΕΙΛΟ].

11j Heracles, Greek god, as 11g, but god's hair dressed in top knot.

11k Heracles, Greek god, as 11f, but inscription illegible.

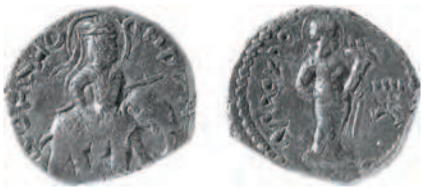
11l Heracles, Greek god, as 11a, but tamga in left field; inscription (clockwise, in right field): ÞΝΑΟ.

18e Oado, wind god, running to left, head to left, with wind-blown hair, wearing thigh-length dhoti, holding scarf in arc above head with both raised hands, with ends to right and left, tamga in left field. Inscription (clockwise, in right field): ΟΑΔΟ.

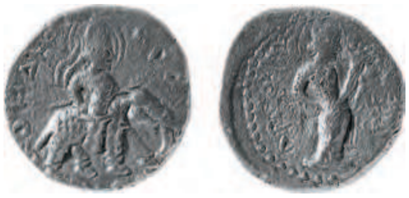
18f as 18e, but inscription: ΜΟÞΗ.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
1550*	273270	1989,0104.27	11.32	25	1A	2d
1551*	300612	OR.8302	8.45	22	1A	2e
A*	272770	IOLC.3303	7.02	21	1A	2f
B*	Private collection B		-	-	1A	3f
1552	273299	1989,0104.39	13.45	25	1A	3f
1553	273300	1988,0322.48	12.88	24	1A	3f
1554*	300501	1894,0506.1476	11.23	23	1B	2d
1555	273290	1989,0104.30	10.91	24	1B	2d
1556	273302	1989,0104.32	11.83	25	1B	2d
1557	273305	1988,0322.142	11.09	23	1B	2d
1558	273282	1988,0322.138	12.06	24	1B	2d
1559	273279	1988,0322.139	11.28	24	1B	2d
1560	273288	1988,0322.136	11.18	25	1B	2d
1561	273280	1989,0104.28	10.42	26	1B	2d
1562*	273281	1988,0322.140	12.50	24	1B	2d

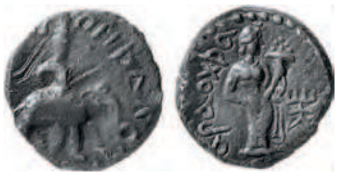
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
1563	273291	1988,0322.137	10.80	24	1B	2d
1564	273292	1989,0104.26	10.51	24	1B	2d
1565	273293	1989,0104.25	10.42	25	1B	2d
1566	273285	1989,0104.23	12.00	26	1B	2d
1567*	273294	1988,0322.141	11.81	24	1B	2e
1568	273328	1988,0322.144	10.38	26	1B	2g
1569*	273287	1989,0104.22	11.28	23	1B	2g
1570	273289	1988,0322.145	13.73	26	1B	2g
1571	273271	1988,0322.148	10.24	23	1B	2g
1572*	273272	1989,0104.21	11.49	25	1B	2g
1573*	273277	1989,0104.20	11.18	20	1B	2h
1574*	273276	1989,0104.24	11.62	26	1B	2k
1575*	273269	1989,0104.31	12.32	27	1B	2j
1576	273265	1989,0104.38	9.71	26	1B	3f
1577*	273266	1989,0104.36	11.37	26	1B	3f
1578	273267	1988,0322.50	11.06	24	1B	3f
1579	273301	1988,0322.52	11.39	26	1B	3f
1580*	273303	1989,0104.34	12.29	25	1B	3f
1581*	273273	1989,0104.35	10.86	25	1B	3f
1582	273275	1988,0322.54	12.10	25	1B	3f
1583	273274	1988,0322.42	11.81	25	1B	3f
1584	273268	1988,1111.21	11.31	24	1B	3f
1585*	300514	1894,0506.1478	11.41	25	1B	3f
1586*	273278	1988,0322.53	11.40	24	1B	3g
1587*	273284	1988,0322.135	11.71	22	1B	4g
C*	Bern (88.245); Göbl 1993a: 332		9.22	24	1B	4h
D*	Göbl 1984: 844/1		-	-	1B	4i
E*	Private collection B		11.34	26	1B	5m
1588	273283	1988,0322.115	11.73	24	1B	11a
1589*	273428	1988,1111.56	11.82	25	1C	1e
1590	273447	1988,0322.181	11.51	25	1C	1e
1591	273448	1988,0322.186	11.97	23	1C	1e
1592*	273384	1988,0322.187	11.22	24	1C	1e
1593	273392	1988,0322.177	12.22	24	1C	1e
1594	273411	1988,0322.184	11.32	23	1C	1e
1595	273502	1988,0322.175	11.52	24	1C	1e
1596*	273378	1988,1111.60	11.38	25	1C	1f
1597	273379	1988,0322.194	9.58	25	1C	1f
1598	273393	1988,0322.197	11.25	25	1C	1f
1599*	273462	1988,0322.204	12.34	25	1C	1f
1600	273463	1988,0322.205	12.20	24	1C	1f



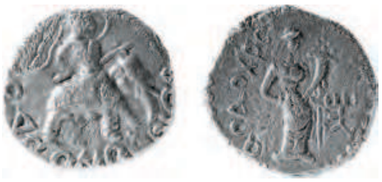
1631: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/1j)



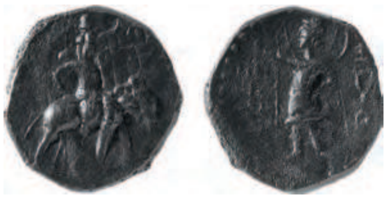
1636: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/1k)



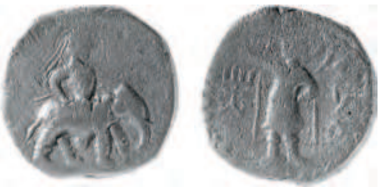
1644: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/1l)



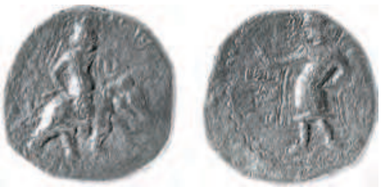
1645: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/1l)



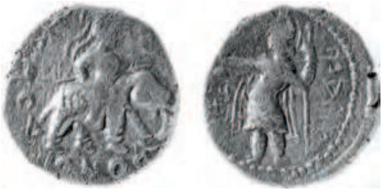
1648: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/2e)



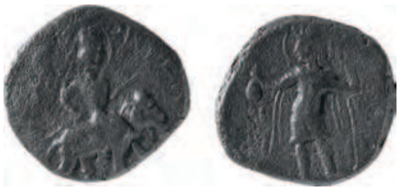
1649: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/2e)



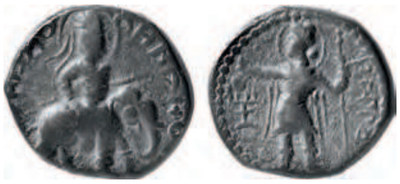
1650: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/3h)



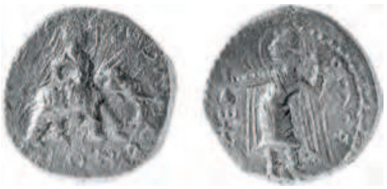
1654: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/6b)



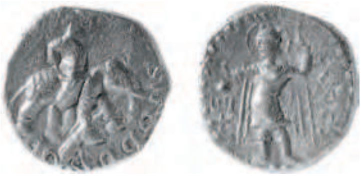
1656: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/6b)



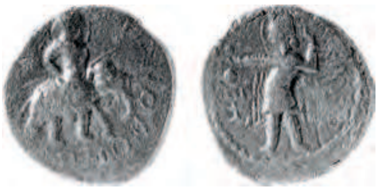
1658: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/6b)



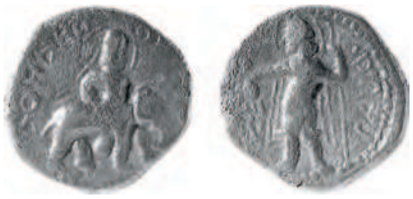
1665: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/6c)



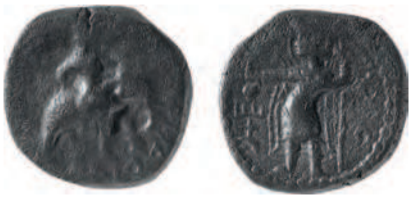
1672: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/6c)



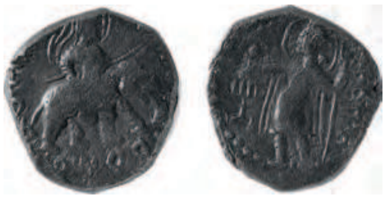
1689: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/6d)



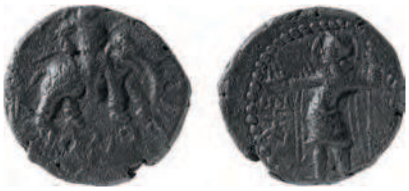
1690: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/6d)



1693: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/6e)



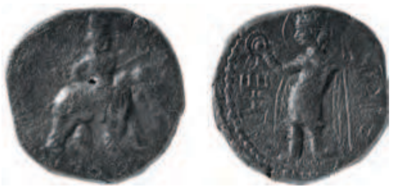
1700: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/6f)

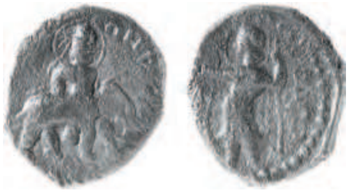


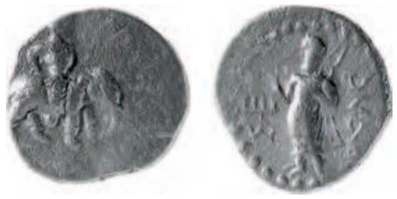
1701: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/6g)

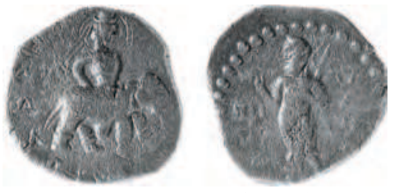
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
1601	273464	1988,0322.203	11.88	23	1C	1f
1602	273445	1988,1111.47	10.25	24	1C	1e/f
1603	273402	1988,0322.190	11.37	22	1C	1e/f
1604	273403	1988,0322.193	11.58	23	1C	1e/f
1605	273416	1988,1111.45	11.81	23	1C	1e/f
1606	273501	1988,0322.202	9.20	21	1C	1e/f
1607	273534	1988,0322.198	8.85	22	1C	1e/f
1608	273525	1988,1111.41	11.09	25	1C	1g
1609	273560	1988,0322.167	11.86	25	1C	1g
1610*	273323	1988,1111.37	8.50	25	1C	1g
1611	273419	1988,1111.40	11.74	24	1C	1g
1612	273420	1988,0322.168	11.51	25	1C	1g
1613*	273421	1988,0322.169	12.32	24	1C	1g
1614	273422	1988,1111.42	11.90	25	1C	1g
1615	273527	1988,0322.164	10.89	25	1C	1g
1616	273528	1988,0322.165	10.63	24	1C	1g
1617	273529	1988,1111.38	12.07	24	1C	1g
1618	300490	OR.8287	8.16	24	1C	1g
1619	273400	1988,1111.39	12.10	25	1C	1h
1620*	273426	1988,1111.36	11.53	25	1C	1h
1621*	273315	1988,0322.166	8.96	23	1C	1i
1622	273523	1988,0322.221	12.21	22	1C	1j
1623*	273524	1988,0322.220	11.51	25	1C	1j
1624	273559	1988,0322.217	10.41	24	1C	1j
1625	273561	1988,0322.216	11.63	25	1C	1j
1626	273465	1988,0322.225	10.94	23	1C	1j
1627	273466	1988,1111.75	10.04	23	1C	1j
1628	273467	1988,1111.74	11.33	23	1C	1j
1629	273468	1988,0322.232	11.65	24	1C	1j
1630	273469	1988,1111.62	11.66	25	1C	1j
1631*	273471	1988,1111.65	11.30	24	1C	1j
1632	273453	1988,0322.212	11.71	25	1C	1j
1633	273486	1988,1111.73	12.65	24	1C	1j
1634	273326	1988,1111.79	10.16	24	1C	1j
1635	273563	1988,0322.210	12.05	25	1C	1j
1636*	273483	1988,1111.76	11.12	25	1C	1k
1637	273497	1988,0322.223	10.89	24	1C	1k
1638	273498	1988,0322.222	11.61	24	1C	1k
1639	273519	1988,1111.67	11.32	24	1C	1l
1640	273490	1988,0322.218	11.52	23	1C	1l
1641	273491	1988,1111.66	10.87	24	1C	1l

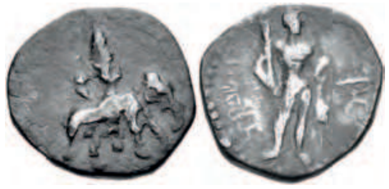
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
1642	273492	1988,0322.211	11.47	23	1C	1l
1643	273485	1988,0322.219	10.84	24	1C	1l
1644*	300488	1922,0424.3687	10.46	22	1C	1l
1645*	273488	1988,1111.81	11.66	23	1C	1l
1646	273489	1988,1111.78	11.73	24	1C	1l
1647	227684	1893,0506.16	12.12	25	1C	1l
1648*	273427	1988,0322.130	10.96	25	1C	2e
1649*	273298	1988,0322.143	12.00	24	1C	2e
1650*	273304	1988,0322.44	10.58	24	1C	3h
1651	273544	1988,0322.59	11.68	25	1C	6b
1652	273545	1988,0322.55	12.29	26	1C	6b
1653	273552	1988,1111.9	11.90	25	1C	6b
1654*	273484	1988,0322.56	11.32	25	1C	6b
1655	273516	1988,1111.14	10.75	24	1C	6b
1656 *	273412	1988,0322.77	10.46	24	1C	6b
1657	273413	1988,1111.19	10.08	23	1C	6b
1658*	300516	1893,0506.15	10.97	23	1C	6b
1659	273496	1988,0322.57	11.68	23	1C	6b
1660	273520	1988,1111.10	11.60	25	1C	6c
1661	273521	1988,0322.71	10.71	24	1C	6c
1662	273399	1988,1111.22	9.74	24	1C	6c
1663	273423	1988,1111.16	11.80	25	1C	6c
1664	273530	1988,0322.84	11.46	23	1C	6c
1665*	273532	1988,0322.79	12.18	24	1C	6c
1666	273395	1988,1111.18	11.69	23	1C	6c
1667	273396	1988,1111.23	11.87	24	1C	6c
1668	273397	1988,1111.24	11.20	24	1C	6c
1669	273398	1988,0322.82	11.13	23	1C	6c
1670	273417	1988,1111.25	10.83	24	1C	6c
1671	273424	1988,0322.65	10.25	25	1C	6c
1672*	273512	1988,1111.8	10.88	23	1C	6c
1673	273526	1988,0322.83	11.89	24	1C	6c
1674	273538	1988,1111.29	11.04	24	1C	6c
1675	273539	1988,0322.72	11.15	24	1C	6c
1676	273540	1988,0322.81	11.31	24	1C	6c
1677	273546	1988,1111.28	11.43	22	1C	6c
1678	273404	1988,1111.20	11.35	24	1C	6c
1679	273406	1988,0322.76	10.95	25	1C	6c
1680	273401	1988,0322.68	11.83	23	1C	6c
1681	273391	1988,1111.27	11.71	24	1C	6c
1682	273446	1988,0322.60	10.75	24	1C	6c

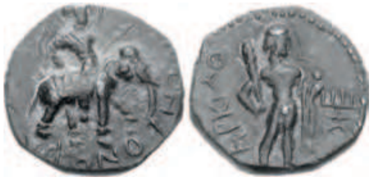

1705: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/6h)

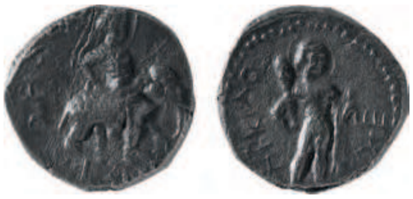

1706: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/6i)

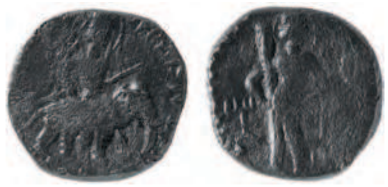

1707: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/8c)

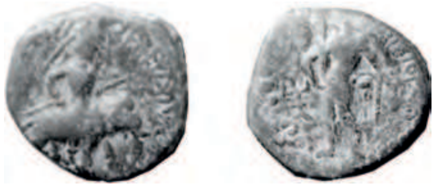

1708: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/8c)

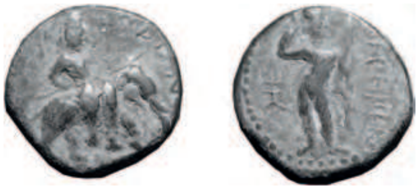

F: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/11a)

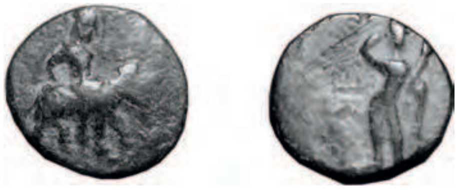

G: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/11b)

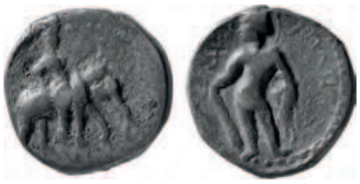

1713: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/11b)

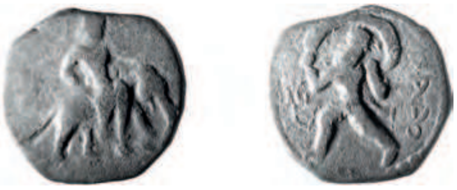

1714: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/11c)

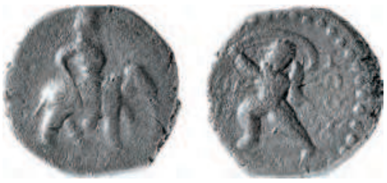

H: E.C2-ii 1u (1C/11c)

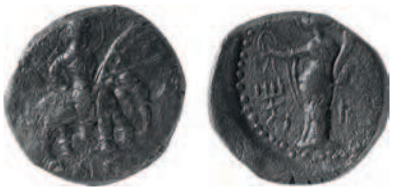

I: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/11d)

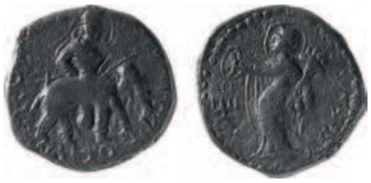

J: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/11e)

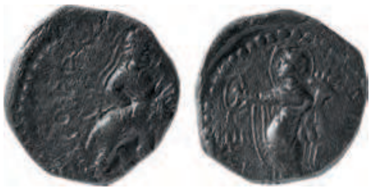

1715: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/11f)


K: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/18e)


1716: E.C2-iii 1u (1C/18f)

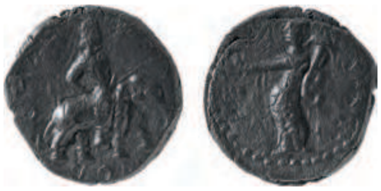

1725: E.C2-iii 1u (1D/1e)


1729: E.C2-iii 1u (1D/1e)

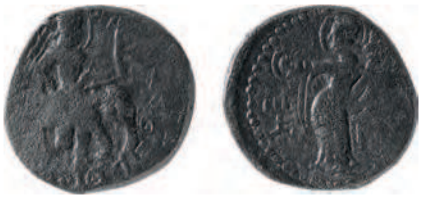

1730: E.C2-iii 1u (1D/1e)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
1683	273517	1988,0322.69	11.86	23	1C	6c
1684	273415	1988,1111.31	11.53	23	1C	6c
1685	273472	1988,0322.61	10.96	25	1C	6c
1686	273473	1988,0322.75	11.44	24	1C	6c
1687	273494	1988,0322.74	11.23	24	1C	6c
1688	273495	1988,1111.11	11.65	23	1C	6c
1689*	273522	1988,0322.78	11.59	24	1C	6d
1690*	273514	1988,0322.66	9.43	25	1C	6d
1691	273515	1988,1111.12	10.72	24	1C	6d
1692	273518	1988,1111.32	10.75	23	1C	6d
1693*	273418	1988,1111.17	11.48	25	1C	6e
1694	273531	1989,0104.40	10.75	24	1C	6b-e
1695	273385	1988,0322.80	12.05	23	1C	6b-e
1696	273500	1988,0322.67	10.10	23	1C	6b-e
1697	273533	1988,0322.64	10.12	24	1C	6b-e
1698	273405	1988,1111.13	10.79	22	1C	6b-e
1699	258719	OR.8288	11.78	25	1C	6f
1700*	273425	1988,0322.58	10.98	25	1C	6f
1701*	273394	1988,1111.3	11.22	24	1C	6g
1702	273410	1988,0322.89	9.53	23	1C	6h
1703	273558	1988,0322.51	10.91	23	1C	6h
1704	273362	1988,0322.92	11.29	23	1C	6h
1705*	273363	1988,0322.91	12.16	24	1C	6h
1706*	273513	1988,1111.30	11.85	25	1C	6i
1707*	273295	1988,0322.134	9.63	25	1C	8c
1708*	273296	1988,0322.133	12.16	24	1C	8c
F*	CNG electronic 213, Jul. 2009: 227		9.54	-	1C	11a
1709	273408	1989,0104.57	10.95	24	1C	11b
G*	CNG Mailbid 81: 719		11.82	-	1C	11b
1710	300497	1847,1201.242	9.33	24	1C	11b
1711	300496	1893,0506.23	13.24	23	1C	11b
1712	273429	1988,0322.116	11.62	24	1C	11b
1713*	273430	1989,0104.58	11.78	25	1C	11b
1714*	273414	1988,0322.118	11.58	24	1C	11c
H*	Khan 2005: 6		-	-	1C	11c
I*	Private collection B		-	-	1C	11d
J*	Private collection B		-	-	1C	11e
1715*	300495	1893,0506.22	12.26	23	1C	11f
K*	Bern (88.244); Göbl 1993a: 371		9.99	-	1C	18e
1716*	273297	1988,0322.128	10.71	23	1C	18f
1717	273409	1988,0322.132	9.27	24	1C	18f

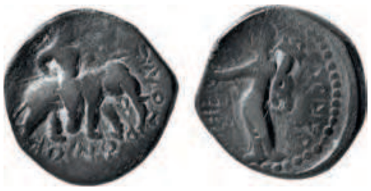
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
1718	273407	1988,0322.131	10.60	24	1C	18f
1719	273322	1989,0104.29	11.63	23	1C	18f
1720	273309	1988,0322.170	11.42	23	1D	1e
1721	273310	1988,0322.207	10.47	22	1D	1e
1722	273312	1988,0322.179	10.55	24	1D	1e
1723	273314	1988,0322.200	11.05	22	1D	1e
1724	273371	1988,0322.176	11.21	23	1D	1e
1725*	273387	1988,1111.51	10.40	24	1D	1e
1726	273388	1988,0322.185	10.25	23	1D	1e
1727	273389	1988,0322.191	12.37	23	1D	1e
1728	273390	1988,1111.48	11.30	22	1D	1e
1729*	273306	1988,0322.180	10.35	23	1D	1e
1730*	273308	1988,0322.206	10.65	24	1D	1e
1731	273441	1988,0322.174	11.80	24	1D	1e
1732	273442	1988,1111.44	11.62	23	1D	1e
1733	273443	1988,1111.50	11.32	25	1D	1e
1734	273444	1988,0322.208	11.66	25	1D	1e
1735	273357	1988,0322.196	9.40	24	1D	1e
1736	273361	1988,0322.192	11.04	22	1D	1e
1737	273369	1988,0322.178	11.62	24	1D	1e
1738	273370	1988,0322.189	11.09	24	1D	1e
1739	273537	1988,0322.199	11.12	24	1D	1e
1740	273543	1988,1111.49	10.74	24	1D	1e
1741	275565	1988,1111.46	11.40	24	1D	1e
1742	300492	1894,0506.1497	11.16	23	1D	1e
1743	273437	1988,1111.57	10.91	24	1D	1e
1744	273438	1988,0322.171	11.32	23	1D	1e
1745	273439	1988,0322.183	11.40	25	1D	1e
1746	273440	1988,1111.54	11.26	23	1D	1e
1747	273535	1988,0322.188	11.88	24	1D	1e
1748	273455	1988,0322.195	11.35	23	1D	1e
1749	273366	1988,1111.43	10.90	26	1D	1e
1750	273367	1988,1111.55	11.06	24	1D	1e
1751	273368	1988,0322.182	11.53	23	1D	1e
1752	273431	1988,1111.52	10.09	23	1D	1e
1753	273432	1988,0322.209	11.22	24	1D	1e
1754	273433	1988,1111.58	11.07	24	1D	1e
1755	273434	1988,0322.173	11.99	24	1D	1e
1756*	273435	1988,1111.59	11.12	24	1D	1e
1757	273436	1988,1111.53	10.82	25	1D	1e
1758	273372	1988,0322.172	9.91	22	1D	1f



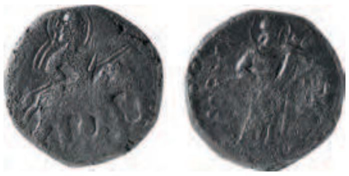
1756: E.C2-iii 1u (1D/1e)



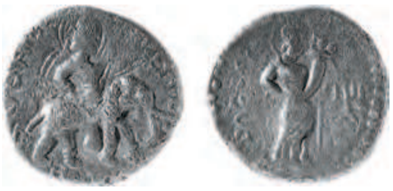
1759: E.C2-iii 1u (1D/1f)



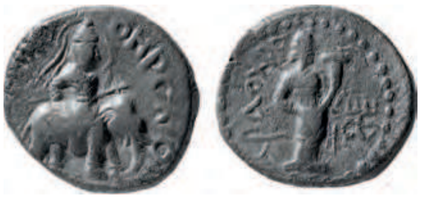
1760: E.C2-iii 1u (1D/1f)



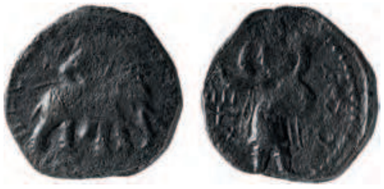
1763: E.C2-iii 1u (1D/1j)



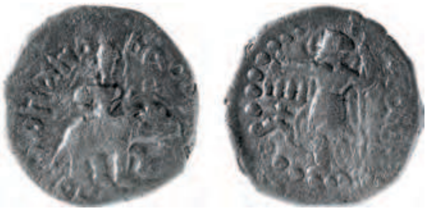
1764: E.C2-iii 1u (1D/1j)



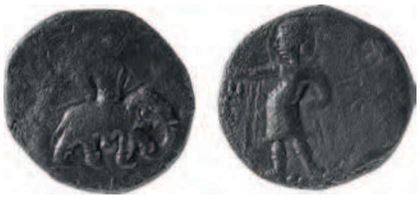
1771: E.C2-iii 1u (1D/1l)



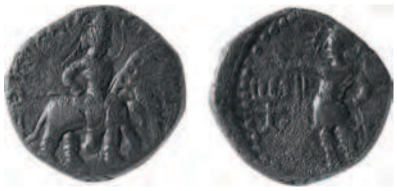
1775: E.C2-iii 1u (1D/2g)



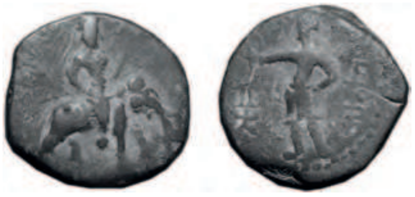
1777: E.C2-iii 1u (1D/2l)



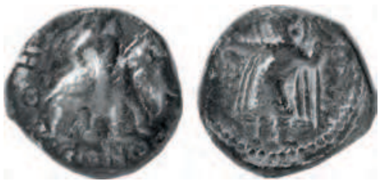
1779: E.C2-iii 1u (1D/3h)



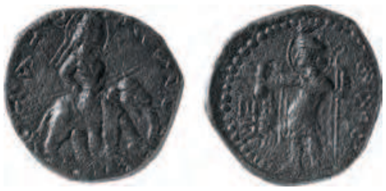
1780: E.C2-iii 1u (1D/3h)



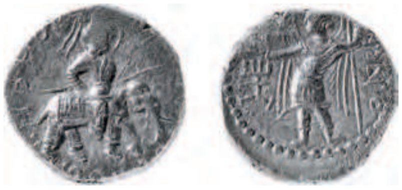
L: E.C2-iii 1u (1D/3j)



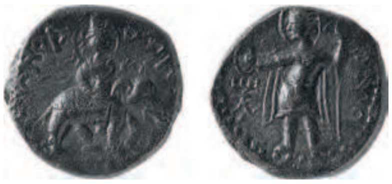
1781: E.C2-iii 1u (1D/6c)



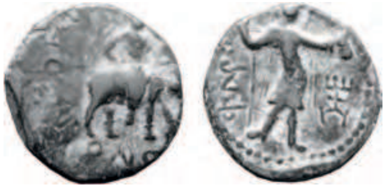
1785: E.C2-iii 1u (1D/6c)



1796: E.C2-iii 1u (1D/6g)



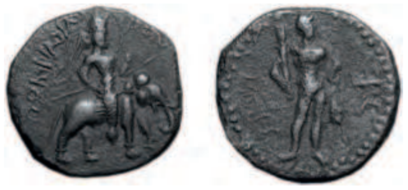
1792: E.C2-iii 1u (1D/6h)



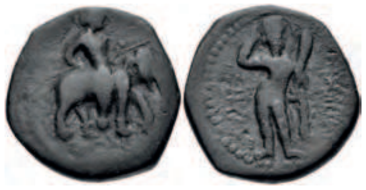
M: E.C2-iii 1u (1D/6k)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
1759*	273380	1988,0322.201	12.03	25	1D	1f
1760*	300491	IOC.346	9.33	24	1D	1f
1761	300493	1894,0506.1494	11.05	24	1D	1f
1762	273506	1988,0322.214	11.45	23	1D	1j
1763*	273511	1988,0322.227	12.22	22	1D	1j
1764*	273510	1988,0322.215	8.70	24	1D	1j
1765	273564	1988,1111.69	9.79	24	1D	1j
1766	273554	1988,1111.80	10.39	25	1D	1j
1767	273555	1988,1111.72	11.33	26	1D	1j
1768	273556	1988,0322.226	10.45	24	1D	1j
1769	273557	1988,1111.68	11.25	25	1D	1j
1770	273454	1988,1111.129	10.80	23	1D	1j
1771*	300485	1982,1117.28	11.58	25	1D	1l
1772	273493	1988,1111.61	10.92	24	1D	1l
1773	273553	1988,1111.71	10.59	24	1D	1l
1774	273360	1988,0322.146	11.96	24	1D	2g
1775*	273313	1988,0322.147	10.94	24	1D	2g
1776	273505	1989,0104.33	11.15	24	1D	2l
1777*	273286	1988,0322.149	11.57	27	1D	2l
1778	273319	1988,0322.41	11.52	24	1D	3h
1779 *	273383	1988,0322.49	13.01	25	1D	3h
1780*	273386	1989,0104.37	10.72	24	1D	3h
L*	Private collection B		-	-	1D	3j
1781*	300517	1894,0506.1501	11.32	23	1D	6b
1782*	273364	1988,1111.33	11.51	26	1D	6c
1783	273541	1988,0322.86	11.28	25	1D	6c
1784	273542	1988,0322.85	11.09	24	1D	6c
1785*	273376	1988,0322.62	11.12	24	1D	6c
1786	273377	1988,0322.70	9.15	24	1D	6c
1787	227686	1922,0424.3624	11.31	25	1D	6c
1788	273507	1988,1111.34	11.72	23	1D	6c
1789	273509	1988,0322.63	11.35	23	1D	6c
1790	273355	1988,1111.26	9.80	24	1D	6b-e
1791	273356	1988,0322.73	11.83	22	1D	6b-e
1792	273536	1988,1111.15	12.22	24	1D	6b-e
1793	273457	1988,1111.4	11.92	24	1D	6g
1794	273458	1988,1111.1	12.26	25	1D	6g
1795	273459	1988,0322.93	10.73	24	1D	6g
1796*	273460	1988,0322.94	10.93	24	1D	6g
1797	273451	1988,1111.2	11.16	23	1D	6g
1798	273503	1988,0322.90	9.08	23	1D	6h

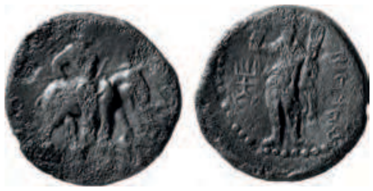
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
1799*	273449	1988,0322.88	12.03	23	1D	6h
1800	273450	1988,1111.7	11.30	23	1D	6h
1801	273508	1988,1111.5	12.42	24	1D	6h
1802	273504	1988,0322.87	11.58	23	1D	6j
M*	Cambridge		9.79	-	1D	6k
N*	Private collection B		-	-	1D	11a
1803	300498	1922,0424.3618	10.55	24	1D	11a
1804	273321	1988,0322.117	10.59	25	1D	11a
O*	CNG electronic 225, Jan. 2010: 226		11.62	-	1D	11d
1805*	300500	1885,0403.5	9.89	24	1D	11d
1806	273365	1988,0322.124	11.56	24	1D	11d
1807*	273317	1989,0104.55	11.13	24	1D	11e
1808	273318	1989,0104.54	11.90	24	1D	11e
1809	273316	1989,0104.56	11.67	24	1D	11e
1810*	300499	1893,0506.24	11.03	25	1D	11e
1811	273456	1988,0322.123	10.71	25	1D	11f
1812	273461	1988,0322.122	11.01	24	1D	11f
P*	Bern (88.229); Göbl 1984: 360		11.35	24	1D	11f
1813	273373	1988,0322.119	9.89	22	1D	11g
1814*	273374	1988,0322.120	11.09	23	1D	11g
Q*	Seen by authors		-	-	1D	11g
1815	273381	1988,0322.121	11.32	23	1D	11g
1816	273382	1989,0104.59	10.09	24	1D	11g
1817*	300494	1894,0506.1475	11.79	24	1D	11h
1818*	273358	1988,0322.126	10.60	23	1D	11i
1819	273359	1988,0322.125	10.56	24	1D	11i
1820*	273311	1988,0322.127	10.96	25	1D	18e
1821	300515	1893,0506.11	10.47	24	1D	18e
1822	273375	1989,0104.72	11.91	24	1D	18e
1823*	273320	1988,0322.129	11.14	23	1D	18f
1824	273228	1988,0322.40	11.70	25	2A	1e
1825	273229	1988,0322.39	10.61	24	2A	1e
1826*	273230	1988,0322.38	11.42	23	2A	1e
1827	273231	1989,0104.5	10.32	23	2A	1e
1828	273232	1989,0104.7	9.89	23	2A	1e
1829*	300526	1893,0506.5	9.33	23	2A	2d
R*	Private collection B		-	-	2A	2g
1830	273217	1988,0322.30	11.88	26	2A	2g
1831*	300525	1956,0409.174	9.91	23	2A	2h
1832*	273233	1988,0322.26	10.92	24	2A	2h
S*	CNG electronic 203, Jan 2009: 242		11.66	-	2A	3f



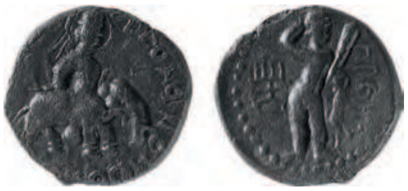
N: E.C2-iii 1u (1D/11a)



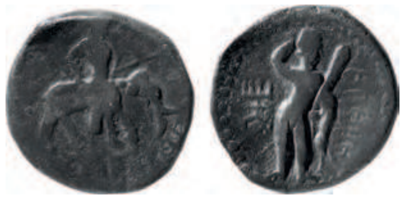
O: E.C2-iii 1u (1D/11d)



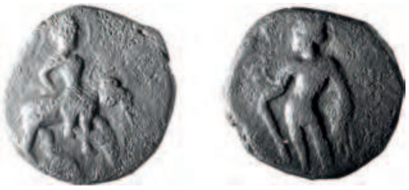
1805: E.C2-iii 1u (1D/11d)



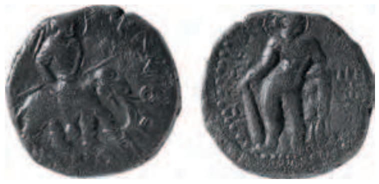
1807: E.C2-iii 1u (1D/11e)



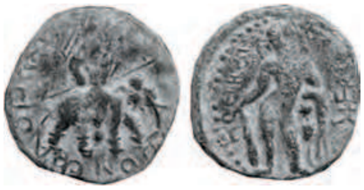
1810: E.C2-iii 1u (1D/11e)



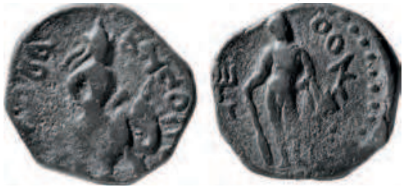
P: E.C2-iii 1u (1D/11f)



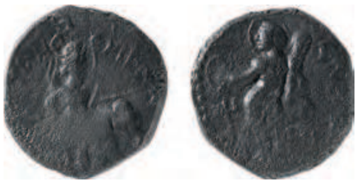
1814: E.C2-iii 1u (1D/11g)

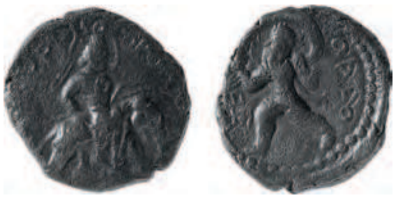


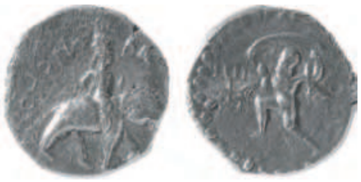
Q: E.C2-iii 1u (1D/11g)

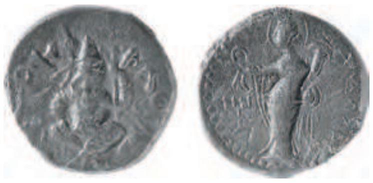


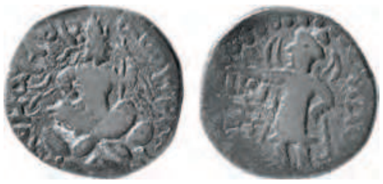
1817: E.C2-iii 1u (1D/11h)

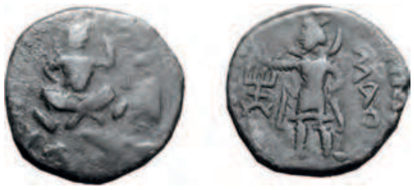

1818: E.C2-iii 1u (1D/11i)

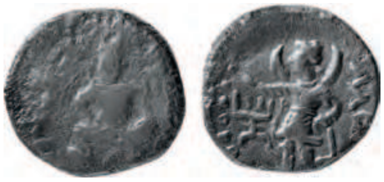

1820: E.C2-iii 1u (1D/18e)

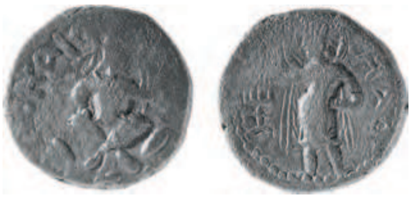

1823: E.C2-iii 1u (1D/18f)

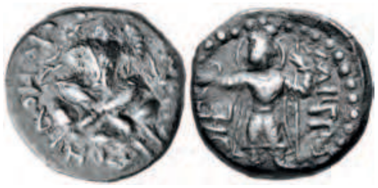

1826: E.C2-iii 1u (2A/1e)


1829: E.C2-iii 1u (2A/2d)


R: E.C2-iii 1u (2A/2g)

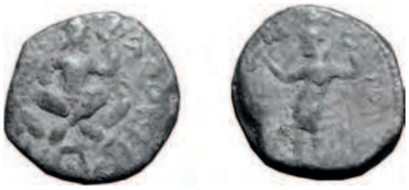

1831: E.C2-iii 1u (2A/2h)

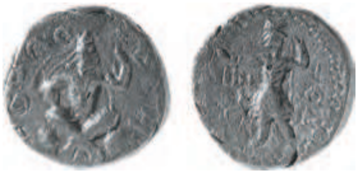

1832: E.C2-iii 1u (2A/2h)

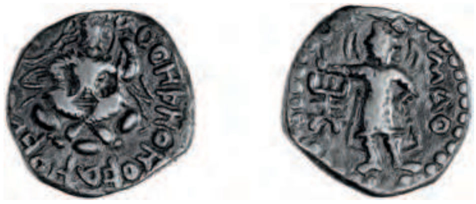

S: E.C2-iii 1u (2A/3f)

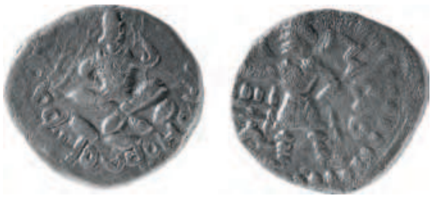
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
T*	Private collection B		-	-	2A	6h
1833*	273227	1989,0104.18	10.00	23	2A	6l
U*	ANS (1944.100.66668)		11.17	26	2B	2d
1834	273214	1989,0104.16	11.29	24	2B	2d
1835*	273220	1988,0322.27	10.10	25	2B	2g
1836	273216	1988,0322.28	11.12	26	2B	2g
V*	Private collection B		-	-	2B	2g
1837*	273215	1988,0322.29	8.72	23	2B	2h
1838	273221	1988,0322.32	10.35	25	2B	2j
W*	Private collection P		8.00	-	2B	4i
X* †	Private collection P		7.95	24	2B	4j
† Overstruck on a Soter Megas issue (see series B)						
1839*	273203	1989,0104.17	10.47	24	2C	3f
1840*	273225	1988,0322.22	12.29	23	2C	3h
1841*	273192	1988,0322.31	7.16	23	2D	2h
1842*	300481	1894,0506.1471	7.42	22	2D	3k
Y*	Private collection B		-	-	2E	1e
1843	273206	1989,0104.6	11.31	25	2E	1e
Z*	PMC 19/194		12.96	-	2E	2d
1844*	273218	1989,0104.13	10.95	25	2E	2f
1845	273204	1989,0104.15	11.25	24	2E	2g
1846*	273205	1988,0322.25	11.33	25	2E	2g
AA*	Bern (88.262); Göbl 1993a: 350		10.51	24	2E	6b
1847	273222	1988,0322.36	12.43	25	2F	1e
1848*	273234	1988,0322.35	11.37	23	2F	1e
1849*	273223	1988,0322.34	10.98	24	2F	18e
1850*	273224	1989,0104.19	11.69	24	2F	18e
AB*	Private collection B		-	-	2G	2g
1851*	300522	1981,0322.25	12.74	24	2H	11h
1852*	300524	1894,0506.1462	10.34	24	2I	2f
1853	273219	1989,0104.14	11.23	26	2I	2f
AC*	Paris; Göbl 1984: 884/1		10.75	-	2I	4g
AD*	Private collection B		-	-	2I	5n
AE*	In trade 2012		11.7	27	2I	5n
AF*	Private collection B		10.85	-	2I	6c
AG*	In trade 2010		-	-	2I	6f
AH*	272764	IOLC.3297	10.22	25	2I	6m
1854	273209	1989,0104.11	12.8	24	2J	1e
1855	273210	1989,0104.9	12.00	25	2J	1e
1856*	273211	1989,0104.10	11.71	25	2J	1e
1857	273212	1989,0104.8	12.52	24	2J	1e
1858	273213	1988,0322.37	11.17	23	2J	1e

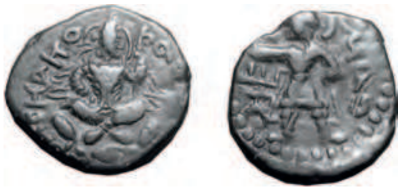
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
1859*	273207	1989,0104.12	12.58	25	2J	2e
AI*	Private collection B		-	-	2J	2i
1860*	300523	1981,0324.4	10.30	23	2J	2m
1861*	273226	1988,1111.6	11.9	24	2J	6h
AJ*	Private collection B		-	-	2J	8c
AK*	Bern (88.259); Göbl 1993a: 365		11.89	25	2J	11b
1862*	273208	1988,0322.33	10.96	25	2J	11b
AL*	CNG electronic 224, Dec. 2009: 301		11.75	-	2J	18f
AM*	CNG mailbid 61, Sep. 2002: 993		8.84	-	2K	11j
1863*	273193	1988,0322.15	9.44	24	3A	2e
1864	273194	1988,0322.14	11.53	23	3A	2e
AN*	Private collection B		-	-	3A	2g
1865*	300518	1922,0424.3685	10.99	24	3A	2i
AO*	Khan 2005: no. 11		-	-	3B	2e
AP*	Private collection B		-	-	3B	2g
1866*	300519	1894,0506.1509	11.41	24	3B	2g
AQ*	Private collection B		-	-	3B	2h
1867*	300520	1850,0305.277	11.21	26	3B	3f
1868	273198	1988,0322.13	10.19	25	3B	3f
1869*	273199	1988,0322.12	11.41	24	3B	3f
AR*	Private collection B		-	-	3B	3i
AS*	Khan 2005: no 12		-	-	3B	11k
AT*	Bern (88.279); Göbl 1993a: 338		11.45	25	3B	18f
1870	273201	1988,0322.20	10.05	24	3B	18f
1871*	273197	1988,0322.8	11.82	25	3C	2n
1872	273195	1988,0322.9	11.69	25	3C	2n
AU*	Private collection M		-	-	3C	3i
1873	273202	1988,0322.21	11.20	24	3C	3i
1874*	300521	1881,0707.5	11.71	25	3C	5o
1875	273196	1988,0322.19	12.00	25	3C	5o
AV*	ANS (1944.100.66705)		10.80	24	3C	11l
AW*	Private collection B		-	-	3D	4g
AX*	Göbl 1984: 846/1		-	27	3E	4i

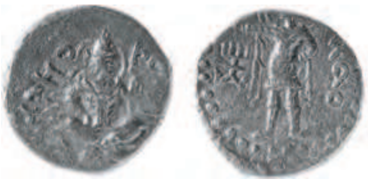

T: E.C2-iii 1u (2A/6h)

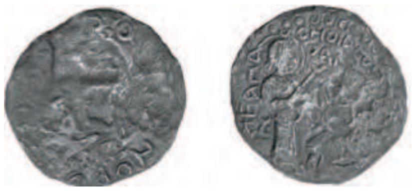

1833: E.C2-iii 1u (2A/6l)

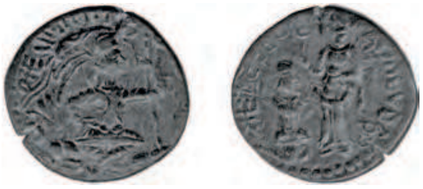

U: E.C2-iii 1u (2B/2d)

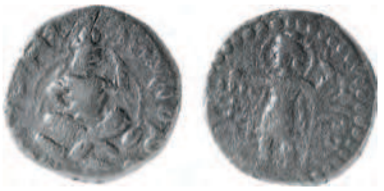

1835: E.C2-iii 1u (2B/2g)

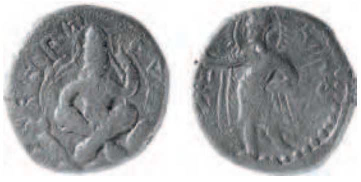

V: E.C2-iii 1u (2B/2g)


1837: E.C2-iii 1u (2B/2h)

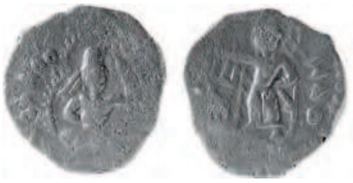

W: E.C2-iii 1u (2B/4j)


X: E.C2-iii 1u (2B/4j)

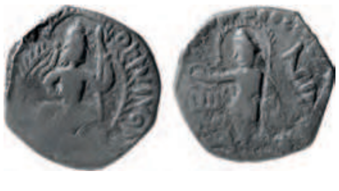

1839: E.C2-iii 1u (2C/3f)



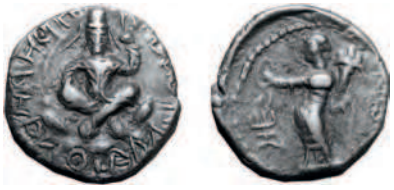
1840: E.C2-iii 1u (2C/3h)



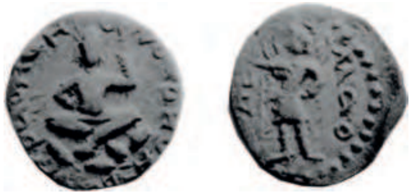
1841: E.C2-iii 1u (2D/2h)



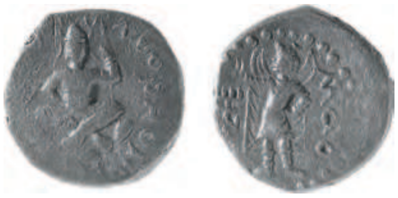
1842: E.C2-iii 1u (2D/3k)



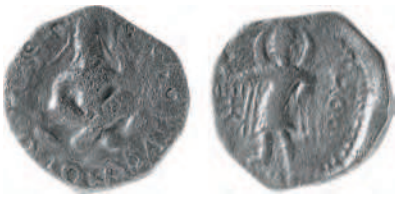
Y: E.C2-iii 1u (2E/1e)



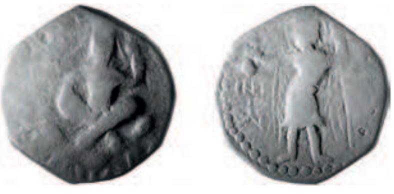
Z: E.C2-iii 1u (2E/2d)



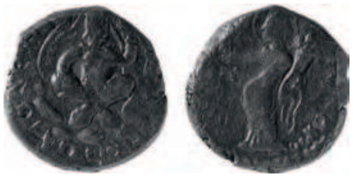
1844: E.C2-iii 1u (2E/2f)



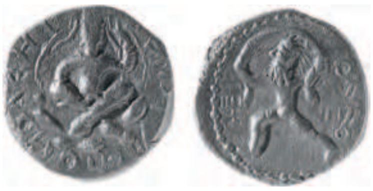
1846: E.C2-iii 1u (2E/2g)



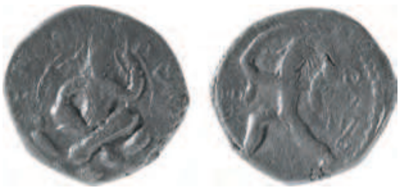
AA: E.C2-iii 1u (2E/6b)



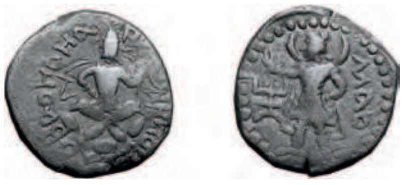
1848: E.C2-iii 1u (2F/1e)



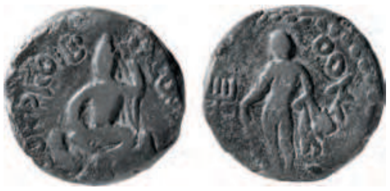
1849: E.C2-iii 1u (2F/18e)



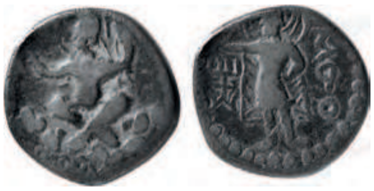
1850: E.C2-iii 1u (2F/18e)



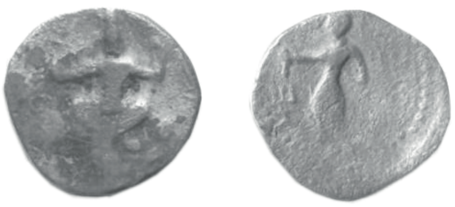
AB: E.C2-iii 1u (2G/2g)



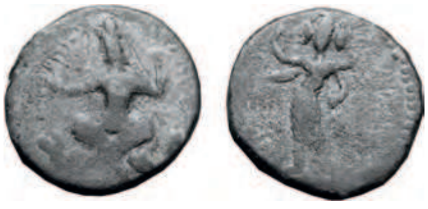
1851: E.C2-iii 1u (2H/11h)



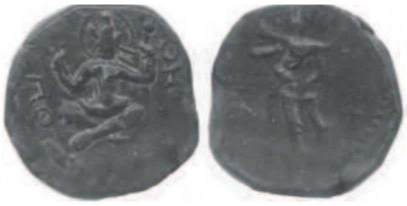
1852: E.C2-iii 1u (2I/2f)

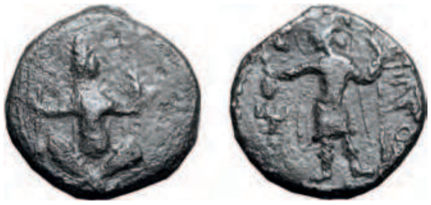


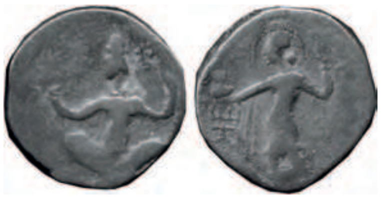
AC: E.C2-iii 1u (2I/4g)

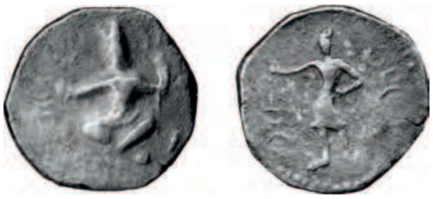


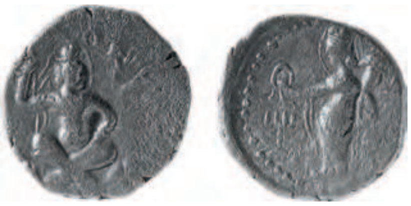
AD: E.C2-iii 1u (2I/5n)

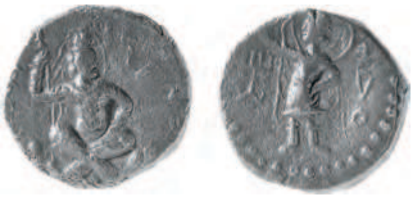

AE: E.C2-iii 1u (2I/5n)

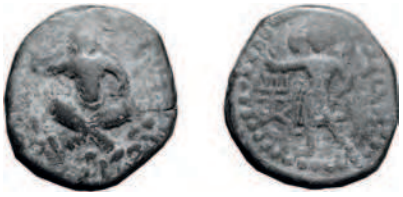

AF: E.C2-iii 1u (2I/6c)

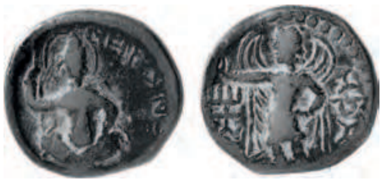

AG: E.C2-iii 1u (2I/6f)

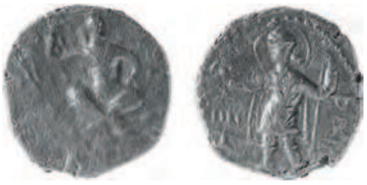

AH: E.C2-iii 1u (2I/6m)

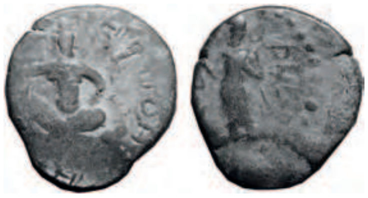

1856: E.C2-iii 1u (2J/1e)

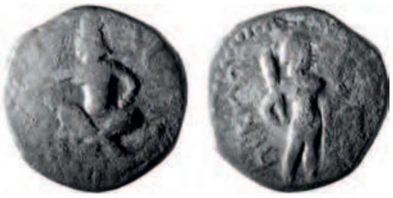

1859: E.C2-iii 1u (2J/2e)

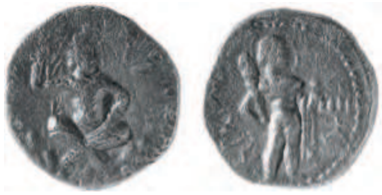

AI: E.C2-iii 1u (2J/2i)

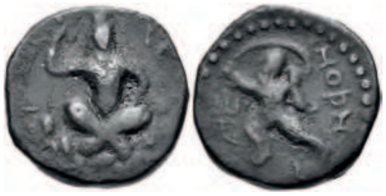

1860: E.C2-iii 1u (2J/2m)

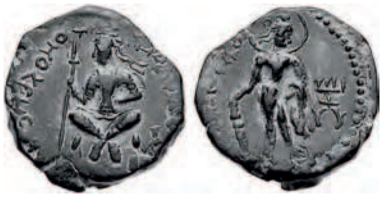

1861: E.C2-iii 1u (2J/6h)

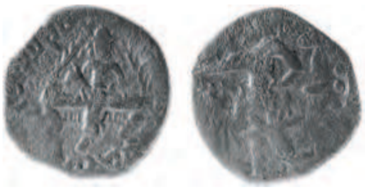

AJ: E.C2-iii 1u (2J/8c)

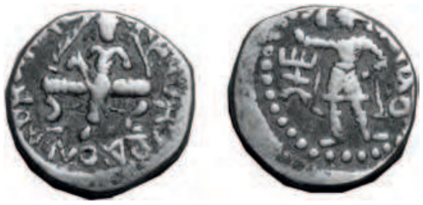

AK: E.C2-iii 1u (2J/11b)

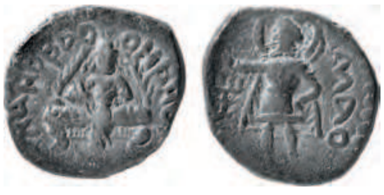

1862: E.C2-iii 1u (2J/11b)

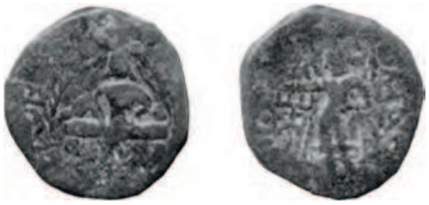

AL: E.C2-iii 1u (2J/18f)

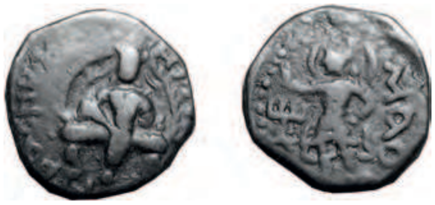

AM: E.C2-iii 1u (2K/11j)

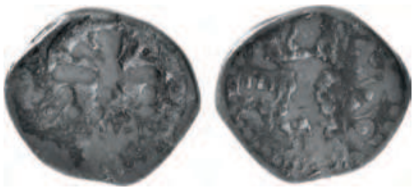

1863: E.C2-iii 1u (3A/2e)

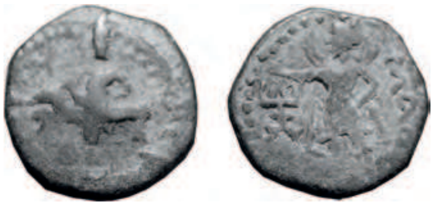

AN: E.C2-iii 1u (3A/2g)

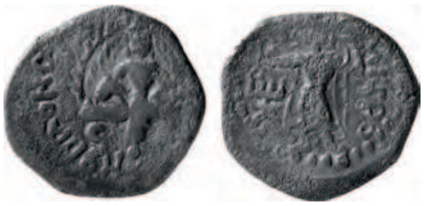

1865: E.C2-iii 1u (3A/2i)

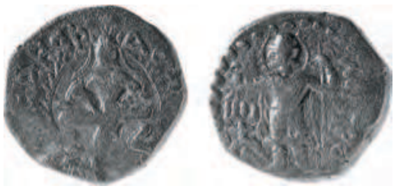

AO: E.C2-iii 1u (3B/2e)

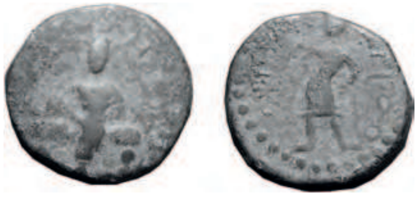

AP: E.C2-iii 1u (3B/2g)

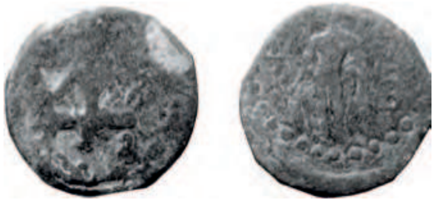

1866: E.C2-iii 1u (3B/2g)

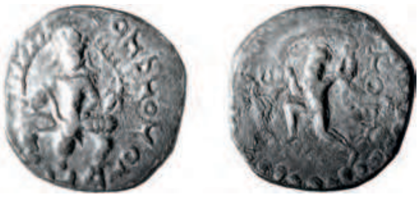

AQ: E.C2-iii 1u (3B/2h)

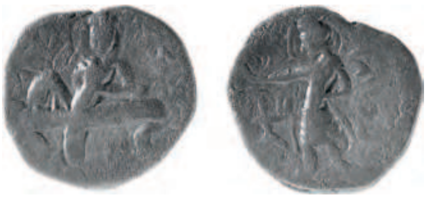

1867: E.C2-iii 1u (3B/3f)

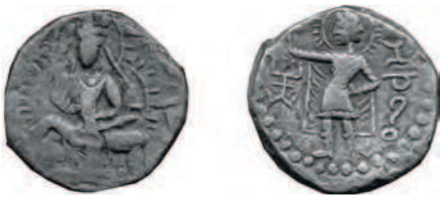

1869: E.C2-iii 1u (3B/3f)

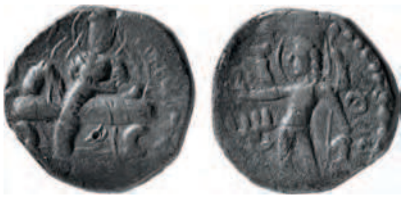

AR: E.C2-iii 1u (3B/3i)

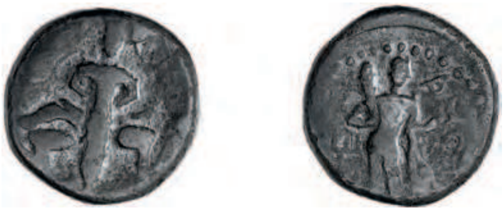

AS: E.C2-iii 1u (3B/11k)

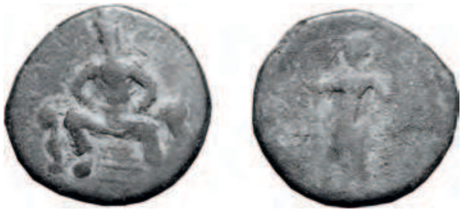

AT: E.C2-iii 1u (3B/18f)

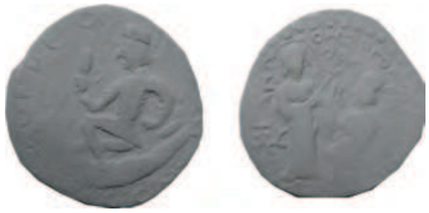

1871: E.C2-iii 1u (3C/2n)


AU: E.C2-iii 1u (3C/3i)


1874: E.C2-iii 1u (3C/5o)


AV: E.C2-iii 1u (3C/11l)


AW: E.C2-iii 1u (3D/4g)


AX: E.C2-iii 1u (3E/4i)

130 E.C2-iv 1u Subsidiary copper mint phase 4 units

Göbl 1984: 876

Huvishka (E), subsidiary copper mint (C1), Gandhara, fourth phase (iv), reduced standard four drachms, unit denomination (1u), weighing *c.* 11.5g, inscribed ΑΡΟΟΧÞ.

Obverse: King, full figure, riding elephant walking to right, facing right, head surrounded by halo, wearing crown (unclear details), diadem with two ribbons, overcoat, knee-length tunic and leggings (details unclear); elephant with tusks, trunk down and end curled up and wearing ornamented cloth over back. Inscription in blundered Bactrian (clockwise, mostly from 8.00): ÞΑΟΝΑΝΟ ÞΑΟ ΟΗÞΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan).

1A king holding elephant goad in right hand by hip.

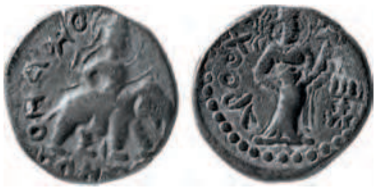
1B as 1A, but king holding staff.

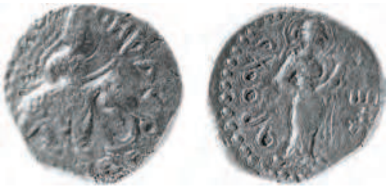
1C as 1A, but king holding spear.

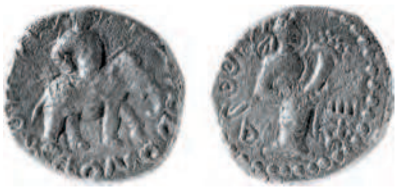
1D as 1A, but holding nothing.

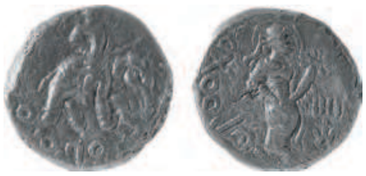
Reverse: Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, standing facing frontally, head to right, surrounded by halo, with hair dressed in bun at back, diadem with two ribbons, wearing sleeved ankle-length gown, with shawl looped over both arms and ends hanging from arms, holding cornucopia in right hand at bottom and resting stem on left arm, tamga in right field. Inscription (clockwise, in right field): ΑΡΟΟΧÞ. (1m)

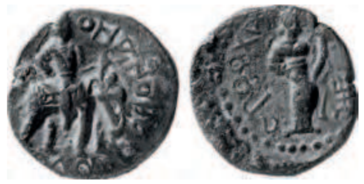
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
1876*	300483	1845,0613.78	11.51	24	1A	1m
1877*	273474	1988,0322.250	11.82	24	1A	1m
1878	273475	1988,0322.239	11.10	22	1A	1m
1879	273476	1988,0322.259	11.02	26	1A	1m
1880	273477	1988,0322.233	11.99	23	1A	1m
1881	273478	1988,0322.292	11.24	23	1A	1m
1882	273479	1988,1111.111	12.10	24	1A	1m
1883	273480	1988,0322.238	11.91	24	1A	1m
1884	273481	1988,0322.255	13.28	22	1A	1m
1885	273482	1988,1111.83	11.93	22	1A	1m
1886*	273549	1988,0322.240	11.62	24	1A	1m
1887	273550	1988,1111.87	12.56	23	1A	1m
1888	273551	1988,1111.107	11.51	24	1A	1m
1889	273499	1988,0322.224	11.97	25	1A	1m
1890	273452	1988,0322.242	11.38	25	1A	1m
1891	273470	1988,0322.234	11.66	22	1A	1m
1892	273565	1988,1111.64	12.04	24	1B	1m
1893	273567	1988,1111.130	11.19	23	1B	1m
1894	273568	1988,1111.127	12.00	23	1B	1m
1895	273569	1988,0322.285	11.40	25	1B	1m
1896	273570	1988,0322.235	11.86	23	1B	1m
1897*	273572	1988,1111.126	11.57	22	1B	1m
1898	273573	1988,0322.257	11.70	24	1B	1m
1899	273574	1988,1111.100	12.92	24	1B	1m
1900	273593	1988,0322.258	10.65	23	1B	1m
1901*	300487	1922,0424.2985	10.07	23	1B	1m

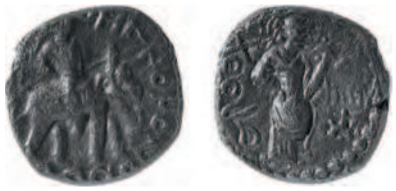

1876: E.C2-iv 1u (1A/1m)

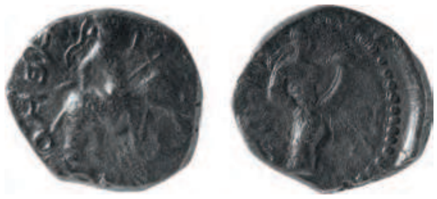

1877: E.C2-iv 1u (1A/1m)

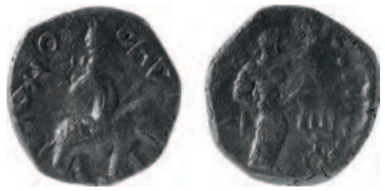

1886: E.C2-iv 1u (1A/1m)

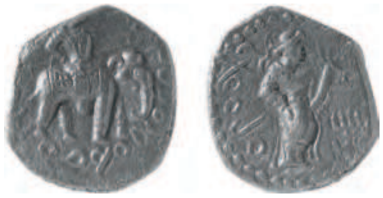

1897: E.C2-iv 1u (1B/1m)


1901: E.C2-iv 1u (1B/1m)

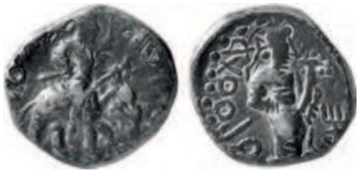

1908: E.C2-iv 1u (1B/1m)


1923: E.C2-iv 1u (1C/1m)

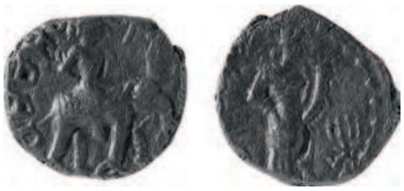

1951: E.C2-iv 1u (1C/1m)



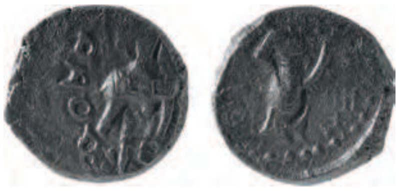
1959: E.C2-iv 1u (1C/1m)



1991: E.C2-iv 1u (1C/1m)



1993: E.C2-iv 1u (1D/1m)

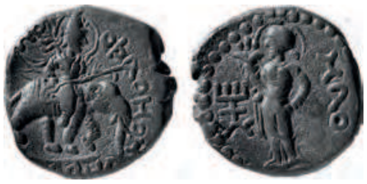


1995: E.C2-iv1u (1D/1m)

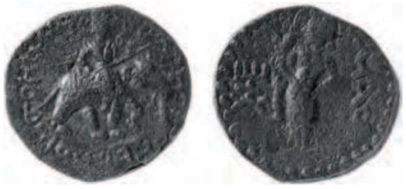
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
1902	273622	1988,0322.265	11.16	25	1B	1m
1903	273623	1988,1111.118	11.60	24	1B	1m
1904	273624	1988,1111.90	11.57	25	1B	1m
1905	273625	1988,1111.106	11.82	22	1B	1m
1906	273626	1988,0322.236	11.44	23	1B	1m
1907	273627	1988,0322.248	13.02	23	1B	1m
1908*	273628	1988,1111.88	11.35	24	1B	1m
1909	273629	1988,1111.97	12.36	23	1B	1m
1910	273642	1988,1111.113	11.45	24	1B	1m
1911	273643	1988,0322.295	11.07	22	1B	1m
1912	273644	1988,0322.228	12.86	23	1B	1m
1913	273487	1988,0322.263	11.76	23	1C	1m
1914	273547	1988,1111.86	11.41	23	1C	1m
1915	273548	1988,0322.294	11.81	23	1C	1m
1916	273575	1988,1111.84	11.28	22	1C	1m
1917	273576	1988,0322.296	12.23	22	1C	1m
1918	273577	1988,1111.91	11.65	22	1C	1m
1919	273578	1988,0322.274	11.86	22	1C	1m
1920	273603	1988,0322.251	10.79	23	1C	1m
1921	273604	1988,0322.213	11.85	24	1C	1m
1922	273605	1988,0322.293	12.54	23	1C	1m
1923*	273606	1988,0322.237	11.23	25	1C	1m
1924	273607	1988,1111.96	11.86	25	1C	1m
1925	273608	1988,0322.231	11.04	24	1C	1m
1926	273645	1988,0322.243	12.21	22	1C	1m
1927	273571	1988,0322.269	12.34	22	1C	1m
1928	273580	1988,0322.278	10.32	23	1C	1m
1929	273581	1988,1111.89	12.09	24	1C	1m
1930	273582	1988,1111.117	12.40	22	1C	1m
1931	273587	1988,0322.290	10.67	23	1C	1m
1932	273594	1988,0322.256	11.54	24	1C	1m
1933	273595	1988,0322.280	10.60	23	1C	1m
1934	273596	1988,0322.261	11.23	23	1C	1m
1935	273597	1988,1111.98	11.45	23	1C	1m
1936	273598	1988,0322.254	12.04	23	1C	1m
1937	273599	1988,1111.119	11.87	22	1C	1m
1938	273600	1988,1111.109	11.39	25	1C	1m
1939	273601	1988,0322.281	12.14	24	1C	1m
1940	273602	1988,0322.277	12.66	23	1C	1m
1941	273646	1988,1111.128	11.49	25	1C	1m
1942	273647	1988,1111.120	11.43	24	1C	1m

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
1943	273648	1988,1111.108	12.60	23	1C	1m
1944	273649	1988,0322.268	11.10	23	1C	1m
1945	273650	1988,1111.101	12.23	24	1C	1m
1946	273651	1988,0322.271	11.43	24	1C	1m
1947	273615	1988,1111.77	12.46	23	1C	1m
1948	273616	1988,1111.112	11.05	25	1C	1m
1949	273617	1988,0322.241	11.17	25	1C	1m
1950	273618	1988,0322.245	10.46	23	1C	1m
1951*	273619	1988,0322.244	11.68	24	1C	1m
1952	273620	1988,0322.230	11.80	26	1C	1m
1953	273621	1988,1111.85	11.07	24	1C	1m
1954	273609	1988,1111.110	11.18	25	1C	1m
1955	273610	1988,1111.115	11.65	24	1C	1m
1956	273611	1988,0322.291	10.26	24	1C	1m
1957	273612	1988,1111.82	11.24	24	1C	1m
1958	273613	1988,0322.260	11.67	23	1C	1m
1959*	273614	1988,1111.94	11.70	25	1C	1m
1960	273630	1988,0322.288	12.45	24	1C	1m
1961	273631	1988,0322.247	11.29	23	1C	1m
1962	273632	1988,1111.116	12.17	22	1C	1m
1963	273633	1988,0322.262	10.71	24	1C	1m
1964	273634	1988,0322.252	11.29	23	1C	1m
1965	273635	1988,1111.114	10.30	23	1C	1m
1966	273636	1988,1111.131	10.54	25	1C	1m
1967	273637	1988,1111.122	11.56	24	1C	1m
1968	273638	1988,1111.99	11.45	24	1C	1m
1969	273639	1988,1111.121	11.87	23	1C	1m
1970	273640	1988,1111.70	10.46	24	1C	1m
1971	273641	1988,1111.124	11.20	22	1C	1m
1972	273652	1988,0322.264	11.81	23	1C	1m
1973	273653	1988,1111.123	11.70	24	1C	1m
1974	273654	1988,1111.93	12.20	23	1C	1m
1975	273655	1988,1111.92	12.44	25	1C	1m
1976	273656	1988,0322.246	11.10	24	1C	1m
1977	273657	1988,0322.266	11.39	23	1C	1m
1978	273658	1988,0322.270	11.95	23	1C	1m
1979	273659	1988,0322.275	10.90	22	1C	1m
1980	273660	1988,0322.283	10.97	22	1C	1m
1981	273661	1988,1111.95	12.74	22	1C	1m
1982	273662	1988,0322.279	12.17	23	1C	1m
1983	273663	1988,0322.289	10.94	23	1C	1m

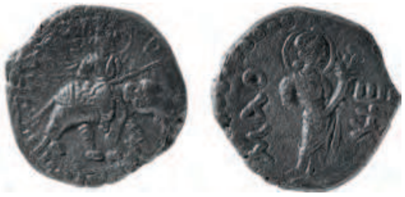
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
1984	273664	1988,1111.103	12.92	24	1C	1m
1985	273665	1988,1111.104	11.20	22	1C	1m
1986	273666	1988,1111.125	11.96	23	1C	1m
1987	273667	1988,0322.267	12.50	23	1C	1m
1988	273668	1988,0322.273	11.62	24	1C	1m
1989	273669	1988,0322.276	12.93	24	1C	1m
1990	300484	1894,0506.1430	11.15	21	1C	1m
1991*	300486	IOC.345	11.91	22	1C	1m
1992	273584	1988,1111.105	10.90	23	1D	1m
1993*	273585	1988,0322.284	11.91	24	1D	1m
1994	273586	1988,0322.163	11.61	25	1D	1m
1995*	273589	1988,0322.272	12.23	24	1D	1m
1996	273590	1988,0322.229	11.87	23	1D	1m
1997	273591	1988,0322.249	11.22	24	1D	1m
1998	273592	1988,0322.282	11.31	24	1D	1m
1999	273579	1988,0322.286	11.94	22	1D	1m
2000	273583	1988,1111.102	10.91	22	1D	1m
2001	273588	1988,0322.253	11.22	23	?	1m
2002	273566	1988,0322.287	11.48	24	?	1m



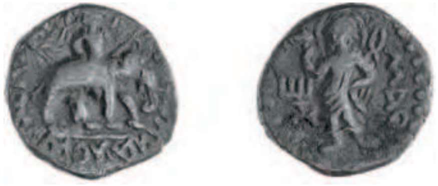
2003: E.C2-v 1u (1A/1n)



2004: E.C2-v 1u (1A/1n)



2007: E.C2-v 1u (1A/1o)



A: E.C2-v1u (1A/8d)

131 E.C2-v 1u Subsidiary copper mint phase 5 units

Göbl 1984: 867, 880–3

Huvishka (E), subsidiary copper mint (C1), fifth phase (v), reduced standard four drachms, unit denomination (1u), weighing *c.* 11.5g, inscribed MAO.

Obverse: King, full figure, riding elephant walking to right, facing right, wearing crown with v-shaped motif on front and crescent on top, with diadem, overcoat, knee-length tunic and leggings, holding elephant goad in both hands, with right hand by hip and left hand before chest; elephant with tusks, trunk down and end curled up and wearing ornamented cloth over back. Inscription in blundered Bactrian (clockwise, mostly from 8.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO [O]OHÞKO KOÞAN (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan).

1A king's head surrounded by halo, flames on left shoulder, ground line below elephant.

1B as 1A, without ground line.

1C king without halo and flames, with ground line.

1D as 1A, without halo and groundline.

1E as 1a, but elephant walking to left, king facing left, head surrounded by halo, no flames on shoulder, with left hand by hip and right hand before chest.

1F as 1E, but without groundline.

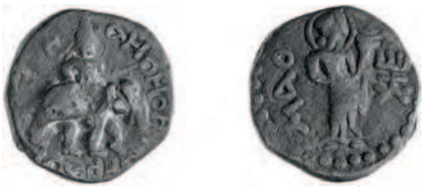
Reverse: Deity, full figure, barred tamga in field, all within dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, in field): MAO.

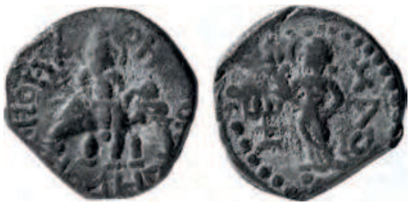
1n Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, standing facing frontally, head to left, surrounded by halo, with polos headdress, with hair dressed in bun at back, earring, wearing sleeved ankle-length gown, with shawl looped over both arms and end hanging from left arm, holding cornucopia in left hand by hip and resting stem in right arm, tamga in left field. Inscription (in right field): MAO.

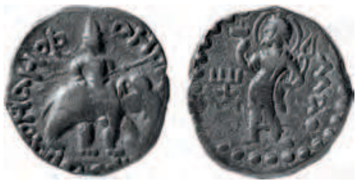
1o Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, as 1n, but head to right, holding cornucopia in right hand by hip and resting stem in left arm, tamga in right field; inscription (in left field).

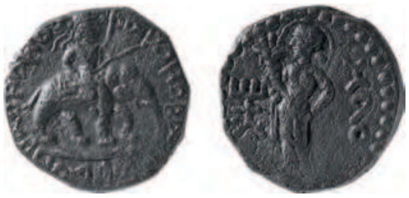
8d Athsho, fire god, standing facing front, head to left, surrounded by halo, polos headdress on head, bearded, wearing knee-length tunic, with scarf hanging from left arm, holding tongs in left hand over shoulder and hammer in raised right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription (in right field): MAO.

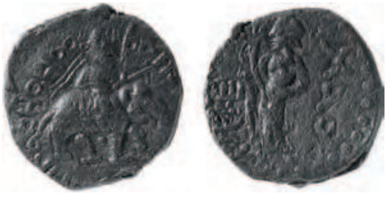
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
2003*	300502	1894,0506.1499	11.40	24	1A	1n
2004*	273343	1988,0322.161	11.00	24	1A	1n
2005	273333	1989,0104.44	11.52	24	1A	1n
2006	273334	1989,0104.52	11.98	24	1A	1n
2007*	273342	1988,0322.155	12.44	25	1A	1o
A*	ANS (1924.176.31)		11.11	24	1A	8d
2008	273344	1988,0322.160	11.30	25	1B	1o
B*	ANS (1944.100.66698)		12.45	25	1B	1o
2009	273351	1989,0104.50	12.12	24	1B	1n
2010	273352	1988,0322.151	12.18	24	1B	1n
2011*	300503	1845,0613.79	12.55	26	1B	1n
2012	273341	1989,0104.42	11.38	23	1B	1n
2013*	300512	1893,0506.8	11.66	23	1B	8d
2014*	273347	1989,0104.47	11.67	25	1C	1n
2015	300505	OR.336	9.95	23	1C	1n
2016	273346	1988,0322.153	11.75	23	1C	1n
2017*	273335	1989,0104.49	11.27	25	1C	1n
2018	273336	1989,0104.48	10.66	23	1C	1n
2019	273338	1989,0104.46	10.78	25	1C	1n
2020*	300489	1894,0506.1495	11.65	24	1C	1o
2021*	273337	1988,0322.158	13.30	27	1C	1o
2022	273345	1988,0322.162	11.41	23	1C	1o
2023	273349	1988,0322.159	12.23	24	1C	1o
2024*	300506	1922,0424.3686	10.48	24	1D	1n
2025	300510	1894,0506.1498	11.38	23	1D	1n
2026	273353	1988,0322.152	11.80	24	1D	1n
2027	300504	1922,0424.3619	11.98	24	1D	1n
2028	273332	1988,0322.150	12.68	24	1D	1n
2029	273331	1988,0322.156	11.16	23	1D	1n
2030	273348	1989,0104.53	11.57	23	1D	1n
2031	273354	1988,0322.157	10.26	25	1D	1n
2032	273350	1989,0104.51	11.58	24	1D	1n
2033	273330	1988,0322.154	11.72	24	1D	1n
2034*	300508	1893,0506.9	12.13	25	1E	1n
2035	300509	1922,0424.3621	11.59	22	1E	1n
2036	273340	1989,0104.45	11.92	25	1E	1n
2037*	300507	1922,0424.3589	11.93	23	1E	1n

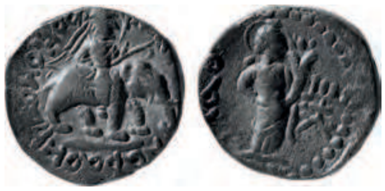

B: E.C2-v 1u (1B/1o)

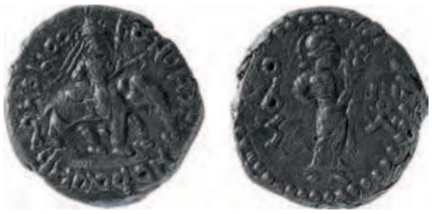

2011: E.C2-v 1u (1B/1n)

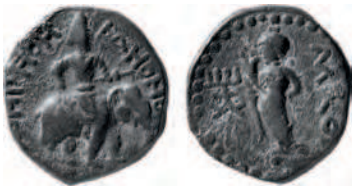

2013: E.C2-v 1u (1B/8d)


2014: E.C2-v 1u (1C/1n)

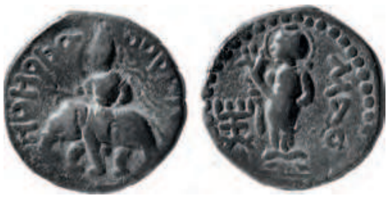

2017: E.C2-v 1u (1C/1n)

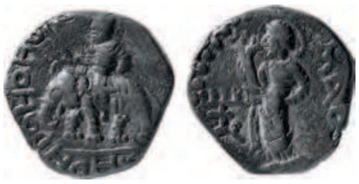

2020: E.C2-v 1u (1C/1o)

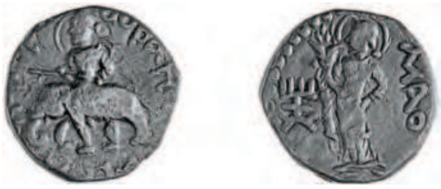

2021: E.C2-v 1u (1C/1o)

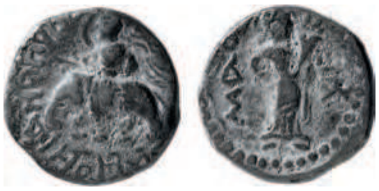

2024: E.C2-v 1u (1D/1n)

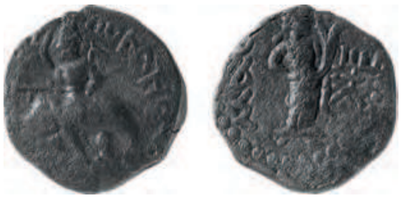
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
2038*	300511	OR.337	11.34	24	1E	1o
C*	ANS (1944.100.66703)		11.40	24	1F	1n
2039*	273339	1989,0104.43	12.13	25	1F	1o


2034: E.C2-v 1u (1E/1n)


2037: E.C2-v 1u (1E/1n)


C: E.C2-v 1u (1F/1n)


2038: E.C2-v 1u (1E/1o)


2039: E.C2-v 1u (1F/1o)

Local copper mint, Kashmir (E.C3)

This mint seems to have only operated at the beginning of Huvishka's reign, continuing the production of Kanishka I's local mint in the same region during a single phase. Like Kanishka's issues from this mint, the production was distinguished by the placing of a Kharoshthi control mark on the coin's obverse. The unbarred tamga of the main copper mint was used on this mint's coins. Coins of this mint are only found south of the Hindu Kush and not in India.

Phase 1 production was of drachms on the Attic standard, at the slightly reduced standard *c.* 4g, all retaining the type of king sacrificing at altar, as used on Kanishka I's coins. This mint only used three reverses: Mao (2), Nana (4) and Oesho (5).

132 E.C3-i ¼u Kashmir copper mint, phase 1, drachms (quarter units)

Göbl 1984: 802, 806, 813

Huvishka (E), local copper mint (C1), first phase (i), Attic standard drachm, quarter unit denomination (**¼u**), weighing *c.* 4g, with Kharoshthi control mark. Of the examples attributed to Kanishka by Göbl 802.3, .7, .9, .43, .46 and 806.8 are in fact Huvishka issues.

Obverse: King, full figure, standing facing front head to left, with moustache and sideburns, round headdress, diadem with two ribbons, wearing knee-length tunic held by belt, and leggings, sword projecting from left hip, holding spear in raised left hand and making offering with extended right hand over small altar. Dotted border in gap in inscription below king's feet. Inscription in Bactrian (anticlockwise, read from edge of coin from 10.00 to 2.00): ΟΟΗÞΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ (Huvishka Kushan). Kharoshthi control mark before king's face.

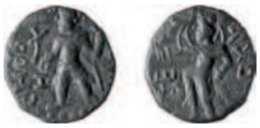
4A Kharoshthi control mark: *ca*.

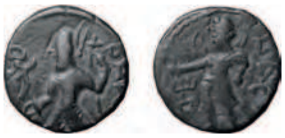
4B Kharoshthi control mark: *su*.

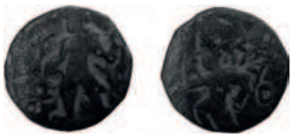
4C Kharoshthi control mark: *te*.

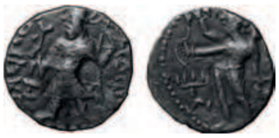
Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, within dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian (in field): name of deity.

2o Mao, moon god standing facing front, head to left and surrounded by crescent emanating from shoulders, with short hair, wearing calf-length tunic, held by belt at waist, and boots, holding sword in left hand at waist (omitted on some examples) and making gesture of blessing with index and little fingers with extended right hand, tamga in lower left field. Inscription (clockwise, in right field): MAO.


A: E.C3-i ¼u (4A/2o)


B: E.C3-i ¼u (4A/2o)


C: E.C3-i ¼u (4A/2o)


D: E.C3-i ¼u (4A/5p)

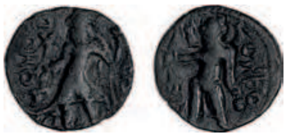
2p Mao, moon god, as 2o, but Kharoshthi control mark *te* in left field above tamga.

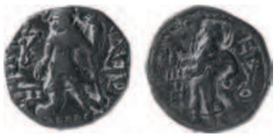
2q Mao, moon god, as 2o, but Kharoshthi control mark *su* in left field to right of tamga.

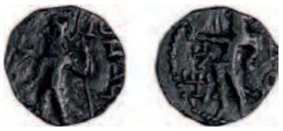
4l Nana, royal goddess standing turning to right, head to right and surrounded by halo, with hair held by diadem with two ribbons behind, roll of hair below diadem and bun behind, wearing long ankle-length dress, with scarf over left shoulder, round waist and falling from left arm, holding up wand with lion forepart at tip in right hand and flat dish (?) in left hand, tamga in right field. Inscription (clockwise, in left field): NANA.

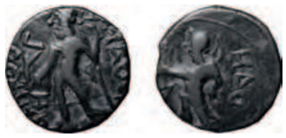
5p Oesho, mountain god with four arms, standing facing, head to left, hair not visible, wearing bracelets on arms, calf-length dhoti, holding short trident diagonally in raised left hand, water pot in lower left hand, thunderbolt in raised upper right hand and offering diadem with extended lower right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription (clockwise, in right field): OHÞO.

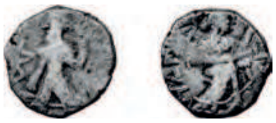
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Bern (88.137); Göbl 1993a: 137		3.80	16	4A	2o
B*	Ashmolean (ex Bodleian)		3.22	-	4A	2o
C*	Fitzwilliam		4.33	-	4A	2o
D*	Ashmolean (Senior 5260)		3.86	-	4A	5p
E*	ANS (1921.54.1220)		4.02	17	4A	5p
2040*	300873	1922,0424.3609	4.16	17	4B	2o
2041	300202	1989,0904.4017	3.45	17	4B	2o
2042	300225	1902,0608.398	4.17	17	4B	2o
F*	ANS (1944.100.63607)		3.52	16	4B	2p
G*	Ashmolean (Senior 5244)		4.84	-	4B	2p
H*	248578	IOLC.2930	4.41	15	4B	4l
I*	Private collection J		3.61	-	4B	4l
2043*	300198	1922,0213.27	3.82	17	4C	2q
J*	248515	IOLC.2867	3.98	16	4C	2q
K*	272705	IOLC.3238	4.14	17	4C	2q

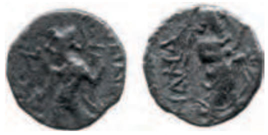

E: E.C3-i ¼u (4A/5p)

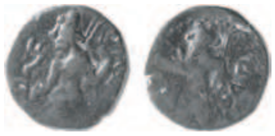

2040: E.C3-i ¼u (4B/2o)

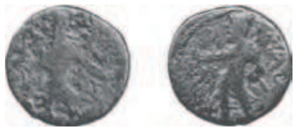

F: E.C3-i ¼u (4B/2p)

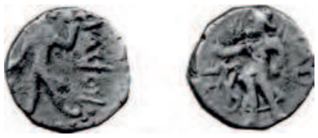

G: E.C3-i ¼u (4B/2p)


H: E.C3-i ¼u (4B/4l)


I: E.C3-i ¼u (4B/4l)


2043: E.C3-i ¼u (4C/2q)


J: E.C3-i ¼u (4C/2q)


K: E.C3-i ¼u (4C/2q)

Local copper mint, Mathura (E.C4)

This mint seems to have only operated in the latter half of Huvishka's reign. The designs were loosely based on the issues of the main (C1) and subsidiary (C2) mints. Both unbarred and barred tamgas appeared on the coins of this mint. The coins are distinguished by their lower weight standard and their style, such as the large head of the king or the absence of details for the mountain and couch which result in the appearance of the king's simply dangling in space. Both phases were struck on a low version, *c.* 8.5g, of the reduced weight standard of the later phases of the main and subsidiary mints. The coins of this mint are rarely found outside of the region of their issue.

Phase 1 production is closer in style to its main and subsidiary mint prototypes. All three obverses, 1 king on elephant, 2 king on mountain and 3 king on couch, were used, but only three reverses are recorded: Mao (2), Miiro (3) and Oesho (5).

Phase 2 production coins showed the characteristic enlarged head of king and the absence of mountain and couch below the seated king. The same obverse and reverse types as phase 1 were still used, but in addition a handful of Ardochsho (1), Pharro (6) and Athsho (8) reverses have also been recorded.

133 E.C4-i 1u Mathura copper mint, phase 1, units

Göbl 1984: 943A, 945, 982, 983

Huvishka (E), local copper mint (C1), first phase (i), reduced standard tetradrachms, unit denomination (1u), weighing *c.* 8.5g.

Obverse: King, full figure, in various representations, details of headdress and dress unclear. Inscription in blundered Bactrian: corrupt version of ÞAONANO ÞAO [O]OHÞKO KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan).

1A King, riding elephant walking to right, facing right, holding elephant goad with right hand by hip and left hand before chest; elephant trunk down and end curled up.

2A King, seated cross-legged on mountain top, facing front, head to right, whole body surrounded by rayed halo, holding staff in raised left hand and resting right hand at waist; mountain represented as rocks below each knees and feet.

2B as 2A, but no halo.

2C as 2A, king's head to left, king's head and body surrounded by two-part rayed halo, linked arcs, holding staff in raised right hand and resting left hand at waist.

3A King, seated on couch, resting left elbow on pillow and with right leg raised with foot on end of couch, left foot on floor, facing front, head to left, body surrounded by rayed halo, wearing unclear headdress, overcoat, knee-length tunic and leggings, holding cup before chest with both hands; couch, covered with cloth, with curved lion legs.

3B as 3A, but king sitting with both feet on ground, facing right.

Reverse: Deity, full figure, unbarred or barred tamga in field, all within dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian (in field).

2r Mao, moon god, standing facing front, head to left and surrounded by crescent emanating from shoulders, with short hair, wearing calf-length tunic, held by belt at waist, and boots, with cloak over both shoulders, holding sword hilt in left hand at waist and offering diadem with extended right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription (clockwise, in right field): MAO.

2s Mao, moon god, as 2r, but blundered inscription.

2t Mao, moon god, as 2r, but making gesture of blessing with extended right hand.

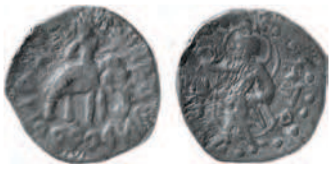
3k Miiro, sun god, standing facing front, head to left and surrounded by rayed halo, with short hair, wearing calf-length tunic, held by belt at waist, and boots, with cloak over both shoulders, held by clasp on chest, holding sword hilt in left hand at waist and offering diadem with extended right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription (clockwise, in right field): MIIPO.

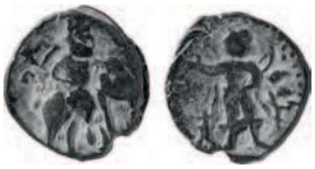
5q Oesho, mountain god with four arms, standing facing front, head to left (with undefined details), wearing calf-length dhoti, holding trident diagonally in raised upper left hand, water pot in lower left hand, holding thunderbolt in raised upper right hand and offering diadem in extended lower right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription (clockwise, in right field): OHÞO.

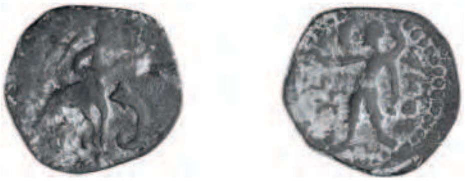
5r Oesho, mountain god, as 5q but trident held vertically and holding horned animal (goat) in lower left hand.

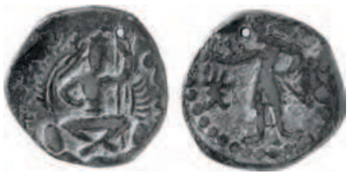
5s Oesho, mountain god, as 5q, but god's head surrounded by halo, holding trident diagonally in raised upper left hand, diadem with two ribbons in lower left hand before waist and thunderbolt in raised upper right hand and pouring from a water pot in extended lower right hand.

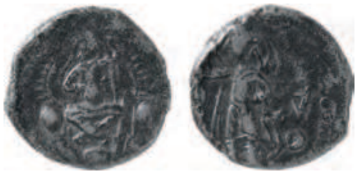
5t Oesho, mountain god, as 5r, but inscription in blundered Bactrian (clockwise, in right field): OHZA.

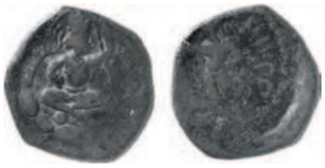

2044: E.C4-i 1u (1A/2r)

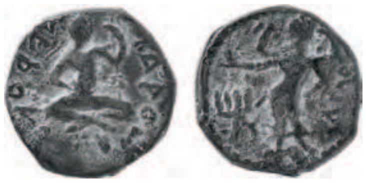

2045: E.C4-i 1u (1A/2s)

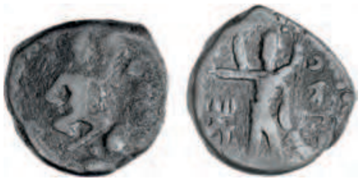

A: E.C4-i 1u (1A/5q)


2046: E.C4-i 1u (2A/2t)

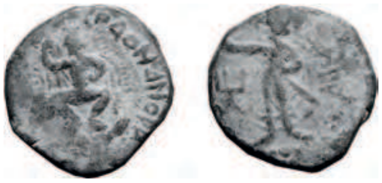

2047: E.C4-i 1u (2A/2t)

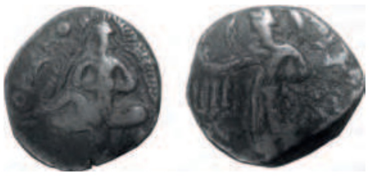

2048: E.C4-i 1u (2A/3k)

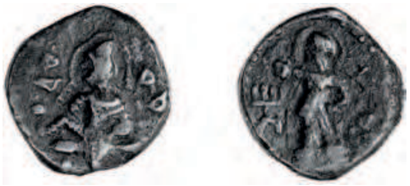

2051: E.C4-i 1u (2B/5q)

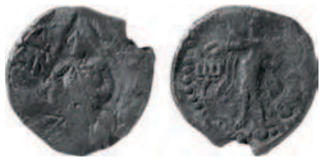

B: E.C4-i 1u (2B/5r)

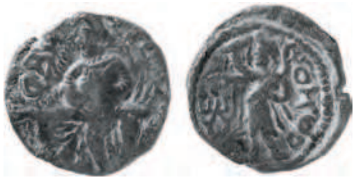
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
2044*	300584	1850,0305.265	7.25	21	1A	2r
2045*	300611	1894,0506.1480	10.66	21	1A	2s
A*	ANS (1944.100.66679)		6.47	23	1A	5q
2046*	300616	1894,0506.1470	7.78	22	2A	2t
2047*	300617	1922,0424.2988	9.81	22	2A	2t
2048*	300615	1894,0506.1469	7.87	21	2A	3k
2049	300659	OR.8306	7.19	22	2A	3k
2050	300609	1989,0904.4037	5.42	21	2A	5q
2051*	300614	1850,0305.271	7.85	23	2B	5q
2052	300650	1989,0904.4036	5.95	22	2B	5q
B*	ANS (1944.100.66678)		9.41	23	2B	5r
C*	Private collection B		-	-	2C	3k
D*	Ashmolean (Elliott 1859)		7.13	22	3A	2t
E*	ANS (1944.100.66743)		8.69	24	3A	3k
2053*	300645	1989,0904.4038	7.48	20	3A	3k
2054*	300618	1850,0305.278	8.81	23	3A	5s
F*	Ashmolean (de Shortt 1975 21)		8.79	24	3A	5t
G*	Stockholm; Göbl 1984: 982/1		9.09	-	3B	5r

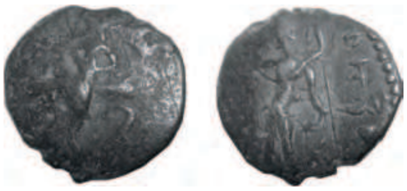

C: E.C4-i 1u (2C/3k)

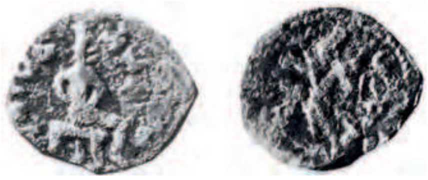

D: E.C4-i 1u (3A/2t)


E: E.C4-i 1u (3A/3k)


2053: E.C4-i 1u (3A/3k)


2054: E.C4-i 1u (3A/5s)


F: E.C4-i 1u (3A/5t)


G: E.C4-i 1u (3B/5r)

134 E.C4-ii 1u Mathura copper mint, phase 2, units

Göbl 1984: 933–44

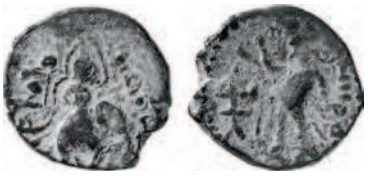
Huvishka (E), local copper mint (C1), second phase (ii), reduced standard tetradrachms, unit denomination (1u), weighing *c*. 8.5g.

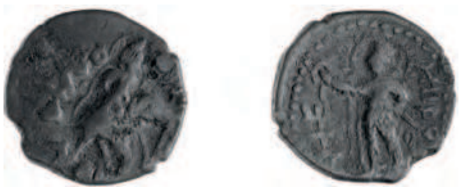
Obverse: King, full figure, in various representations, details of headdress and dress unclear. Inscription in blundered Bactrian: corrupt version of ÞAONANO ÞAO [O]OHÞKO KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan).

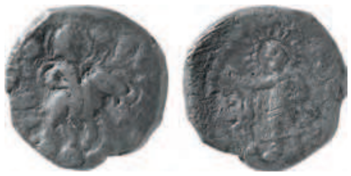
1A King, riding elephant walking to right, facing right, head surrounded by halo, holding elephant goad in right hand by hip; elephant trunk down and end curled up.

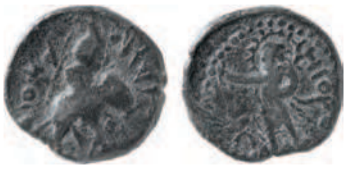
1B as 1A, but without halo.

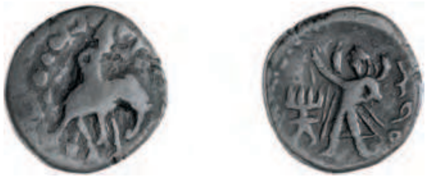
2A King, seated squatting (on mountain top), facing front, head to right, head surrounded by rayed halo, holding staff in raised left hand and holding right hand by chest.

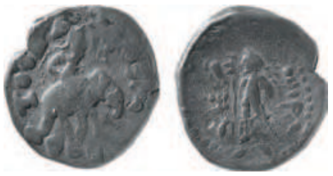

2055: E.C4-ii 1u (1A/3k)

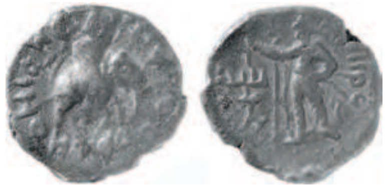

A: E.C4-ii 1u (1A/3l)

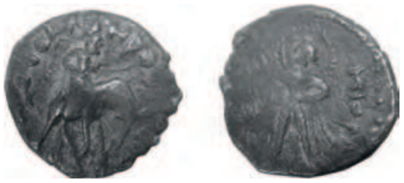

2056: E.C4-ii 1u (1A/3m)

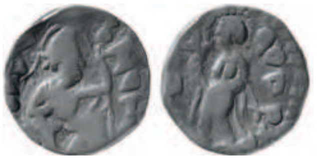

2061: E.C4-ii 1u (1A/3n)

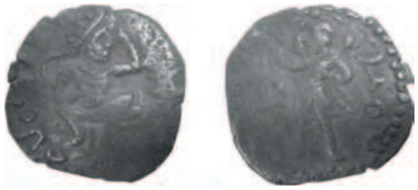

B: E.C4-ii 1u (1B/2r)

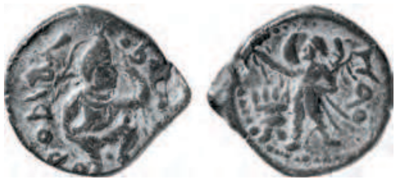

2064: E.C4-ii 1u (1B/3l)


2065: E.C4-ii 1u (1B/3l)


C: E.C4-ii 1u (1B/3n)


2067: E.C4-ii 1u (2A/1o)


D: E.C4-ii 1u (2A/2s)


2068: E.C4-ii 1u (2A/2t)

2B as 2A, but without halo.

2C as 2B, but holding trident in raised left hand.

3A King, seated on couch, resting left elbow on pillow and with right leg raised with foot on end of couch, left foot on floor, facing front, head to left, body surrounded by rayed halo, wearing unclear headdress, overcoat, knee-length tunic and leggings, holding cup before chest with both hands; couch, covered with cloth, with curved lion legs.

Reverse: Deity, full figure, unbarred or barred tamga in field, all within dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian (in field).

1o Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, standing facing frontally, head to left, surrounded by halo, sleeved ankle-length gown, with shawl looped over both arms and end hanging from left arm, holding cornucopia in left hand at bottom and supporting stem in right hand before chest, tamga in left field. Inscription in blundered Bactrian (clockwise, in right field): AΔOPX...

1p Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, as 1o, but inscription (anticlockwise): …ΔOXÞ.

2r Mao, moon god, standing facing front, head to left and surrounded by crescent emanating from shoulders, with short hair, wearing calf-length tunic, held by belt at waist, and boots, with cloak over both shoulders, holding sword in left hand at waist and offering diadem with extended right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription (clockwise, in right field): MAO.

2s Mao, moon god, as as 2r, but making gesture of blessing with extended right hand.

2t Mao, moon god, as 2r, but holding ribboned sceptre in left hand over his left shoulder.

2u Mao, moon god, as 2s, but holding ribboned sceptre in left hand over his left shoulder.

3k Miiro, sun god, standing facing front, head to left and surrounded by rayed halo, with short hair, wearing calf-length tunic, held by belt at waist, and boots, with cloak over both shoulders, held by clasp on chest, holding sword in left hand at waist and making gesture of blessing with extended right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, in right field): MIIPO.

3l Miiro, sun god, as 3k, but offering diadem with extended right hand; inscription: MI[I]PO (P sometimes reversed).

3m Miiro, sun god, as 3k, but inscription: MIOPO.

3n Miiro, sun god, as 3l, but inscription: MIOPO.

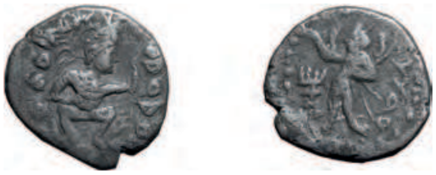
5u Oesho, mountain god with three heads and six arms, standing facing head to front and to right and left, wearing calf-length dhoti, armlets and bracelets visible on some arms, holding trident diagonally in raised middle left arm and lowest right hand, unidentified objects in highest and lowest left hands, staff (?) in raised middle right hand and thunderbolt in highest right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, in right field): OHÞO.

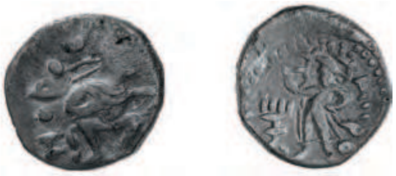
6n Pharro, god of wealth, standing facing front, head to left, with short hair held in diadem, wearing calf-length tunic, held by belt at waist, and boots holding staff in raised right hand and holding sword hilt in left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription (clockwise, in right field): ΦAPPO.

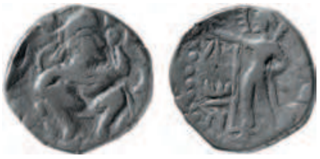
8c Athsho, fire god, standing facing front, head to left, wearing knee-length tunic, with scarf hanging from left arm, holding tongs in extended right hand before face and hammer (?) in left hand before chest, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, in right field): AΔ...

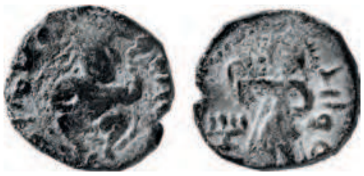
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
2055*	300586	1894,0506.1487	7.86	22	1A	3k
A*	ANS (1944.100.66676)		7.73	24	1A	3l
2056*	300593	1989,0904.4025	9.82	22	1A	3m
2057	300594	1989,0904.4026	7.85	23	1A	3m
2058	300595	OR.339	8.05	22	1A	3m

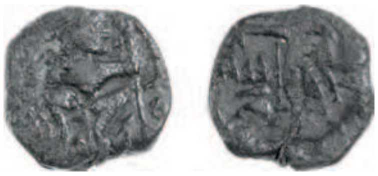
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
2059	300585	1894,0506.1433	7.98	21	1A	3n
2060	300589	1894,0506.1488	9.07	24	1A	3n
2061*	300590	1937,0709.2	8.36	21	1A	3n
2062	300592	1894,0506.1479	9.52	22	1A	3n
B*	ANS (1944.100.66663)		8.55	23	1B	2r
2063	300588	1894,0506.1486	8.49	23	1B	3l
2064*	300591	1922,0424.2986	9.63	22	1B	3l
2065*	300596	1850,0305.262	8.37	24	1B	3l
2066	300587	1850,0305.264	8.14	23	1B	3n
C*	Ashmolean (de Shortt 1975 32)		7.20	23	1B	3n
2067*	300555	1848,0803.197	7.23	20	2A	1o
D*	Ashmolean (Col. Deane 1923)		8.91	24	2A	2s
2068*	300557	1922,0424.3588	8.50	23	2A	2t
2069	300558	1989,0904.4030	10.17	23	2A	2t
2070	300559	OR.8292	7.57	20	2A	2t
E**	Private collection B		-	-	2A	2u
2071	300570	OR.8296	10.03	22	2A	2u
F*	ANS (1944.100.66732)		8.04	23	2A	3k
2072*	300562	1847,1201.266	7.00	20	2A	3l
2073*	300566	1894,0506.1473	6.96	21	2A	3l
2074	300567	1989,0904.4031	8.41	21	2A	3l
2075	300569	OR.8295	8.34	22	2A	3l
2076*	313763	1850,0305.274.B	7.01	22	2A	3m
G*	Bern (88.264); Göbl 1993a: 381		8.37	22	2A	3n
H*	Private collection B		-	-	2A	6n
I*	Ashmolean (ex Bodleian)		9.14	23	2B	1o
J*	Göbl 1984: 940/1		10.43		2B	2s
2077	300561	OR.8293	6.93	20	2B	3k
2078*	300563	OR.9424	9.31	22	2B	3k
2079*	300560	1889,0105.1157	9.04	23	2B	3l
2080	300572	1850,0305.276	7.66	20	2B	3l
2081*	300571	1853,0301.1352	4.90	21	2B	3m
2082	300556	OR.8291	8.36	20	2B	3n
2083*	300564	1894,0506.1474	9.38	22	2B	3n
2084*	300565	1956,0409.175	8.59	23	2B	3n
2085	300568	OR.8294	8.00	22	2B	3n
2086*	221984	1990,0820.2	8.15	24	2C	5u
K*	272709	IOLC.3242	8.20	21	3B	2r
2087*	300574	OR.8297	8.74	20	3B	2s
2088*	300575	1989,0904.4032	8.68	21	3B	2t
2089	300578	OR.8298	9.38	20	3B	3l
2090*	300576	1889,0105.1158	10.28	21	3B	3l
2091	300579	OR.8299	6.48	21	3B	3l

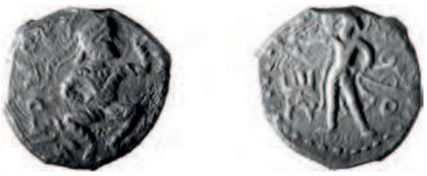

E: E.C4-ii 1u (2A/2u)

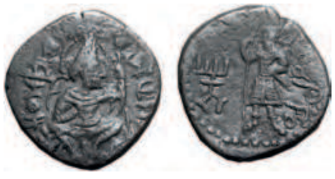

F: E.C4-ii 1u (2A/3k)

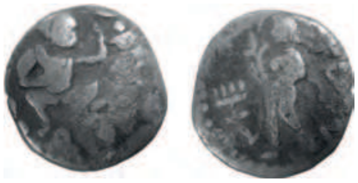

2072: E.C4-ii 1u (2A/3l)

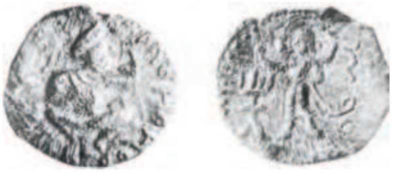

2073: E.C4-ii 1u (2A/3l)

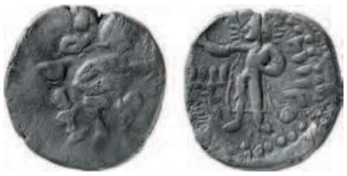

2076: E.C4-ii 1u (2A/3m)


G: E.C4-ii 1u (2A/3n)

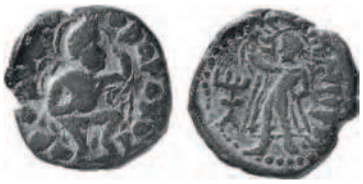

H: E.C4-ii 1u (2A/6n)


I: E.C4-ii 1u (2B/1o)


J: E.C4-ii 1u (2B/2s)

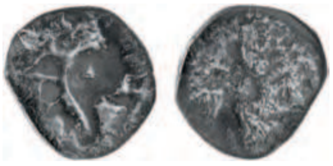


2078: E.C4-ii 1u (2B/3k)

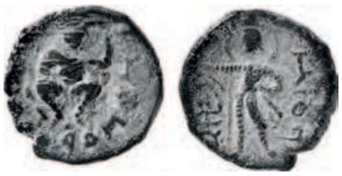


2079: E.C4-ii 1u (2B/3l)

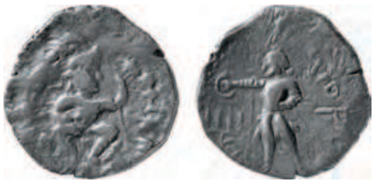
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
2092	300583	1894,0506.1472	7.52	21	3B	3m
L*	Ashmolean (ex Stein)		9.85	24	3B	3m
2093*	300577	1989,0904. 4033	8.74	21	3B	3n
2094	300580	1848,0803.195	7.70	21	3B	3n
2095	300582	OR.8300	7.46	21	3B	3n
2096*	300573	1847,1201.268	4.87	19	3B	1p
2097*	300581	1894,0506.1510	8.77	22	3B	8e



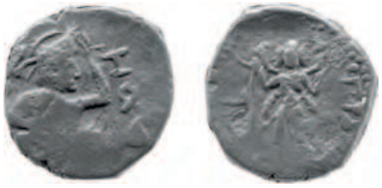
2081: E.C4-ii 1u (2B/3m)



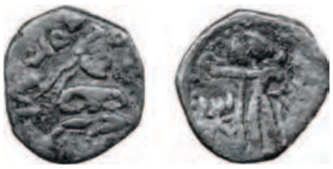
2083: E.C4-ii 1u (2B/3n)



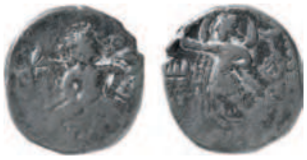
2084: E.C4-ii 1u (2B/3n)



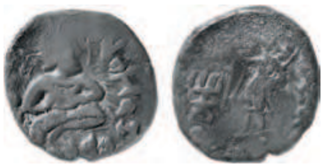
2086: E.C4-ii 1u (2C/5u)



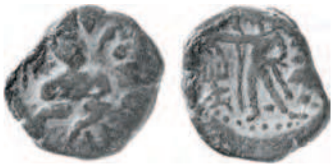
K: E.C4-ii 1u (3B/2r)



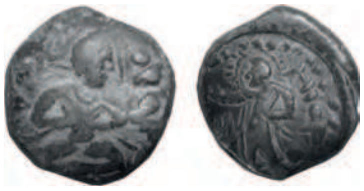
2087: E.C4-ii 1u (3B/2s)



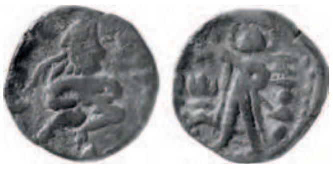
2088: E.C4-ii 1u (3B/2t)



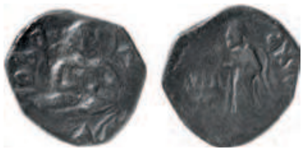
2090: E.C4-ii 1u (3B/3l)



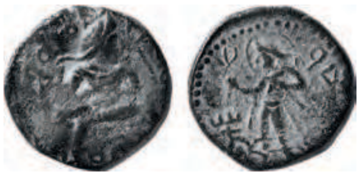
L: E.C4-ii 1u (3B/3m)



2093: E.C4-ii 1u (3B/3n)



2096: E.C4-ii 1u (3B/1p)



2097: E.C4-ii 1u (3B/8e)

Huvishka copper imitations
Imitations (E-imit.C1) of main copper mint (E.C1) group 1

The reign of Huvishka was a period of extensive unofficial imitation. The collapse of the weight standard at the main mint (C1) towards the end of its phase 1 and through its phase 2 created a period of monetary collapse which was exploited by unofficial production. The style and designs of the main group of imitations were derivative of those of Huvishka's main mint phases 2–3. Their unofficial nature made their designs inconsistent, often departing a long way from their prototypes. The unofficial imitations copied all three obverses of the main mint production, king on elephant (1), on mountain (2) and on couch (3). They also normally copied the commonest reverse designs of the main mint's phases 2–3, i.e. Mao (2) and Miiro (3), but a few copies of Oesho (5) and Nana (4) have been recorded. The similarity of the Mao and Miiro prototypes often led to a confusion in the designs created by the unofficial copiers, so that many designs cannot be distinguished. The imitations of the main general production group are divided into three 'phases' on the basis of their weight and fabric. Finds of this group of imitations have been made north of the Hindu Kush in Bactria, north and south of the Amu-Darya and south of the Hindu-Kush at Begram and Taxila.

Phase 1 imitations range from *c.* 6–9g. Their fabric is close to that of their prototypes.

Phase 2 imitations range from *c.* 3–6g and retain the same fabric as phase 1, treatment of the designs is increasingly confused.

Phase 3 imitations range from *c.* 1–3g and the fabric is often very thin and the designs are often very crude.

135 E-imit.C1-i 1u Imitations of main copper mint phase 1 units

Göbl 1984: 904, 946, 958–9, 962, 970–3, 975–6 and 978–9

Huvishka (E), unofficial imitations Group 1 (imit.C1), first phase (i), imitating reduced standard four drachm units (1u) of the main mint (C1, phases 2 and 3), weighing *c.* 9–6g.

Obverse: King in various representations. Inscription in Bactrian: traces of blundered version of ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKE KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan), or none.

1A King, full figure riding elephant walking to right, facing right, wearing knee-length tunic and leggings, with loose cloak over shoulders, holding elephant goad in right hand; elephant with tusks, trunk down and end curled into circle. Inscription in blundered Bactrian (clockwise, from 12.00 to 11.00).

1B as 1A, but elephant walking and king facing to left.

2A King, full figure seated cross-legged on mountain top, facing front, head to right, wearing crown with v-shaped motif on front, crescent on top, with diadem, head and upper body enclosed in two-part rayed halo, linked arcs, dress details unclear, holding staff in raised left hand and with right hand before chest; mountain represented as rocks.

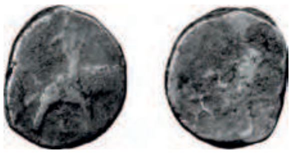
2B as 2A, but king's head to left, holding staff in raised right hand and with left hand before chest.

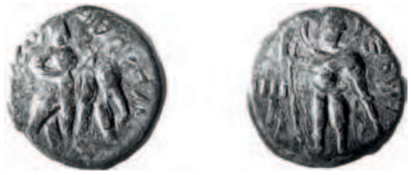
3A King, full figure seated on couch, resting left elbow on pillow and with right leg raised with foot on end of couch, left foot on floor, facing front, head to front, wearing headdress with unclear details, with diadem, dress details unclear, holding cup in both hands before chest; couch covered with ornamented cloth and curved legs.

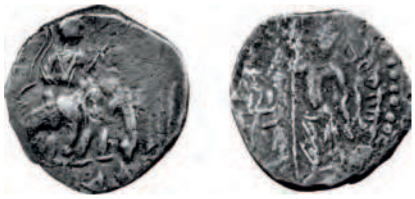
3B as 3A, but king resting right elbow on pillow and with left leg raised with foot on end of couch, right foot on floor.

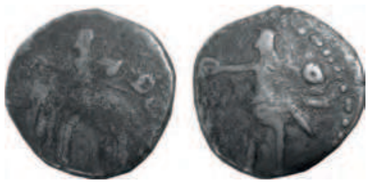
Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, all within dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian (in field): traces of deity's name, or none.

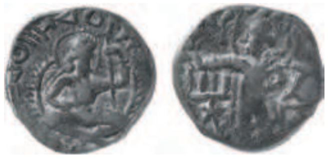
2a Mao, moon god, standing facing front, with head to left and surrounded by crescent emanating from shoulders, wearing calf-length tunic held by belt at waist, boots, holding sword in left hand at waist by left thigh, making gesture of blessing with extended right hand. Tamga in left field. Inscription: traces of (clockwise, in right field) MAO.

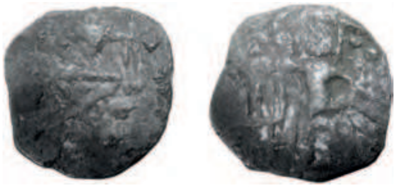

A: E-imit.C1-i 1u (1A/2b)

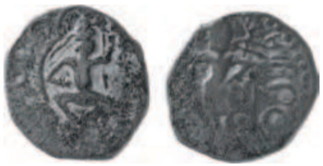

B: E-imit.C1-i 1u (1A/5a)

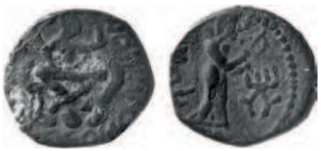

C: E-imit.C1-i 1u (1A/5a)

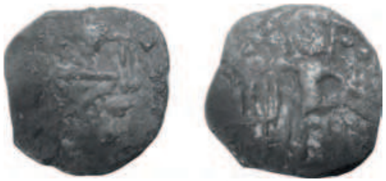

D: E-imit.C1-i 1u (1B/2b)

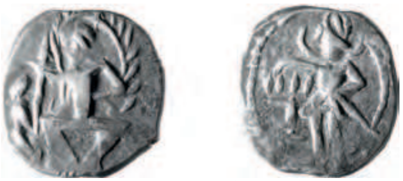

2098: E-imit.C1-i1u (2A/2a)

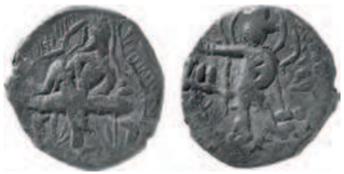

E: E-imit.C1-i 1u (2A/2b)

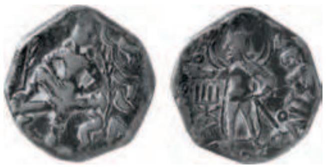

2100: E-imit.C1-i (2A/3a)

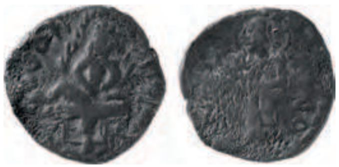

2101: E-imit.C1-i (2A/4a)

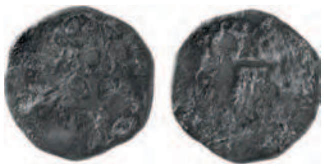

F: E-imit.C1-i (2B/2a)

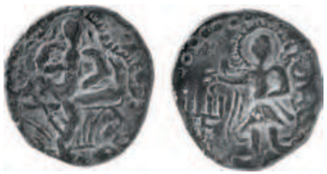

G: E-imit.C1-i (2B/2b)


2102: E-imit.C1-i (3A/2a)


2104: E-imit.C1-i (3A/2a)


2106: E-imit.C1-i (3A/2b)


2107: E-imit.C1-i (3A/2d)


2108: E-imit.C1-i (3A/3a)

2b unidentifiable deity, could be Mao, Miiro or Athsho, male full figure standing facing front, head to left, wearing knee-length tunic, with left hand at hip and right hand extended, tamga in left field. Inscription: traces of deity's name (right field) or none.

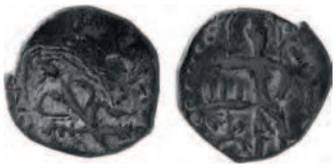
2d as 2b, but deity head to right, right hand at hip and left hand extended.

3a Miiro, sun god, standing facing front, with head to left and surrounded by rayed halo, wearing short hair held in diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist, all under long cloak, holding sword in left hand at waist, making gesture of blessing with extended right hand. Inscription (clockwise, in right field): MIIPO.

4a Nana, royal goddess, standing facing right, with head to right, wearing long ankle-length dress, holding up wand with lion forepart at tip in right hand and flat dish (?) in left hand, tamga in right field. Inscription: Bactrian (clockwise, in left field): NANA.

5a Oesho, mountain god with two arms, standing facing front, with head to left, hair tied in top-knot, wearing armlets and bracelets on arms, calf-length dhoti and string across chest from left shoulder, erect linga emerging from top of dhoti, holding trident vertically in raised right hand and water pot in left hand, with animal skin draped over left arm; nandipada symbol in upper right field, tamga in left field. Inscription (clockwise, in right field): OHÞO.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	272771	IOLC.3304	8.22	19	1A	2b
B*	Bern (88.149); Göbl 1993a: 343		8.38	22	1A	5a
C*	272702	IOLC.3235	6.52	25	1A	5a
D*	Ashmolean (Elliott 1859)		7.03	23	1B	2b
2098*	300613	1845,0613.80	6.74	20	2A	2a
2099	300652	1843,0812.39	6.15	22	2A	2a
E*	Ashmolean (Scratton 1958)		7.82	23	2A	2b
2100*	300651	1894,0506.1467	6.03	21	2A	3a
2101*	300653	1989,0904.4035	6.26	19	2A	4a
F*	IMC (50)		7.81	-	2B	2a
G*	Bern (88.263); Göbl 1993a: 395		9.28	23	2B	2b
2102*	300602	OR.8301	6.75	22	3A	2a
2103	300607	1894,0506.1516	7.23	21	3A	2a
2104*	300621	1922,0213.149	8.68	21	3A	2a
2105	300644	1847,1201.274	6.57	21	3A	2a
2106*	300643	1894,0506.1512	5.89	21	3A	2b
2107*	300642	OR.272	7.34	21	3A	2d
2108*	300605	1894,0506.1511	7.16	22	3A	3a
2109	300608	1847,1201.243	7.49	20	3A	3a
2110	300649	1894,0506.1517	6.32	20	3A	3a
2111*	300634	1843,0812.41	6.83	21	3B	2b


2111: E-imit.C1-i 1u (3B/2b)

136 E-imit.C1-ii 1u Imitations of main copper mint phase 2 units

Göbl 1984: 949, 951 and 981

Huvishka (E), unofficial imitations Group 1 (imit.C1), second phase (ii), imitating reduced standard four drachm units (1u) of the main mint (C1, phases 1 and 2), weighing *c.* 3–6g.

Obverse: King in various representations. Inscription in Bactrian: traces of blundered version of ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKE KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan), or none.

1A King, full figure riding elephant walking to right, facing right, dress details unclear, holding elephant goad in right hand; elephant with tusks, trunk down and end curled into circle. Inscription (clockwise, from 12.00 to 11.00), or none.

1B as 1A, but elephant walking and king facing to left.

2A King, full figure seated cross-legged on mountain top, facing front, head to right, wearing crown with unclear details, head and upper body enclosed in two-part rayed halo, linked arcs, dress details unclear, holding staff in raised left hand and with right hand before chest; mountain represented as rocks.

2B as 2A, but king's head to left, holding staff in raised right hand and with left had before chest.

3A King, full figure seated on couch, resting left elbow on pillow and with right leg raised with foot on end of couch, left foot on floor, facing front, head to front, wearing headdress with unclear details, with diadem, dress details unclear, holding cup in both hands before chest; couch covered with ornamented cloth and curved legs.

Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, all within dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian (in field): traces of deity's name, or none.

2a Mao, moon god, standing facing front, with head to left and surrounded by crescent emanating from shoulders, wearing calf-length tunic held by belt at waist, boots, holding sword in left hand at waist by left thigh, making gesture of blessing with extended right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription (clockwise, in right field): traces of MAO.

2b unidentifiable deity, could be Mao, Miiro or Athsho, male full figure standing facing front, head to left, wearing knee-length tunic, with left hand at hip and right hand extended, tamga in left field. Inscription (in right field): traces of deity's name or none.

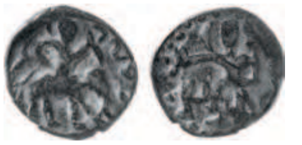
2d as 2b, but deity head to right, with right hand at hip and left hand extended.

3a Miiro, sun god, standing facing front, with head to left and surrounded by rayed halo, wearing short hair held in diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist, all under long cloak, holding sword in left hand at waist, making gesture of blessing with extended right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription (clockwise, in right field): MIIPO.

5a Oesho, mountain god with two arms, standing facing front, with head to left, hair tied in top-knot, wearing armlets and bracelets on arms, calf-length dhoti and string across chest from left shoulder, erect linga emerging from top of dhoti, holding trident vertically in raised right hand and water pot in left hand, animal skin draped over left arm; nandipada symbol in upper right field, tamga in left field. Inscription (clockwise, in right field): OHÞO.

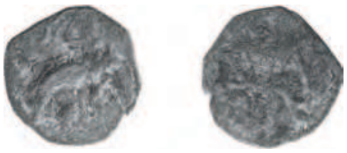
5b Oesho, mountain god with four arms, standing facing front, holding trident (?) in raised upper left hand, animal (?) in lower left hand, thunderbolt (?) in raised upper right hand and offering diadem with extended lower right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription (in right field): traces of deity's name.

5c Oesho (?), mountain god with two arms, full figure standing facing left, naked with erect linga, reaching with both arms towards left, tamga in left field. Inscription (in right field): traces of deity's name.

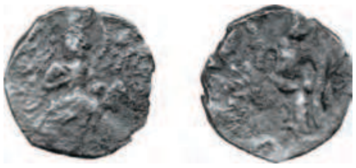


2112: E-imit.C1-ii 1u (1A/2a)

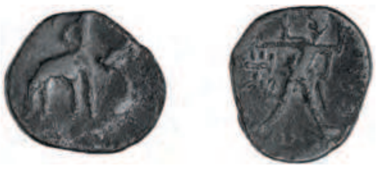
A: E-imit.C1-ii 1u (1A/2b)



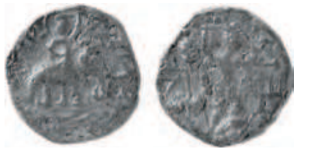
B: E-imit.C1-ii 1u (1A/3a)



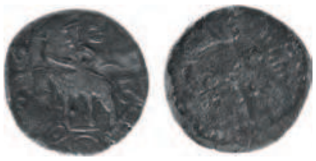
C: E-imit.C1-ii 1u (1A/5a)



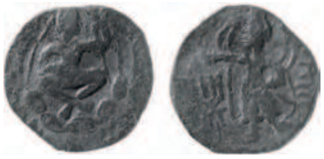
D: E-imit.C1-ii 1u (1A/5b)



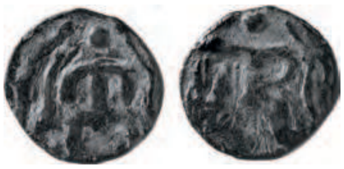
2116: E-imit.C1-ii 1u (1A/5a)



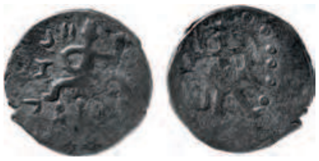
2117: E-imit.C1-ii 1u (1B/2b)



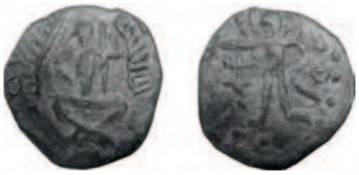
2119: E-imit.C1-ii 1u (2A/2a)

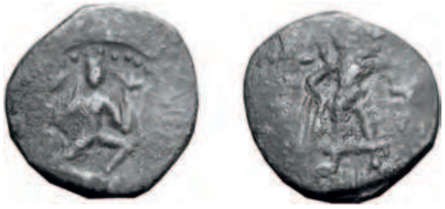


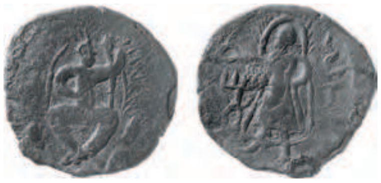
2121: E-imit.C1-ii 1u (2A/2b)

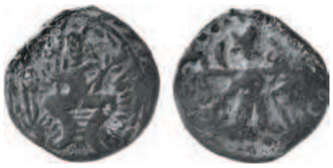


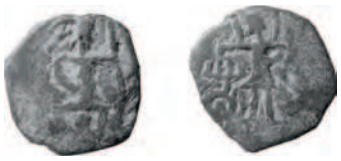
2122: E-imit.C1-ii 1u (2A/2b)

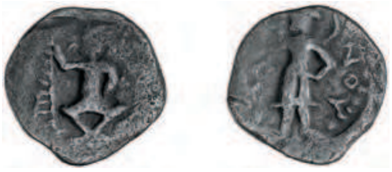

E: E-imit.C1-ii 1u (2A/2b)

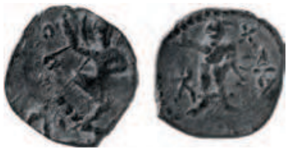

F: E-imit.C1-ii 1u (2A/2d)

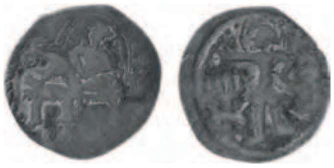

2123: E-imit.C1-ii 1u (2A/3a)

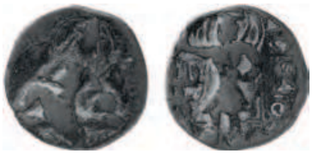

2124: E-imit.C1-ii 1u (2B/2a)


2125: E-imit.C1-ii 1u (2B/2a)

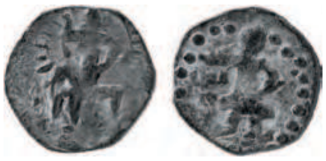

G: E-imit.C1-ii 1u (2B/2a)

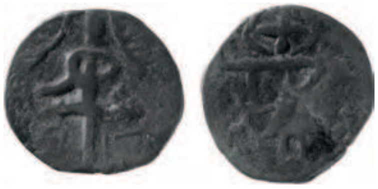

2126: E-imit.C1-ii 1u (2B/2b)

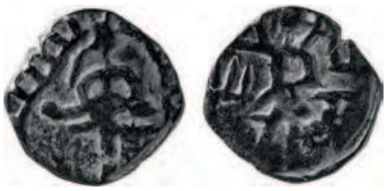

2128: E-imit.C1-ii 1u (3A/2a)

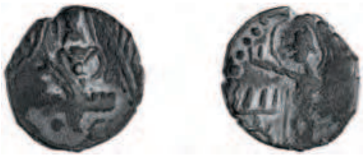

2129: E-imit.C1-ii 1u (3A/2a)

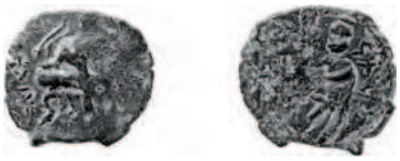
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
2112*	300638	1922,0116.48	3.47	18	1A	2a
2113	300658	1850,0305.268	3.88	20	1A	2a
2114	300666	OR.8309	4.20	20	1A	2a
2115	300678	1989,0904.4027	3.16	19	1A	2a
A*	Bern (85.14); Göbl 1993a: 396		3.90	20	1A	2b
B*	ANS (1997.66.6824)		4.46	20	1A	3a
2116*	300637	1865,0810.17	4.48	19	1A	5a
C*	272704	IOLC.3237	4.94	21	1A	5a
D*	ANS (1944.100.66708)		4.12	21	1A	5b
2117*	300636	1850,0305.269	4.70	20	1B	2b
2118	300656	OR.8305	5.29	20	2A	2a
2119*	300657	1894,0506.1468	4.57	20	2A	2a
2120	300662	1844,0921.32	3.72	20	2A	2a
2121*	300675	1853,0301.1367	3.64	21	2A	2b
2122*	300681	2003,0717.1	4.13	20	2A	2b
E*	Ashmolean (Senior 5264)		5.29	21	2A	2b
F*	Private collection B		-	-	2A	2d
2123*	300655	1989,0904.4039	5.14	23	2A	3a
2124*	300610	1853,0301.1368	4.47	21	2B	2a
2125*	312020	1843,0812.40	3.89	20	2B	2a
G*	ANS (1944.100.66715)		4.15	22	2B	2a
2126*	300663	1985,0426.20	3.51	19	2B	2b
2127	2867	1922,0213.142	3.19	20	2B	2b
2128*	300661	1894,0506.1526	3.73	21	3A	2a
2129*	300648	1981,0324.6	4.90	20	3A	2a
2130*	300640	1894,0506.1514	4.40	20	3A	2b
2131	300641	1850,0305.279	4.55	20	3A	2b
2132	300647	1989,0904.4034	5.33	22	3A	2b
2133*	300665	OR.8308	4.01	24	3A	2b
2134	300671	IOC.549	3.85	19	3A	2b
2135*	300680	1894,0506.1527	3.21	20	3A	2b
2136	300660	1956,0409.173	2.99	20	3A	3a
H*	ANS (1944.100.66721)		3.20	19	3A	3a
I*	Private collection M		3.70	-	3A	5c


2130: E-imit.C1-ii 1u (3A/2b)


2133: E-imit.C1-ii 1u (3A/2b)


2135: E-imit.C1-ii 1u (3A/2b)


H: E-imit.C1-ii 1u (3A/3a)


I: E-imit.C1-ii 1u (3A/5c)

137 E-imit.C1-iii 1u Imitations of main copper mint phase 3 units

Göbl 1984: 917, 957, 970–3, 974–7 and 978–80

Huvishka (E), unofficial imitations Group 1 (imit.C1), third phase (iii), imitating reduced standard four drachm units (1u) of the main mint (C1, phases 1 and 2), weighing *c.* 1–3g.

Obverse: King in various representations. Inscription in Bactrian: traces of blundered version of ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKE KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan), or none.

1A King, full figure riding elephant walking to right, facing right, wearing knee-length tunic and leggings, with loose cloak over shoulders, holding elephant goad in right hand; elephant with trunk down and end curled up. Inscription (clockwise, from 12.00 to 11.00), or none.

1B as 1A, but elephant walking and king facing to left.

2A King, full figure seated cross-legged on mountain top, facing front, head to right, head and upper body sometimes enclosed in rayed halo, wearing crown with v-shaped motif on front, crescent on top, with diadem, dress details unclear, holding staff in raised left hand and with right hand before chest; mountain represented as rocks.

2B as 2A, but king's head to left, holding staff in raised right hand and with left hand before chest.

3A King, full figure seated on couch, resting left elbow on pillow and with right leg raised with foot on end of couch, left foot on floor, facing front, head to front, wearing headdress with unclear details, with diadem, dress details unclear, holding cup in both hands before chest; couch covered with ornamented cloth and curved legs.

Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, all within dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian (in field): traces of deity's name, or none.

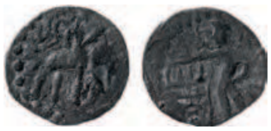
2a Mao, moon god, standing facing front, with head to left and surrounded by crescent emanating from shoulders, wearing calf-length tunic held by belt at waist, boots, holding sword in left hand at waist by left thigh and making gesture of blessing with extended right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription (clockwise, in right field): traces of MAO.

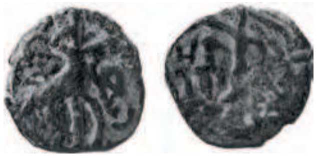
2b unidentifiable deity, could be Mao, Miiro or Athsho, male full figure standing facing front, head to left, wearing knee-length tunic, left hand at hip and right hand extended, tamga in left field. Inscription (in right field): traces or none.

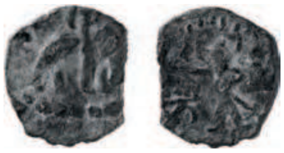
2d as 2b, but deity head to right, right hand at hip and left hand extended.

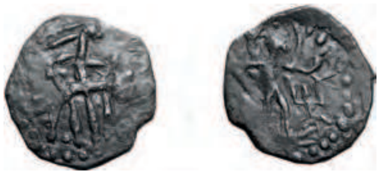
3a Miiro, sun god, standing facing front, with head to left and surrounded by rayed halo, short hair held in diadem with two ribbons behind, wearing calf-length tunic held by belt at waist, all under long cloak, holding sword in left hand at waist and making gesture of blessing with extended right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription (clockwise, in right field): MIIPO.

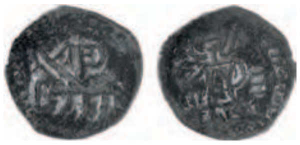
5a Oesho, mountain god with two arms, standing facing front, with head to left, hair tied in top-knot, wearing armlets and bracelets on arms, calf-length dhoti and string across chest from left shoulder, erect linga emerging from top of dhoti, holding trident vertically in raised right hand and water pot in left hand, animal skin draped over left arm; nandipada symbol in upper right field, tamga in left field. Inscription (clockwise, in right field): OHÞO.

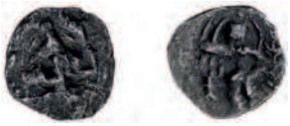

2137: E-imit.C1-iii1u (1A/2a)

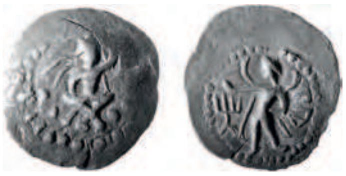

2138: E-imit.C1-iii 1u (1A/2b)

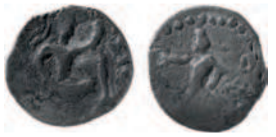

2139: E-imit.C1-iii 1u (1A/2b)

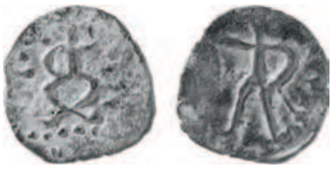

A: E-imit.C1-iii 1u (1A/2d)


2140: E-imit.C1-iii 1u (1B/2b)

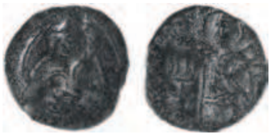

B: E-imit.C1-iii 1u (2A/2a)


C: E-imit.C1-iii 1u (2A/2a)

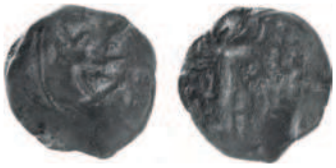

2141: E-imit.C1-iii 1u (2A/2b)



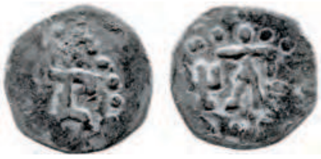
2142: E-imit.C1-iii 1u (2A/2b)



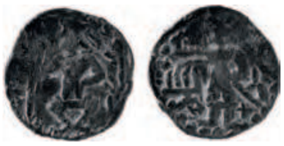
2144: E-imit.C1-iii 1u (2A/3a)



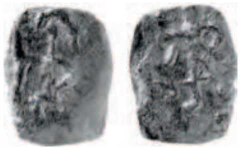
2145: E-imit.C1-iii 1u (2B/2a)



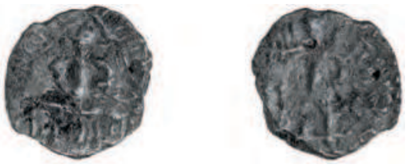
2147: E-imit.C1-iii 1u (2B/2b)



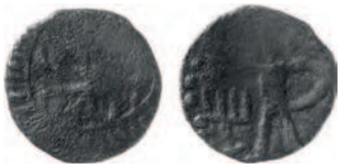
2148: E-imit.C1-iii 1u (2B/2b)



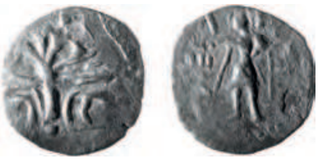
2149: E-imit.C1-iii 1u (2B/2b)



D: E-imit.C1-iii 1u (3A/2a)



2150: E-imit.C1-iii 1u (3A/2b)



E: E-imit.C1-iii 1u (3A/2b)

5b Oesho, mountain god with four arms, standing facing front, holding trident (?) in raised upper left hand, animal (?) in lower left hand, thunderbolt (?) in raised upper right hand and offering diadem with extended lower right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription (in right field): traces.

5c Oesho (?), mountain god with two arms, full figure standing facing left, naked with erect linga, reaching with both arms towards left. Inscription (in right field): traces.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
2137*	300668	OR.8311	1.18	16	1A	2a
2138*	300667	OR.8310	2.92	20	1A	2b
2139*	300682	OR.338	1.94	19	1A	2b
A*	Private collection B		-	-	1A	2d
2140*	300669	IOC.550	1.85	18	1B	2b
B*	ANS (1911.105.649)		1.21	16	2A	2a
C*	Bern (88.267); Göbl 1993a: 393		2.28	22	2A	2a
2141*	300674	OR.271	2.79	17	2A	2b
2142*	300673	1922,0424.3594	2.75	21	2A	2b
2143	312023	1845,0613.138	1.63	18	2A	2b
2144*	300606	1981,0324.7	1.76	17	2A	3a
2145*	300672	1933,0705.11	2.69	21	2B	2a
2146	300670	IOC.548	1.38	17	2B	2b
2147*	312022	1902,1203.39	2.55	20	2B	2b
2148*	300679	1894,0506.1518	1.85	18	2B	2b
2149*	300677	1922,0424.4505	1.33	19	2B	2b
D*	ANS (1911.105.647)		2.31	21	3A	2a
2150*	300664	OR.8307	1.86	18	3A	2b
E*	Bern (88.287); Göbl 1993a: 389		2.21	20	3A	2b

Imitations (E-imit.C2) of main copper mint (E.C1) group 2, Indian

This small group of imitations relate to the export into northern India of demonetised Huvishka tetradrachms of phase 1 of the main mint, following the reduction of the weight standard at the main mint. The imitations retained the general features of the designs of the main mint, but in a cruder style. Only king on elephant (1) obverses and difficult to differentiate Mao (2) and Miiro (3) reverses have been recorded. Their issue was probably prompted by the dwindling supply of imported official coins. Two phases can be detected on the basis of their falling weight and the presence and absence of a tamga and inscription. These imitations seem to have been made in northern India, outside Kushan territory.

Phase 1 tamga and traces of inscription retained.

Phase 2 no tamga or inscription. The fabric of the imitations of this phase resemble that of the imitation Kanishka coins (D-imit.C1-i).

138 E-imit.C2-i 1u Imitations of main copper mint phase 1 units, Indian production

Göbl 1984: 954

Huvishka (E), unofficial imitations Group 2 (imit.C2), first phase (i), imitating standard four drachm units (1u) of the main mint (C1, phase 1), weighing *c.* 11–14g, imitations of Huvishka tetradrachms circulating in India.

Obverse: King, full figure riding elephant holding elephant goad (?) in right hand; elephant with tusks, trunk down. Inscription in Bactrian: traces of blundered version of ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKE KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan).

1A: Elephant and king face right.

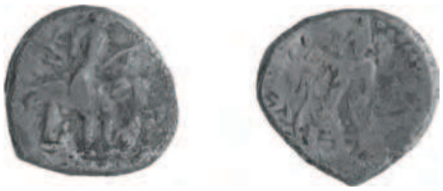
1B: Elephant and king face left.

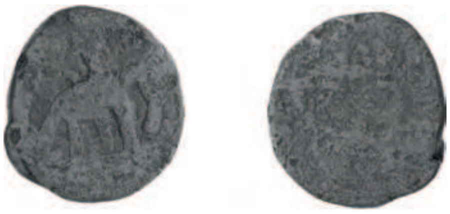
Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, all within dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian (in field): traces of deity's name, or none.

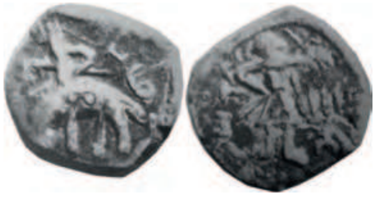
2a Mao, moon god, standing facing front, with head to left and surrounded by crescent emanating from shoulders, wearing calf-length tunic held by belt at waist, boots, holding sword in left hand at waist by left thigh and making gesture of blessing with extended right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription (clockwise, in right field): traces MAO.

2b as 2a, but identity of god is unclear.

2c as 2b, but god's head to right.


A: E-imit.C2-i 1u (1A/2a)


B: E-imit.C2-i 1u (1A/2b)


C: E-imit.C2-i 1u (1B/2c)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	ANS (1997.66.3158)		13.52	24	1A	2a
B*	ANS (1997.66.3147)		14.24	27	1A	2b
C*	Mitchiner 1978: 4673		11.60	-	1B	2c

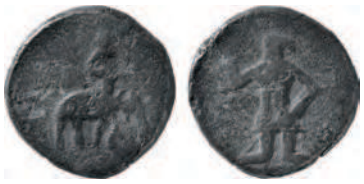
139 E-imit.C2-ii 1u Imitations of main copper mint phase 2 units, Indian production

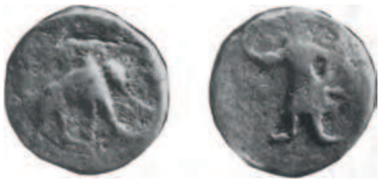
Mitchiner 1978: 4680–1

Huvishka (E), unofficial imitations Group 2 (imit.C2), second phase (ii), imitating standard four drachm units (1u) of the main mint (C1, phases 1), weighing *c.* 9–13g, imitations of Huvishka tetradrachms circulating in India.

Obverse: King, full figure riding elephant walking to right, facing right; elephant with tusks, trunk down. Inscription: none.

Reverse: Deity, Mao or Miiro, unidentifiable, full figure, no tamga, all in dotted border. Inscription: none.


2151: E-imit.C2-ii 1u


A: E-imit.C2-ii 1u

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
2151*	300635	1982, 1117.61	13.14	23
A*	Mitchiner 1978: 4680		10.60	-

Imitations (E-imit.C3) of main mint (E.C1) phase 1 and subsidiary mint (E.C2) phases 1–3 tetradrachms (units), group 3, made in Gandhara

The supply of copper coins from Huvishka's main mint and the production of copper coins at his subsidiary mint appears to have been insufficient for the demands of Gandhara's economy, as this group of unofficial imitations circulated in this region throughout the reign. The earliest imitations (phases 1 and 2) copied the early issues of the main and subsidiary mints, and maintained the standard of the coins they copy. Later imitations (phases 3–7) copied the second and third phases of the subsidiary mint and only fell slightly below the official standard of 11.5g. The phases are distinguished by their prototypes and by the extent to which they departed from their prototypes. Both unbarred and barred tamgas are found on this group, but the barred tamga more commonly.

Phase 1 imitations were based on coins of Huvishka's main mint early Phase 1 (E.C1-i) on *c.* 16g standard. The quality of copying was very varied. Most examples had king on elephant obverses (1), but a few king on mountain (2) and couch (3) types seem to be related. This phase used a mix of reverses copied from main and subsidiary mint coins of their first phases: Ardochsho (1), Mao (2), Miiro (3), Nana (4), Athsho (8) and Oado (18).

Phase 2 imitations were based on coins of subsidiary mint first phase on *c.* 16g standard. Only a few examples retained the Kharoshthi inscription of the prototype. Only king on elephant (1) examples have been recorded. This phase used a mix of reverses copied from main and subsidiary mint coins of their first phases: Ardochsho (1), Mao (2), Nana (4) and bowman (25).

Phase 3 imitations were based on coins of subsidiary mint second phase on *c.* 11.5g standard, but slightly underweight (*c.* 10g). Only a few examples retained the Kharoshthi inscription of the prototype. Only king on elephant (1) examples have been recorded. This phase used a mix of reverses copied from subsidiary mint coins of second and third phases: Ardochsho (1), Mao (2), Miiro (3), Nana (4), Oesho (5) and bowman (25).

Phase 4 imitations were based on coins of subsidiary mint second phase on *c.* 11.5g standard, struck on same standard. King on elephant (1) and on mountain (2) types have been recorded. All examples had Kharoshthi inscriptions different to their prototypes. These may represent the products of local semi-official mints in Gandhara, but too few examples survive to be understood. The reverses used on this phase were adapted from subsidiary mint third phase: Mao (2) and Pharro (6).

Phase 5 imitations were based on coins of the subsidiary mint of the third phase on *c.* 11.5g standard, but slightly underweight (*c.* 10g). Apart from one example with a standing king (4) obverse, all examples have a king on elephant (1) type. This phase is distinguished by the shared use of a corrupt OHÞO reverse inscription. The reverses used on this phase were adapted from subsidiary mint third phase: Ardochsho (1), Mao (2), Nana (4) and Pharro (6).

Phase 6 imitations used the same prototypes as phase 5 and were equally slightly underweight, but did not have the corrupt OHÞO reverse inscription. Most examples have the king on elephant type (1; often holding trident), but a few king on mountain (2) and on couch (3) examples have been recorded. Two exceptional imitations have been recorded with an Oesho and bull obverse (5), probably a mistaken interpretation of the king on elephant type. The reverses used on this phase, Ardochsho (1), Mao (2) and Pharro (6), were adapted from subsidiary mint third phase, except the Oesho (5) reverses which were copied from main mint first phase coins.

Phase 7 imitations represent a series of closer copies of the subsidiary mint third phase on 11.5g standard, but are more underweight (*c.* 9g). Most examples have king on elephant obverses (1), but a few king on mountain (2), and on couch (3) types have been recorded. The reverses used on this phase were adapted from subsidiary mint third phase: Mao (2), Miiro (3), Nana (4) and Pharro (6).

140 E-imit.C3-i 1u Imitations of main copper mint phase 1 units, Gandharan production

Göbl 1984: 896, 898, 919, 922, 947, 952, 970–3, 976 and 978–9

Huvishka (E), unofficial imitations Group 3 (imit.C3), first phase (i), imitating Attic standard four drachm units (1u) of the main mint (C1, phase 1), weighing *c.* 16g, made in Gandhara.

Obverse: King in various representations. Inscription in Bactrian: traces of blundered version of ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKE KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan), abbreviated or none.

1A King, full figure riding elephant walking to right, facing right, head surrounded by halo, wearing crown with unclear details, with diadem, wearing knee-length tunic and leggings, holding staff in right hand by right hip and elephant goad in left hand before chest; elephant with trunk down and end curled into circle and wearing ornamented cloth over rump.

1B as 1A, but king holding elephant goad in right hand.

1C as 1A, but king holding spear; inscription (anticlockwise, to be read from edge of coin, from 10.00): OHÞK[E KOÞA]NO.

1D as 1B, but design very crude.

1E as 1B, but elephant walking to left and king facing left.

1F as 1E, but design very crude.

2A King, full figure seated cross-legged on mountain top, facing front, head to left, wearing crown with unclear details, dress details unclear, holding staff in raised left hand and with right hand before chest; mountain represented as rocks.

2B as 2A, but king's head to left, holding staff in raised right hand and with left hand before chest.

3A King, full figure seated on couch, resting left elbow on pillow and with right leg raised with foot on end of couch, left foot on floor, facing front, head to front, wearing headdress with unclear details, with diadem, dress details unclear, holding cup in both hands before chest; couch with curved legs. Inscription (clockwise, from 8.00): OOHÞK(E) ÞAO.

3B as 3A, but king's body surrounded by halo and design very crude and very blundered inscription.

Reverse: Deity, full figure, barred or unbarred tamga in field, all within dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian (in field): traces of deity's name, or none.

1a Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, standing facing left, head to left, with headdress (details unclear), wearing hair dressed in bun at back, sleeved ankle-length gown, resting cornucopia in right arm, held by left hand at bottom, tamga in left field. Inscription (clockwise, in right field): …ΛHÞ.

1b as 1a, but goddess facing right, head to right, resting cornucopia in left arm, held by right hand at bottom, tamga in right field. Inscription (anticlockwise, in left field): AΡΔOXÞO.

2e Mao, moon god, standing facing front, with head to left and surrounded by crescent emanating from shoulders, wearing calf-length tunic held by belt at waist, boots, holding sword in left hand at waist by left thigh and offering diadem with extended right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription (clockwise, in right field): HOΛ.

2f as 2e, but inscription: ΛOH.

2g as 2e, but inscription: ΛHO.

2h as 2e, but inscription: OHΔ.

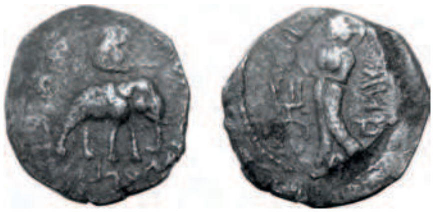
2i as 2e, but blundered inscription.

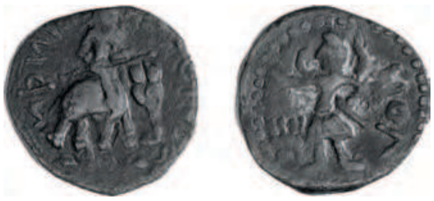
2j as 2e, but god's head to right, holding sword in right hand at waist and offering diadem with extended left hand, tamga in right field; blundered inscription.

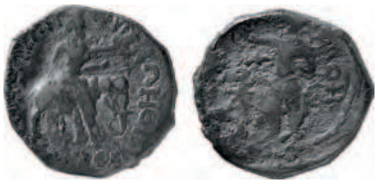
2k as 2e, but god making gesture of blessing with extended right hand; blundered inscription.

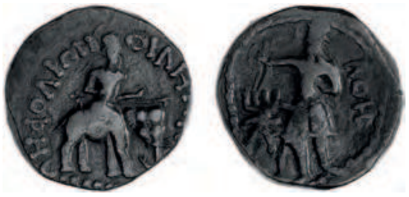
2l as 2k, but inscription anticlockwise, in right field, to be read from edge of coin OHÞO.

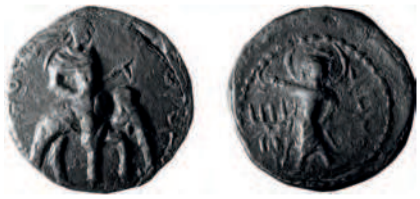
3b Miiro, sun god, standing facing front, with head to right and surrounded by rayed halo, wearing short hair held in diadem, calf-length

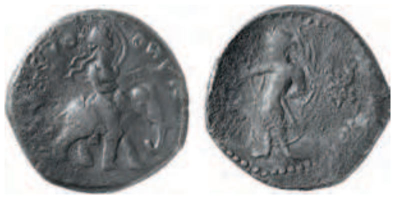

A: E-imit.C3-i 1u (1A/1a)

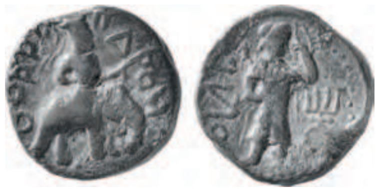

B: E-imit.C3-i 1u (1A/2e)

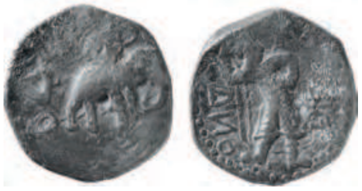

2152: E-imit.C3-i 1u (1A/2f)

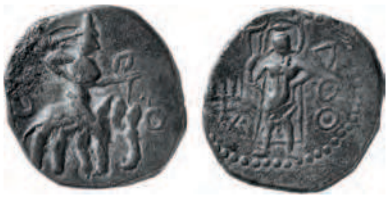

C: E-imit.C3-i 1u (1A/2f)


D: E-imit.C3-i 1u (1B/2g)

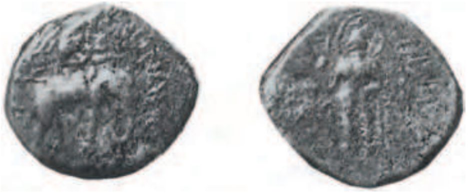

2153: E-imit.C3-i 1u (1B/2h)


2154: E-imit.C3-i 1u (1B/3b)

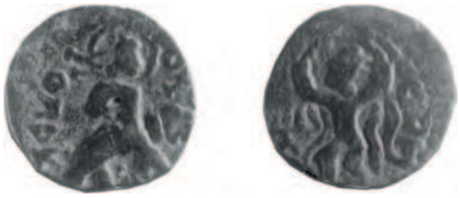

2155: E-imit.C3-i 1u (1B/3c)



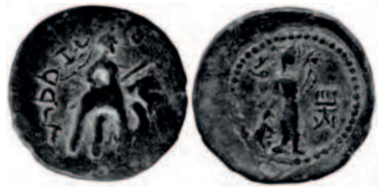
2155: E-imit.C3-i 1u (1D/4c)



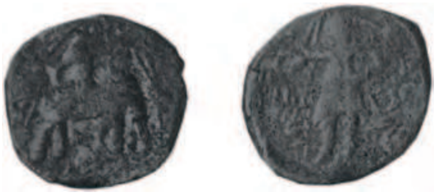
E: E-imit.C3-i 1u (1B/4b)



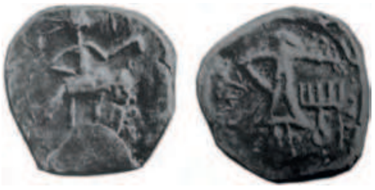
F: E-imit.C3-i 1u (1D/18a)



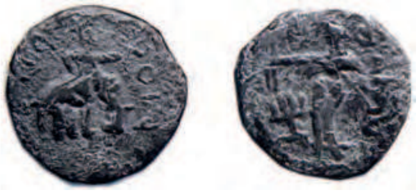
G: E-imit.C3-i 1u (1D/1b)



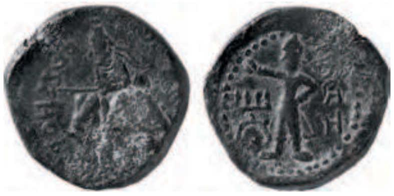
H: E-imit.C3-i 1u (1D/2i)



I: E-imit.C3-i 1u (1D/2j)



J: E-imit.C3-i 1u (1D/4e)



2157: E-imit.C3-i 1u (1E/2k)

tunic under long cloak, holding staff with left hand before face and resting right hand on hip, tamga in right field. Inscription (clockwise, in left field): OHΔ.

3c as 3b, but holding staff with right hand behind head and resting left hand on hip, tamga in right field; inscription in left field.

4b Nana, royal goddess, standing facing frontally, head to left, surrounded by halo, wearing unclear headdress, sleeved ankle-length gown, with shawl (position unclear), end hanging from left arm, holding flower in right hand before face and resting left hand on waist, tamga in left field; blundered inscription in right field.

4c as 4b, but goddess's head to front; inscription (clockwise, in right field): ΔOO.

4d as 4c, but goddess offering diadem(?) with extended right hand: inscription (anticlockwise, in right field): OHÞO.

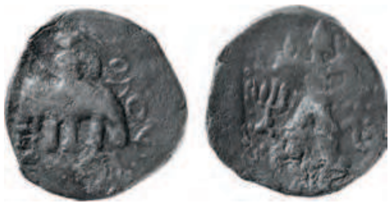
4e as 4d, but blundered inscription in right field.

8a Athsho, fire god, standing facing front, with head to left, wearing beard and short hair, calf-length tunic under long cloak, resting left hand at waist and offering diadem with extended right hand. Tamga in left field. Inscription: Bactrian (clockwise, in right field): ΔOH.

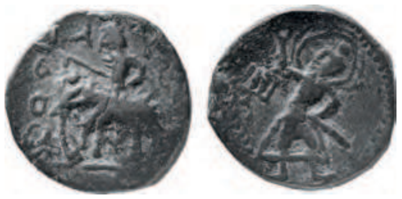
8b as 8a, but god with diadem with two ribbons, making gesture of blessing with extended right hand, distorted tamga in left field, blundered inscription in right field.

18a Oado, wind god, running to left, head to left, wearing short dhoti, both hands raised holding scarf in arc above head, with ends to right and left, tamga in left field; inscription (anticlockwise, in right field) (O)HÞO.

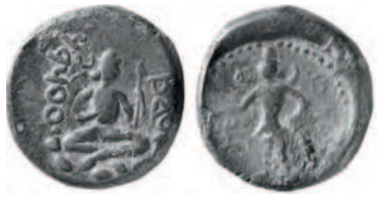
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Ashmolean (Senior 5265)		16.94	27	1A	1a
B*	ANS (1944.100.66709)		15.81	26	1A	2e
2152*	300530	1893,0506.25	16.36	23	1A	2f
C*	ANS (1944.100.66651)		16.76	25	1A	2f
D*	Bern (88.220); Göbl 1993a: 380		13.13	-	1B	2g
2153*	300531	1991,0416.12	16.25	25	1B	2h
2154*	300539	1991,0416.17	17.40	24	1B	3b
2155*	300540	1991,0416.18	16.21	25	1B	3c
E*	Burns 1993: 5-5		18.90	-	1B	4b
F*	Lahore; Whitehead 1914: 171; Göbl 1984: 922/1		15.55	-	1D	18a
G*	Private collection X		13.30	-	1D	1b
H*	Burns,1993: 5-2		18.10	-	1D	2i
I*	Mitchiner 1978: 4669		13.50	-	1D	2j
2156*	300529	1991,0416.19	15.59	25	1D	4c
J*	IMC 36, Göbl 1984: 896/1		16.81	-	1D	4e
2157*	300533	1892,0207.19	16.43	25	1E	2k
2158*	300532	1991,0416.15	16.25	26	1F	2i
2159*	300535	1991,0416.14	17.33	25	1F	3d
2160*	300541	1991,0416.10	20.09	25	2A	2l
2161*	300599	1847,1201.241	13.00	25	2A	8a
2162*	300598	1922,0424.3615	14.70	24	2B	8b
2163*	300543	1991,0416.11	18.16	25	3A	2l
2164*	300542	1889,1203.59	15.15	23	3A	4d
K*	Private collection H; Göbl 1984: 898/1		-	-	3B	4e



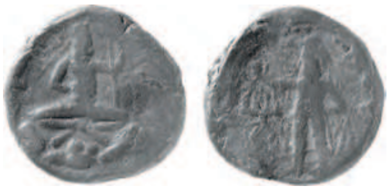
2158: E-imit.C3-i 1u (1F/2i)



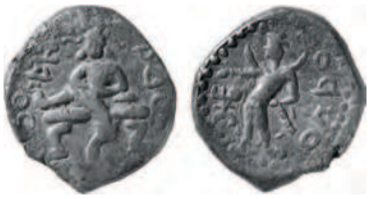
2159: E-imit.C3-i 1u (1F/3d)



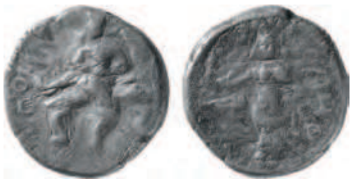
2160: E-imit.C3-i 1u (2A/2l)



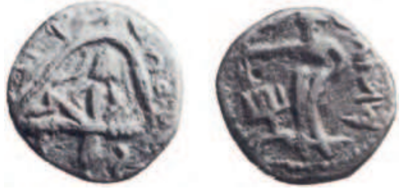
2161: E-imit.C3-i 1u (2B/8a)



2163: E-imit.C3-i 1u (3A/2l)



2164: E-imit.C3-i 1u (3A/4d)



K: E-imit.C3-i 1u (3B/4e)

141 E-imit.C3-ii: 1u Imitations of subsidiary copper mint phase 2 units, Gandharan production

Göbl 1984: 891A, 896, 960 and 964

Huvishka (E), unofficial imitations Group 3 (imit.C3), second phase (ii), imitating Attic standard four drachm units (1u) of the subsidiary copper mint (C2, phase 1), weighing *c.* 16g, made in Gandhara.

Obverse: King, full figure riding elephant walking to right or left, facing right or left, wearing tall headdress (details unclear), diadem with two ties, knee-length tunic and leggings, holding club in right hand, before face, and sword hilt in left hand at waist; elephant with tusks and trunk down, wearing saddle and ornamented cloth over rump. Ground line below elephant. Inscription in Bactrian: traces of blundered version of ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKE KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan), abbreviated or none.

1A Elephant walking and king facing to right.

1B as 1A, but design very crude.

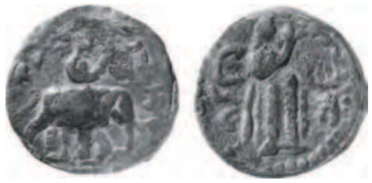
1C as 1A, elephant walking and king facing to left.

1D as 1C, but design very crude, with swastika in right field and crescent in left field.

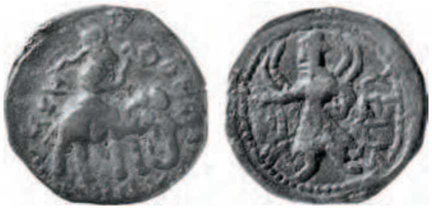
Reverse: Deity, full figure, barred or unbarred tamga in field, all within dotted border. Inscription in blundered Kharoshthi or Bactrian (in field): name of deity, or none.

1c Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, standing facing right, head to right, with headdress (details unclear), wearing sleeved ankle-length gown, resting cornucopia in left arm, held by right hand at bottom, tamga in right field. Inscription in blundered Kharoshthi (reversed, clockwise, in left field): *yodhavade.*

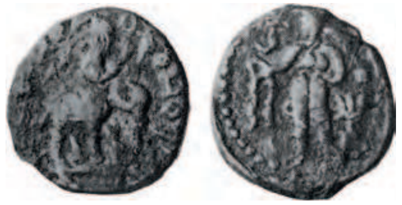
2i Mao, moon god, standing facing front, with head to left and surrounded by crescent emanating from shoulders, wearing calf-length tunic held by belt at waist, boots, making gesture of blessing with extended right hand



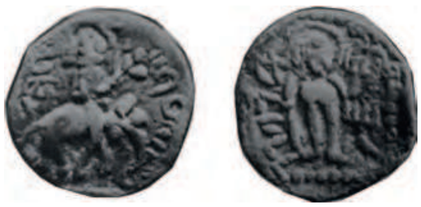
2165: E-imit.C3-ii 1u (1A/1c)



2166: E-imit.C3-ii 1u (1A/2m)



A: E-imit.C3-ii 1u (1A/4f)



B: E-imit.C3-ii 1u (1A/4g)

and holding sword hilt with left hand on hip, tamga in left field. Inscription in blundered Bactrian (in right field): traces.

2m as 2i, but inscription in Kharoshthi (clockwise, in right field): *ithavorasa*.

2n as 2i, but god holding sceptre over left shoulder, with misdrawn tamga in left field.

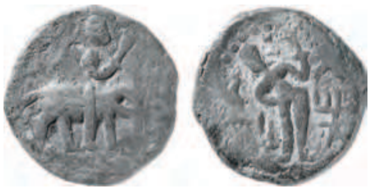
4f Nana, royal goddess, standing facing frontally, head to left, wearing unclear headdress and diadem with ribbons to right and left, sleeved ankle-length gown, offering diadem with extended right hand and resting left hand at waist, tamga in right field. Inscription: none.

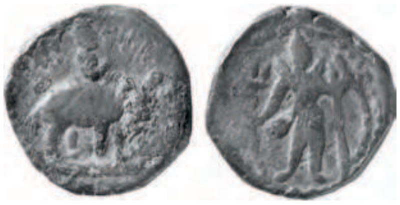
4g as 4f, but, goddess's head to right, surrounded by halo, wearing unclear headdress, sleeved ankle-length gown, holding flower in left hand before face and resting left hand on waist, tamga in right field. Inscription in Kharoshthi (clockwise, in left field): *ithavorasa*.

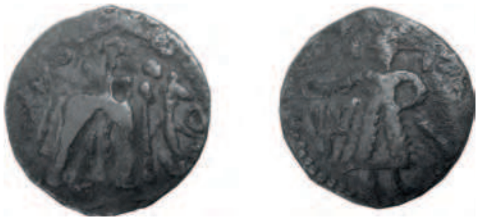
4h as 4f, but goddess's head to right, wearing unclear headdress and dress, holding flower in left hand before face and resting left hand on waist, tamga in right field. Inscription in blundered Kharoshthi (in left field): traces.

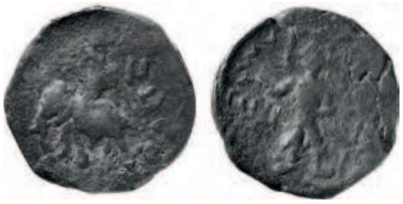
25a Bowman, archer god, standing frontally, head to front, wearing calf-length dhoti, scarf across chest from left shoulder, with end hanging below right arm, holding long bow in raised left hand and arrow in lowered right hand, with its point resting by his right foot, tamga in left field. Inscription: none.

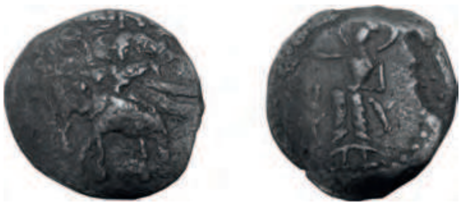
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
2165*	300527	1991,0416.7	16.18	23	1A	1c
2166*	300528	1991,0416.8	17.77	27	1A	2m
A*	Burns, 1993: 5-4		18.50	-	1A	4f
B*	Mitchiner 1978: 4661		16.80	-	1A	4g
2167*	300537	1922,0424.3617	13.84	24	1A	4h
2168*	300538	1991,0416.9	18.10	26	1A	25a
C*	Ashmolean (de Shortt 1975 55)		16.87	28	1B	2i
2169*	300534	1991,0416.16	16.38	26	1C	2i
D*	Ashmolean (Senior 5267)		17.57	26	1C	2i
2170*	300536	1991,0416.13	18.74	26	1D	2n

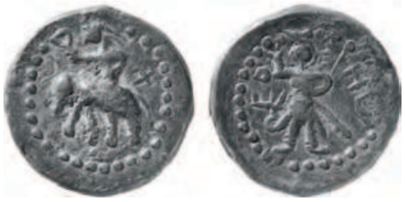

2167: E-imit.C3-ii 1u (1A/4h)


2168: E-imit.C3-ii 1u (1A/25a)


C: E-imit.C3-ii 1u (1B/2i)


2169: E-imit.C3-ii 1u (1C/2i)


D: E-imit.C3-ii 1u (1C/2i)


2170: E-imit.C3-ii 1u (1D/2n)

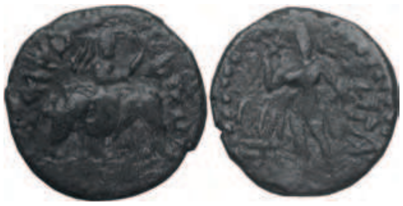
142 E-imit.C3-iii 1u Imitations of subsidiary copper mint phase 3 units, Gandharan production

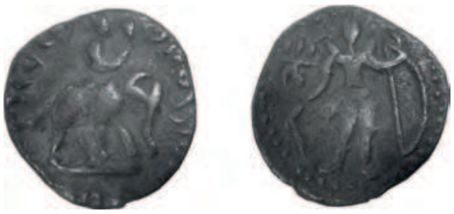
Göbl 1984: 895.1, 914 and 963

Huvishka (E), unofficial imitations Group 3 (imit.C3), third phase (iii), imitating reduced standard four drachm units (1u) of the subsidiary copper mint (C2, phase 2), weighing *c.* 10g, made in Gandhara.

Obverse: King, full figure riding elephant walking to right or left, facing right or left, wearing tall headdress (details unclear), knee-length tunic and leggings, holding club in right hand, before face, and sword hilt in left hand at waist; elephant with tusks and trunk down, ground line below elephant. Inscription in Bactrian: traces of blundered version of ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKE KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan), abbreviated or none.

1A Elephant walking and king facing to right, king with two diadem ribbons.


A: E-imit.C3-iii 1u (1A/5d)


B: E-imit.C3-iii 1u (1B/25a)

1B as 1A, without diadem ribbons.

1C as 1B, but design very crude.

1D as 1B, but elephant walking and king facing to left.

1E as 1D, but design very crude.

Reverse: Deity, full figure, barred or unbarred tamga in field, all within dotted border. Inscription in blundered Kharoshthi or Bactrian (in field): name of deity, or none.

1c Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, standing facing right, head to right, with headdress (details unclear), wearing sleeved ankle-length gown, resting cornucopia in left arm, held by right hand at bottom, tamga in right field. Inscription in blundered Kharoshthi (reversed, clockwise, in left field): *yodhavade*.

1d as 1c, but goddess standing facing left, head to left, with headdress (details unclear), head surrounded by halo, resting cornucopia in right arm, held by left hand at bottom, tamga in left field. Inscription in blundered Kharoshthi (reversed, clockwise, in right field): *yodhavade*.

2i Mao, moon god, standing facing front, with head to left and surrounded by crescent emanating from shoulders, wearing calf-length tunic held by belt at waist, boots, making gesture of blessing with extended right hand and holding sword hilt with left hand on hip, tamga in left field. Inscription in blundered Bactrian (in right field): traces.

2l as 2i, but inscription in Bactrian (anticlockwise, in right field): OHÞO.

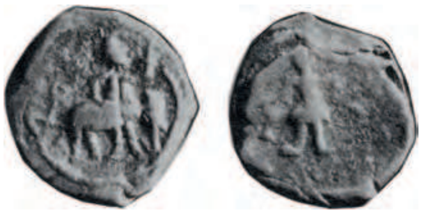
4e Nana, royal goddess, standing facing frontally, head to left, wearing unclear headdress and diadem with ribbons, sleeved ankle-length gown, offering diadem with extended right hand and resting left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in blundered Bactrian (in right field): illegible.

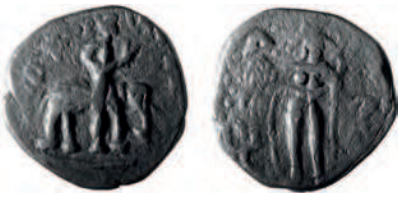
4i as 4e, but goddess holding flower in raised right hand before face.

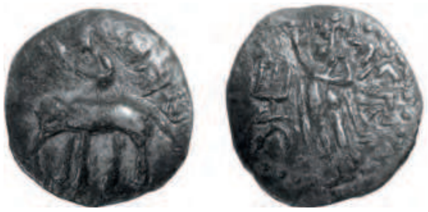
5d Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally, head to front, wearing calf-length dhoti, holding water pot in lowered left hand by hip and trident in raised right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in blundered Kharoshthi (clockwise, in right field): *yodhavade*.

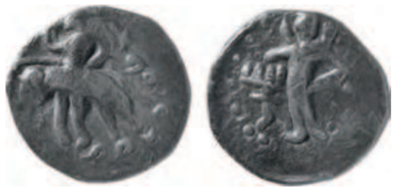
25a Bowman, archer god, standing frontally, head to front, wearing calf-length dhoti, scarf across chest from left shoulder, with end hanging below right arm, holding long bow in raised left hand and arrow in lowered right hand, with its point resting by his right foot, tamga in left field. Inscription: none.

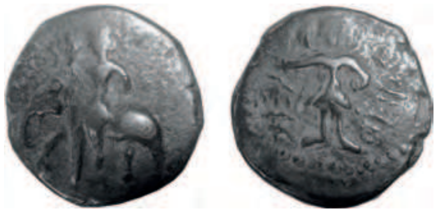
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Tandon 2011: 7e		10.27	26	1A	5d
B*	Ashmolean (Bodleian); Göbl 1984: 895/1		9.19	27	1B	25a
C*	Mitchiner 1978: 4671		10.50	-	1C	2i
D*	Bern (88.227); Göbl 370		11.61	25	1C	4e
E*	Ashmolean (de Shortt 1975 46)		11.63	27	1D	1d
2171*	300631	1956,0409.172	10.02	24	1D	2i
F*	Ashmolean (de Shortt 1975 41)		10.88	27	1D	2l
G*	Private collection M		9.00	-	1E	4i

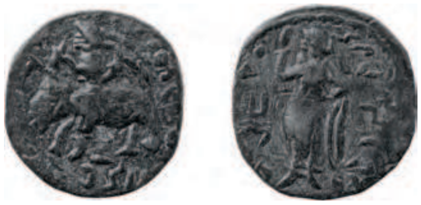

C: E-imit.C3-iii 1u (1C/2i)


D: E-imit.C3-iii 1u (1C/4e)


E: E-imit.C3-iii 1u (1D/1d)


2171: E-imit.C3-iii 1u (1D/2i)


F: E-imit.C3-iii 1u (1D/2l)


G: E-imit.C3-iii 1u (1E/4i)

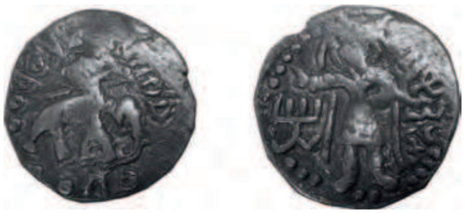
143 E-imit.C3-iv 1u Imitations of subsidiary copper mint phase 4 units, Gandharan production

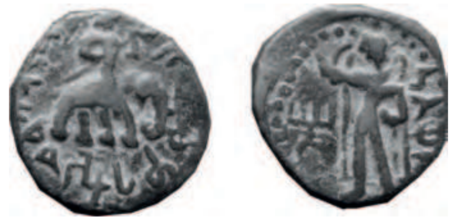
Göbl 1984: 915A, 926.5, 956

Khan & Blackburn, 2013, no. 148

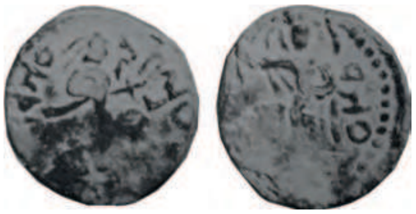
Huvishka (E), unofficial imitations Group 3 (imit.C3), fourth phase (iv), imitating reduced standard four drachm units (1u) of the subsidiary copper mint (C2, phase 2), weighing *c.* 11.5g, made in Gandhara, with added Kharoshthi inscriptions.

Obverse: King in various representations. Inscription in Bactrian: traces of blundered version of ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKE KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan), or none.

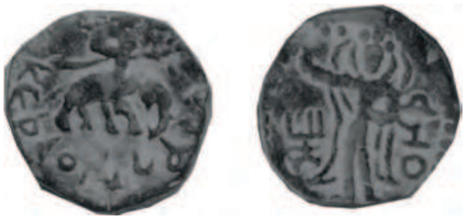

A: E-imit.C3-iv 1u (1A/2o)



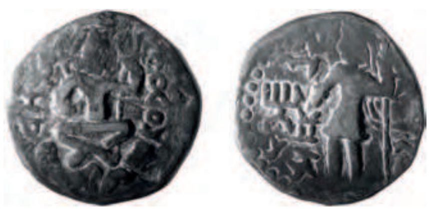
B: E-imit.C3-iv 1u (1B/2p)



C: E-imit.C3-iv 1u (1B/2q)



D: E-imit.C3-iv 1u (1B/2q)



E: E-imit.C3-iv 1u (2A/6a)

1A King, full figure riding elephant walking to right or left, facing right or left, wearing tall headdress (details unclear), knee-length tunic and leggings, holding spear in right hand at waist; elephant with trunk down. Inscription in blundered Bactrian (anticlockwise, to be read from edge of coin, from 8.00): version of ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKE KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan).

1B as 1A, but inscription in Bactrian (anticlockwise, to be read from edge of coin, from 12.00 to 7.00) OHÞKE ÞA[O] (King Huvishka); and in Kharoshthi (anticlockwise, from 7.00 to 1.00): *vhriagadi majhapasa* (reading uncertain).

2A King, full figure seated cross-legged on mountain top, facing front, head to front, wearing high crown (details unclear), wearing knee-length tunic and leggings, holding staff in raised left hand and holding right hand at waist (unclear whether holding club); mountain represented as small rocks. Inscription in Bactrian (anticlockwise, to be read from edge of coin, visible from 9.00 to 2.00) …(O)HÞ(KE) KOÞA(NO)… (Huvishka Kushan).

Reverse: Deity, full figure, barred tamga in field (bar missing in a few examples), all within dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian (in field).

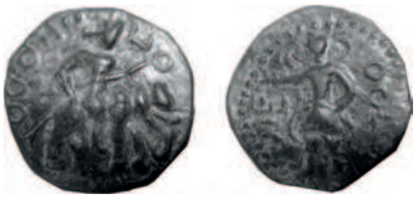
2o Mao, moon god, standing facing front, with head to left, surrounded by crescent emanating from shoulders, wearing calf-length tunic held by belt at waist, boots, all under long cloak, making gesture of blessing with extended right hand and with left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription: Kharoshthi (anticlockwise, in right field) *disadhami*…

2p as 2o, but Kharoshthi inscription (clockwise, in right field, to be read from edge of coin) *rajaśi*… (reading uncertain)

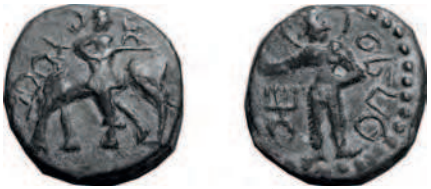
2q as 2o, but inscription in Bactrian (in right field): OHÞ.

6a Pharro, god of wealth, standing facing front, with head to left, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist, holding staff in raised left hand and making offering at small altar with extended right hand and with left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription: Kharoshthi in right and left field, illegible.

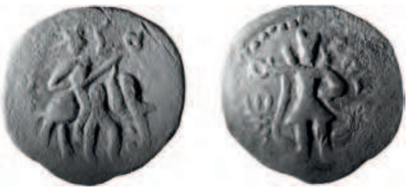
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Ashmolean (Oman 1947)		11.48	28	1A	2o
B*	Cambridge		11.54	-	1B	2p
C*	Mitchiner 1978: 4658		12.80	-	1B	2q
D*	Paris; Göbl 1984: 926/5		11.34	-	1B	2q
E*	Bern (88.257); Göbl 1993a: 376		12.46	26	2A	6a



A: E-imit.C3-v 1u (1A/2l)



B: E-imit.C3-v 1u (1A/2l)



C: E-imit.C3-v 1u (1A/2r)

144 E-imit.C3-v 1u Imitations of subsidiary copper mint phase 5 units, Gandharan production

Göbl 1984: 911, 913, 921, 923, 926

Huvishka (E), unofficial imitations Group 3 (imit.C3), fifth phase (v), imitating reduced standard four drachm units (1u) of the subsidiary copper mint (C2, phase 3), weighing *c.* 10g, made in Gandhara.

Obverse: King in various representations. Inscription in Bactrian: traces of blundered version of ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKE KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan).

1A King, full figure riding elephant walking to right or left, facing right or left, wearing tall headdress (details unclear), knee-length tunic and leggings, holding elephant goad in right hand at waist; elephant with tusks and trunk down.

1B as 1A, but king holding trident in right hand at waist.

1C as 1A, but king holding trident in both hands, right hand at waist and left hand before chest.

1D as 1A, but king resting right hand at waist and raising left hand before face

4A king standing facing front, with head to left, surrounded by halo, wearing tunic and leggings, holding staff in raised left hand and making offering at small altar with extended right hand.

Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, all within dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian (anticlockwise, to be read from edge of coin, in right field, unless indicated otherwise): OHPO, sometimes blundered with reversed letters.

1e Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, standing facing frontally, head to left, with headdress (details unclear), wearing tunic, holding cornucopia in left hand at bottom, resting stem over left shoulder and extending right hand, tamga in left field.

2l Mao, moon god, standing facing front, with head to left, surrounded by crescent emanating from shoulders, wearing calf-length tunic held by belt at waist, boots, all under long cloak, making gesture of blessing with extended right hand and resting left hand on hip, tamga in left field.

2r as 2l, but god offering diadem with extended right hand.

2s as 2l, but god without cloak and very crude design.

2t as 2r, but very crude design.

2u as 2s, but god's head to right, making gesture of blessing with extended left hand and resting right hand on hip, tamga in right field; inscription reversed, anticlockwise, to be read from edge of coin, in left field.

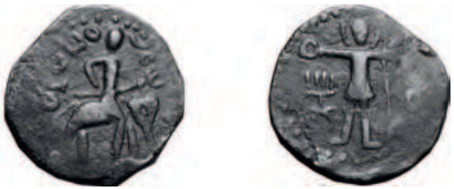
2v as 2s, but inscription blundered.

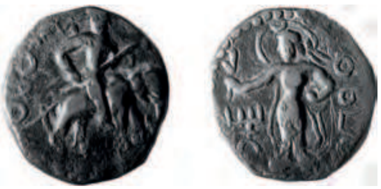
4j Nana, royal goddess, standing facing frontally, head to left, surrounded by halo, wearing tiara (?) with crescent at front and diadem with two ribbons, sleeved ankle-length gown, with shawl (position unclear), end hanging from left arm, offering flower (?) in extended right hand and resting left hand at waist, tamga in left field.

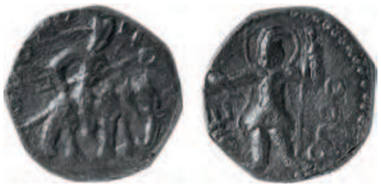
6b Pharro, god of wealth, standing facing front, with head to left and surrounded by halo, wearing winged cap, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist, boots, all under long cloak, holding staff in raised left hand and offering diadem with extended right hand, tamga in left field.

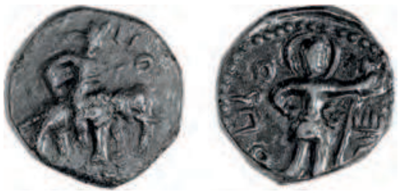
6c as 6b, but god's head to right, resting right hand on hip, tamga in right field; inscription reversed, anticlockwise, to be read from edge of coin, in left field.

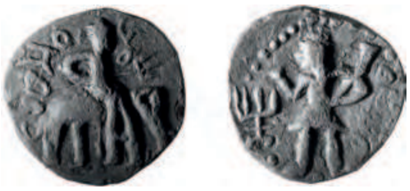
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Ashmolean (Senior 5249)		11.20	25	1A	2l
B*	Private collection B		-	-	1A	2l
C*	Bern (88.250); Göbl 373		7.24	25	1A	2r
D*	Private collection B		-	-	1A	2r
E*	Bern (88.231); Göbl 1993a:377		11.27	24	1A	4j
2172	273325	1989,0104.71	10.50	24	1A	6b
2173*	273324	1989,0104.70	11.36	24	1A	6b
F*	ANS (1944.100.66710)		11.13	24	1A	6c
G*	Bern (92.26); Göbl 1993a: 1618		11.76	24	1B	1e
H*	Ashmolean (Elliott 1859)		8.20	24	1B	2s
I*	Private collection M		11.50	-	1B	6b
J*	ANS (1921.54.1223)		8.42	25	1C	2l
K*	Ashmolean (de Shortt 1975 65)		13.33	27	1C	2s
L*	Bern (88.241); Göbl 1993a: 374		10.36	24	1C	2r
M*	Ashmolean (Senior 5268)		10.74	26	1C	2t
N*	Private collection M		7.50	-	1C	2u
O*	Ashmolean (de Shortt 1975 36)		11.45	26	1D	1e
P*	Private collection M		7.90	-	1D	2v
Q*	Shown to authors A		-	-	4A	4j

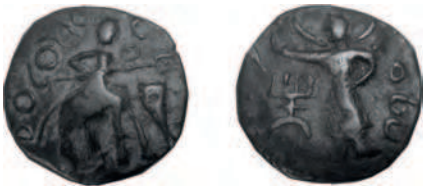

D: E-imit.C3-v 1u (1A/2r)

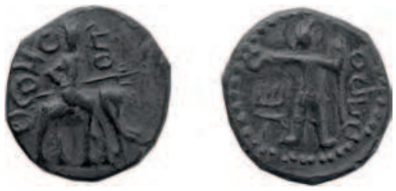

E: E-imit.C3-v 1u (1A/4j)

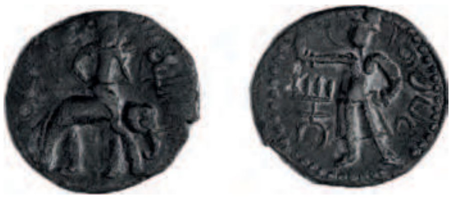

2173: E-imit.C3-v 1u (1A/6b)

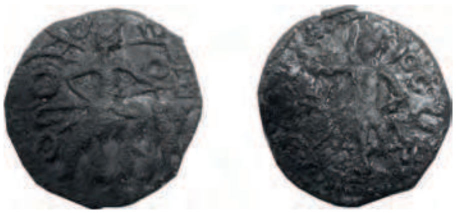

F: E-imit.C3-v 1u (1A/6c)


G: E-imit.C3-v 1u (1B/1e)

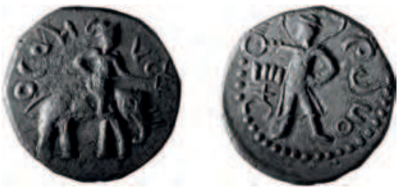

H: E-imit.C3-v 1u (1B/2s)


I: E-imit.C3-v 1u (1B/6b)

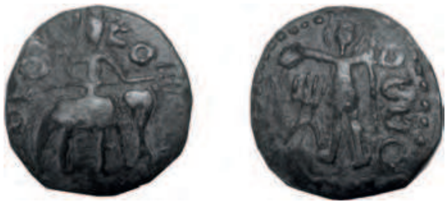

J: E-imit.C3-v 1u (1C/2l)



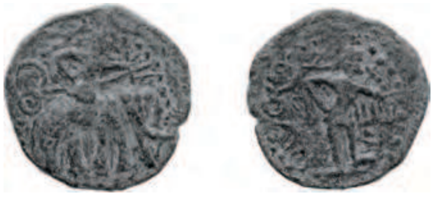
K: E-imit.C3-v 1u (1C/2s)



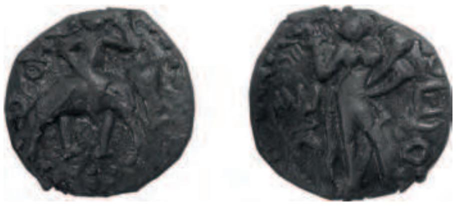
L: E-imit.C3-v 1u (1C/2r)



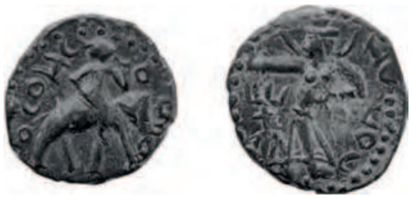
M: E-imit.C3-v 1u (1C/2t)



N: E-imit.C3-v 1u (1C/2u)

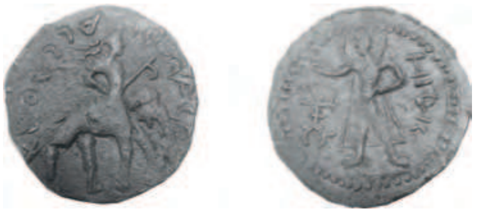


O: E-imit.C3-v 1u (1D/1e)

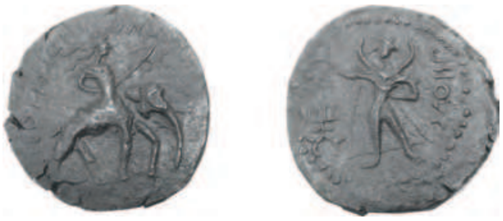


P: E-imit.C3-v 1u (1D/2v)

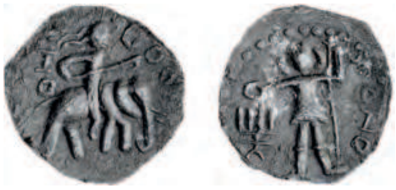
Q: E-imit.C3-v 1u (4A/4j)



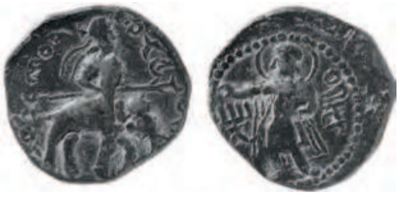
A: E-imit.C3-vi 1u (1A/2w)



B: E-imit.C3-vi 1u (1A/2x)



C: E-imit.C3-vi 1u (1A/6d)



2174: E-imit.C3-vi 1u (1B/2w)

145 E-imit.C3-vi 1u Imitations of subsidiary copper mint phase 6 units, Gandharan production

Göbl 1984: 915–16, 918, 920, 924, 926, 930–2, 950–1, 953, 956 and 961

Huvishka (E), unofficial imitations Group 3 (imit.C3), sixth phase (vi), imitating reduced standard four drachm units (1u) of the subsidiary copper mint (C2, phase 3), weighing *c.* 10g, made in Gandhara.

Obverse: King in various representations. Inscription in very blundered Bactrian: traces of version of ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKE KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan), or none.

1A King, full figure riding elephant walking to right or left, facing right or left, wearing headdress (details unclear), diadem with two ribbons, knee-length tunic and leggings, holding elephant goad in right hand at waist; elephant with tusks and trunk down.

1B as 1A, but king holding trident with v-shaped head in both hands, with right hand at waist and left hand before chest.

1C as 1B, but elephant walking and king facing to left, holding trident with v-shaped head in left hand at waist.

1D as 1A, but holding elephant goad in both hands, right hand at waist and left hand before chest.

1E as 1D, but elephant walking and king facing to left.

2A King, full figure seated squatting on mountain top, facing front, head to right, holding ribboned trident with v-shaped head in raised left hand and holding right hand by waist; mountain represented as small rocks.

2B as 2A, but design very crude

3A King, full figure seated on couch, resting left elbow on pillow and with right leg raised with foot on end of couch, left foot on floor, facing front, head to front, body surrounded by halo, wearing unclear headdress and dress, with both hands before waist.

5A Oesho, mountain god, full figure, standing facing front, head to front, behind bull standing facing to right, holding trident in raised right hand.

5B as 5A, but god without trident.

Reverse: Deity, full figure, barred or unbarred tamga in field, all within dotted border. Inscription in blundered Bactrian (in field): name of deity, or none.

1f Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, standing facing to left, head to left, surrounded by halo, with headdress (details unclear), wearing sleeved ankle-length dress, holding cornucopia in left hand at bottom and in front of face, tamga in left field. Inscription in right field.

2u Mao, moon god, standing facing front, with head to right, surrounded by crescent emanating from shoulders, wearing calf-length tunic held by belt at waist, boots, all under long cloak, making gesture of blessing with extended left hand and resting right hand on hip, tamga in right field; crude design, with blundered inscription in Bactrian (left field).

2w as 2u, but god's head to left, making gesture of blessing with extended right hand and resting left hand on hip, tamga in left field; inscription in right field.

2x as 2w, but god offering diadem in extended right hand.

2y as 2x, but the ribbons of the diadem offered by god, surround the tamga.

2z as 2x, but tamga replaced by branch of foliage.

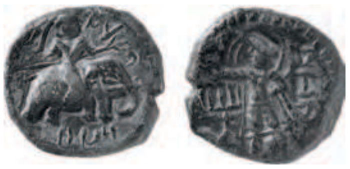
5e Oesho, mountain god with four arms, standing facing front, holding trident (?) in raised upper left hand, animal in lower left hand, offering diadem with raised upper right hand and holding water pot (?) with extended lower right hand, tamga in left field, no inscription.

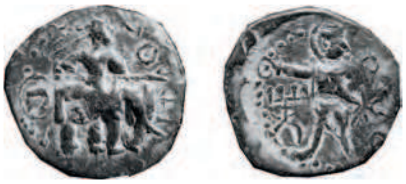
5f as 5e, but apart from diadem, the objects held by the god are unclear.

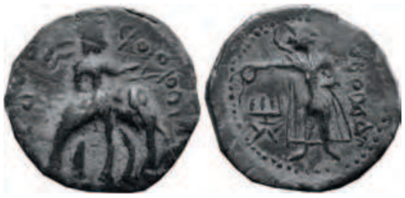
5g Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally, head to front, wearing calf-length tunic, holding water pot in lowered left hand by hip and staff in right hand, trident with battle axe blade on shaft in right field, tamga in left field; traces of inscription in right field.

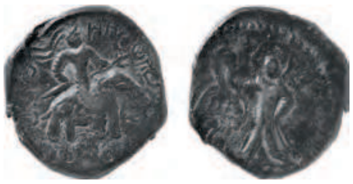
6d Pharro, god of wealth, standing facing front, with head to left and surrounded by halo, wearing winged cap, thigh-length tunic held by belt at waist, boots, holding staff in raised left hand and offering diadem with extended right hand, tamga in left field; inscription in right field.

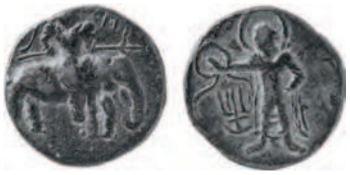
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Ashmolean (Senior 5255)		7.39	27	1A	2w
B*	Ashmolean (Senior 5258)		10.24	28	1A	2x
C*	ANS (1998.126.10)		7.99	24	1A	6d
2174*	300623	1894,0506.1477	10.02	25	1B	2w
2175	300513	1894,0506.1485	11.09	25	1B	2w
2176*	300626	1922,0424.3590	8.80	21	1B	2w
D*	Private collection T		-	-	1B	2x
E*	Private collection X		-	-	1B	2x
2177*	300624	1922,0424.2989	9.84	23	1B	2y
2178*	300625	OR.8304	9.40	22	1B	2y
F*	Private collection B		-	-	1B	2y
G*	Private collection B		-	-	1C	2w
2179*	300622	1894,0506.1502	11.49	25	1D	2u
H*	ANS (1917.91.1)		8.31	23	1D	2w
2180*	300630	1893,0506.26	8.74	24	1D	2x
I*	Private collection X		-	-	1D	2z
2181*	300601	1894,0506.1500	10.60	24	1E	5e
J*	Ashmolean (Scratton 1958)		11.19	26	2A	1f
K*	Paris; Göbl 1984: 918/1		10.88	-	2A	2x
2182*	300603	1922,0424.3684	8.39	23	2B	2w
L*	Tandon, 2011: 7f		13.27	25	2B	5e
2183*	300604	1922,0424.3625	11.27	22	2B	5f
M*	Ashmolean (de Shortt 1975 14)		7.65	23	2C	2w
N*†	Private collection X		11.00	25	2C	2w

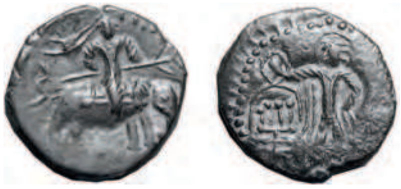

2176: E-imit.C3-vi 1u (1B/2w)

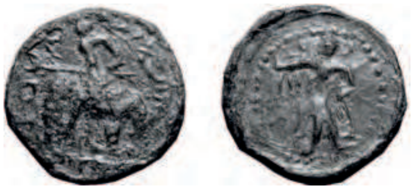

D: E-imit.C3-vi 1u (1B/2x)

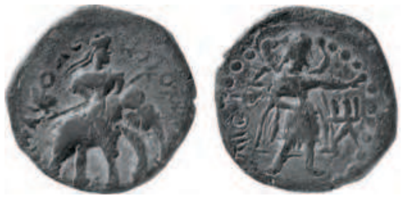

E: E-imit.C3-vi 1u (1B/2x)

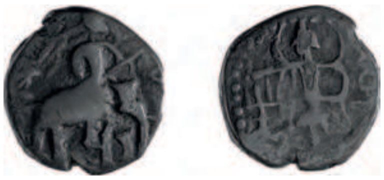

2177: E-imit.C3-vi 1u (1B/2y)


2178: E-imit.C3-vi 1u (1B/2y)


F: E-imit.C3-vi 1u (1B/2y)

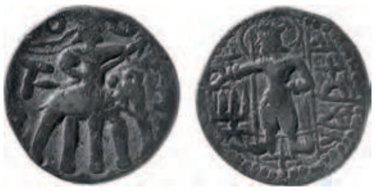

G: E-imit.C3-vi 1u (1C/2w)

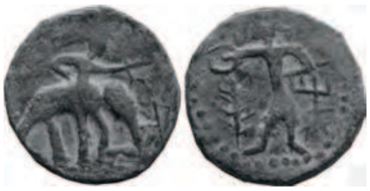

2179: E-imit.C3-vi 1u (1D/2u)

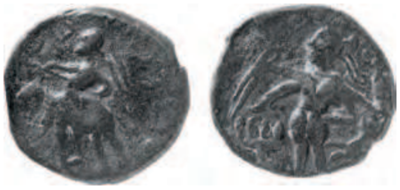

H: E-imit.C3-vi 1u (1D/2w)

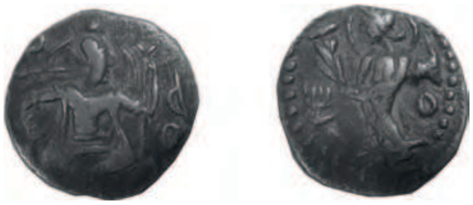
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
O*	Bern (88.280); Göbl 1993a: 383		11.18	25	3A	5g
P*	Ashmolean (de Shortt 1975 56)		12.76	25	5A	2w
Q*†	Mitchiner 1978: 4667		11.70	-	5B	2w

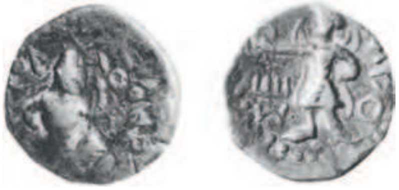
† These two coins share a reverse die.

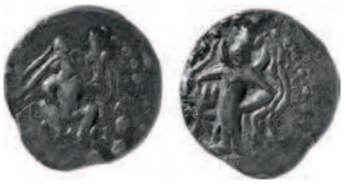

2180: E-imit.C3-vi 1u (1D/2x)

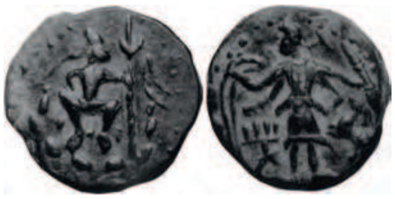

I: E-imit.C3-vi 1u (1D/2z)

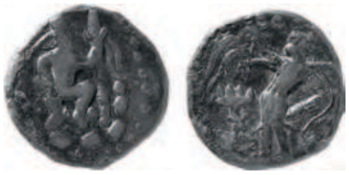

2181: E-imit.C3-vi 1u (1E/5e)

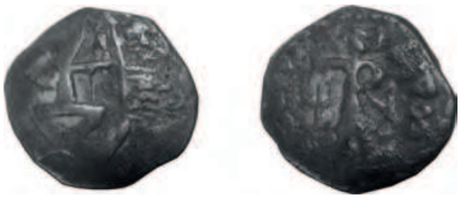

J: E-imit.C3-vi 1u (2A/1f)

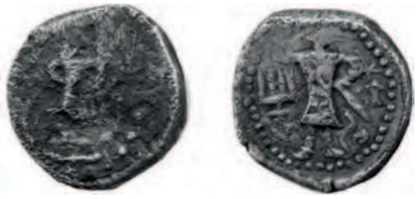

K: E-imit.C3-vi 1u (2A/2x)

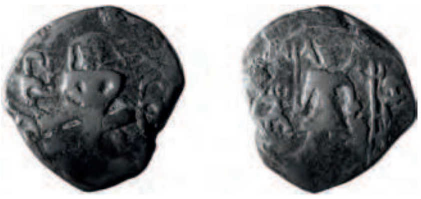

2182: E-imit.C3-vi 1u (1B/2w)

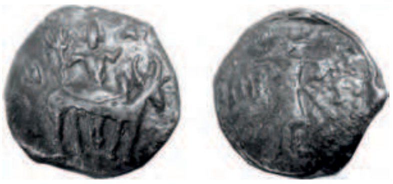

L: E-imit.C3-vi 1u (1B/5e)

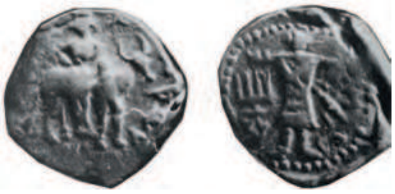

2183: E-imit.C3-vi 1u (2B/5f)


M: E-imit.C3-vi 1u (2C/2w)


N: E-imit.C3-vi 1u (2C/2w)


O: E-imit.C3-vi 1u (3A/5g)


P: E-imit.C3-vi 1u (5A/2w)


Q: E-imit.C3-vi 1u (5B/2w)

146 E-imit.C3-vii 1u Imitations of subsidiary copper mint phase 7 units, Gandharan production

Göbl 1984: 891, 912, 925, 927–9 and 948

Huvishka (E), unofficial imitations Group 3 (imit.C3), seventh phase (vii), imitating reduced standard four drachm units (1u) of the subsidiary copper mint (C2, phase 3), weighing *c.* 9g, made in Gandhara.

Obverse: King in various representations. Inscription in very blundered Bactrian: traces of version of ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKE KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan), or none.

1A King, full figure riding elephant walking to right or left, facing right or left, wearing headdress (details unclear), knee-length tunic and leggings, holding elephant goad in right hand at waist; elephant with trunk down. Inscription: very blundered Bactrian, version of ÞAONANO ÞAO OOHÞKE KOÞANO (King of Kings, Huvishka, Kushan) or none.

1B as 1A, but king holding spear in right hand at waist.

1C as 1B, but king holding nothing.

1D as 1A, but king holding elephant goad in right hand before chest and resting left hand on elephant's head.

1E as 1D, but elephant walking and king facing to left, king holding spear in both hands, with right hand before chest and left hand at waist.

2A King, full figure seated cross-legged on mountain top, facing front, head to right, holding staff in raised left hand and holding right hand by waist; mountain represented as small rocks.

3A King, full figure seated on couch, resting left elbow on pillow and with right leg raised with foot on end of couch, left foot on floor, facing front, head to front, body surrounded by halo, wearing unclear headdress and dress, with both hands before waist.

3B as 3A, but king raising right hand.

Reverse: Deity, full figure, barred or unbarred tamga in field, all within dotted border. Inscription in blundered Bactrian (in field): name of deity, or none.

2w Mao, moon god, standing facing front, with head to left, surrounded by crescent emanating from shoulders, wearing calf-length tunic held by belt at waist, boots, all under long cloak, making gesture of blessing with extended right hand and resting left hand on hip, tamga in left field; crude design. Inscription (in right field): traces or none.

2x as 2w, but god offering diadem in extended right hand. Inscription (in right field): traces.

3e Miiro, sun god, standing facing front, with head to left and surrounded by rayed halo, wearing short hair held in diadem with two ribbons behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist, all under long cloak, holding sword in left hand at waist and making gesture of blessing with extended right hand. Inscription (in right field): traces.

4e Nana, royal goddess, standing facing frontally, head to left, wearing unclear headdress and diadem with ribbons, sleeved ankle-length gown, offering diadem with extended right hand and resting left hand at waist, tamga in left field. Inscription (in right field): traces.

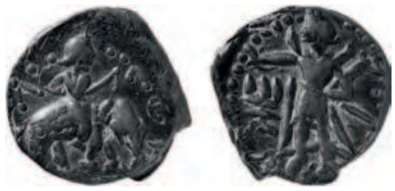
4i as 4e, but goddess holding flower in raised right hand before face.

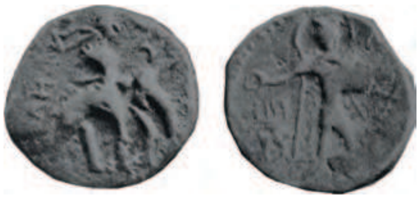
6e Pharro, god of wealth, standing facing front, with head to left and surrounded by halo, wearing short hair held in diadem with hair bun behind, calf-length tunic held by belt at waist, boots, all under long cloak, held by clasp on chest, holding staff in raised left hand and bag with extended right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription (in right field): traces.

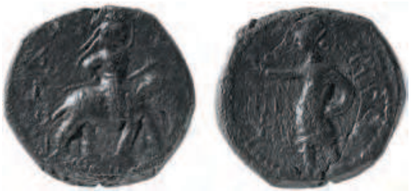
6f as 6e, but nothing held in king's right hand. Inscription (in right field): traces.

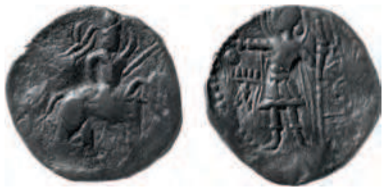
11a Heracles, Greek god, standing facing front, head to front, naked, holding club in left hand by hip, resting on shoulder and with right hand on hip, tamga in left field. Inscription (in right field): traces.

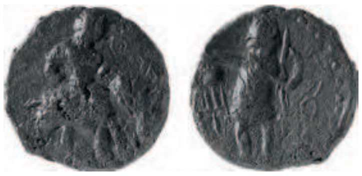
11b as 11a, but lion skin hanging from god's right forearm, tamga in right field. Inscription (in left field): traces.

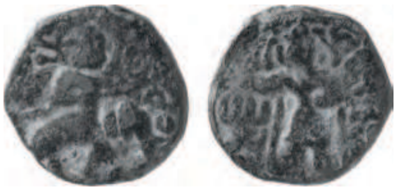

2185: E-imit.C3-vii 1u (1A/2w)

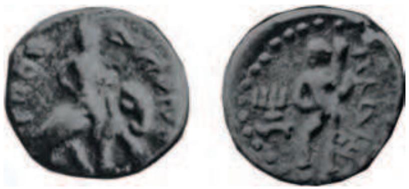

A: E-imit.C3-vii 1u (1A/2x)

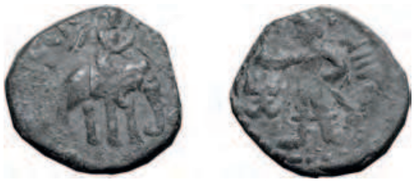

2186: E-imit.C3-vii 1u (1A/3e)

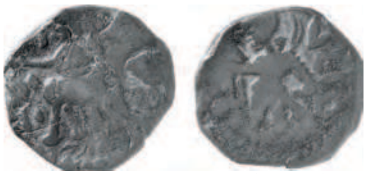

2187: E-imit.C3-vii 1u (1A/6e)

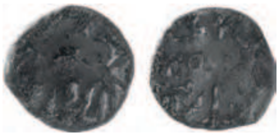

2188: E-imit.C3-vii 1u (1A/6e)

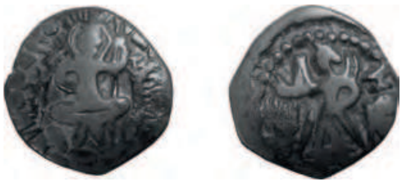

2189: E-imit.C3-vi i1u (1B/2w)

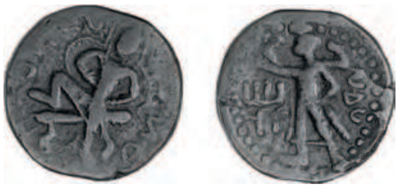

B: E-imit.C3-vii 1u (1C/11a)

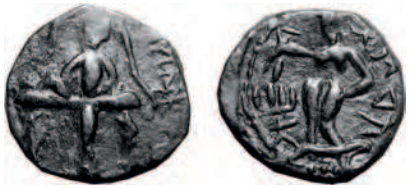

C: E-imit.C3-vii 1u (1D/3e)

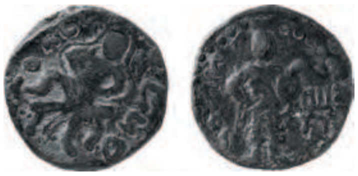

2190: E-imit.C3-vii 1u (1E/2w)

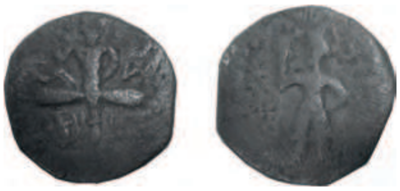

2191: E-imit.C3-vii 1u (1E/2w)


D: E-imit.C3-vii 1u (2A/2w)


E: E-imit.C3-vii 1u (3A/2w)


F: E-imit.C3-vii 1u (3A/4e)


2192: E-imit.C3-vii 1u (3A/11b)


G: E-imit.C3-vii 1u (3B/4i)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
2184	300600	1922,0424.3620	8.78	25	1A	2w
2185*	300628	1894,0506.1529	11.04	24	1A	2w
A*	Mitchiner 1978: 4663		10.80	-	1A	2x
2186*	273329	1989,0104.41	12.35	25	1A	3e
2187*	300620	OR.8303	10.00	24	1A	6e
2188*	273562	1988,1111.35	8.79	22	1A	6e
2189*	300632	1996,1030.30	10.26	24	1B	2w
B*	Mitchiner 1978: 4666		13.60	-	1C	11a
C*	Private collection B		-	-	1D	3e
2190*	300646	1894,0506.1183	6.65	22	1E	2w
2191*	300676	1922,0213.106	2.12	17	1E	2w
2191.2	300627	1847,1201.236	9.87	24	1E	6f
D*	Ashmolean (de Shortt 1975 5)		7.77	23	2A	2w
E*	ANS (1944.100.66706)		7.19	24	3A	2w
F*	Private collection B		-	-	3A	4e
2192*	300633	1847,1201.231	6.52	22	3A	11b
G*	Ashmolean (Elliott 1859)		11.18	25	3B	4i

Gold coinage

Main gold mint, Balkh (F.G1)

The main gold was a continuation of the main gold mint of Huvishka (E.G1). Its production included dinars and quarter dinars. The location of this mint is based on the change of production in Vasudeva's reign. At some point in phase 5 the mint began to produce coins which eventually became the issues of the Kushano-Sasanians. As Bactria was lost to the Sasanians at this time and Balkh is known to be a Kushano-Sasanian mint the attribution to Balkh seems secure.

The obverse designs consist of the king standing making an offering at an altar with a trident in his left hand. The designs resemble those of Kanishka but the king wears armour. Main mint designs are distinguished from subsidiary mint by the use of a banner behind the king's head. The reverse designs, with the exception of phase 1, feature the god Oesho standing before a bull.

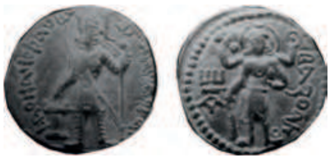
Phase 1 production included both dinars and quarter dinars and was extremely short. It followed the pattern of Huvishka's coinage with a range of standing deities including: Vasudeva, Nana, and Oesho.

Phase 2 production included both dinars and quarter dinars. The reverse designs were reduced to just the god Oesho depicted before a bull.

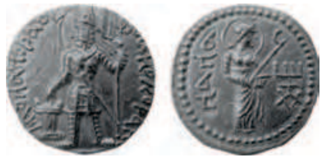
Phase 3 production included both dinars and quarter dinars. The phase was marked by the introduction of a trident above the altar on the obverse of the coin.

Phase 4 production of dinars. The phase was marked by the introduction of a nandipada in the right field of the obverse. This was the last phase produced, in part, under Kushan control.

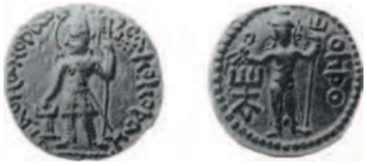
Phase 5 production of dinars. The phase was marked by the use of various dot and swastika control marks on the obverse and reverse. The phase preceded the series of Kushano-Sasanian imitations (F-imit.G1) which began with imitations in the name of Kanishka.



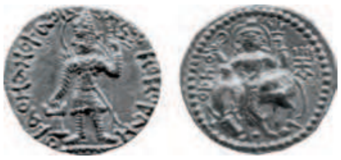
A: F.G1-i 1d (1a)



2193: F.G1-i 1d (2a)



B: F.G1-i 1d (3a)



2195: F.G1-i 1d (3b)

147 F.G1-i 1d Main gold mint phase 1 dinars, various gods

Göbl 1984: 511–15

Vasudeva (F), main gold mint (G1), first phase (i), dinars (1d), *c.* 8g, using a variety of reverses. Production considerations (specific gravity, artist, and relative outputs) suggest these coins were issued at the main mint.

Obverse: King, standing facing left, with halo, flames emanate from right shoulder, wearing tall conicle crown with ear pieces, diadem, banner behind head, heavy armour depicted as dots on torso, gridded skirt and bands on arms and legs. In left hand he holds a trident, with right hand he makes an offering at an altar. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 7.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO BAZOΔHO KOÞANO (King of Kings Vasudeva Kushan).

Reverse: Diety, full figure, tamga in field, all contained in dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian: deity's name.

1a Vasudeva, four armed, facing frontally, hair arranged in top knot with matted locks, with halo, wearing beads across chest, dhoti, holding cakra in upper left, conch in lower-left, club in lower-right, thunderbolt in upper-right hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): BAZOΔHO.

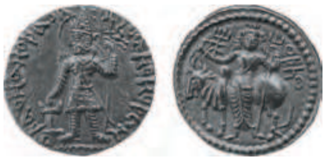
2a Nana, moon goddess, with halo, standing facing to right, long hair tied by diadem, wearing sleeved ankle-length gown covering feet and shawl heald over left arm, holding lion wand in right hand and bowl in left hand, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): NANA.

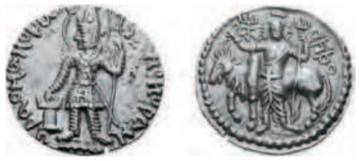
3a Oesho, mountain god, standing facing frontally, many-faced (human faces facing front and right and horned head facing left), hair arranged in a top knot with matted locks, with erect linga, ascetics string over chest, wearing an ankle-length dhoti, holding diadem in extended right hand and trident in left, tamga in bottom left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): OHÞO.

3b Oesho, mountain god, standing facing frontally, many-faced (front face has a moustace, the left and right faces are bearded), with halo, hair arranged in a top knot with matted locks, with erect linga, ascetics string over chest, wearing a calf-length dhoti, holding diadem in extended right hand and trident in left, before a standing bull which bows its head to lick the god's feet, tamga in top right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field from 8.00): OHÞO.

3c Oesho, mountain god, as for 3b but without a halo and the bull no longer licks the god's feet. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 2.00): OÞHO.

3d Oesho, mountain god, as for 1c but inscription: OHÞO.


2196: F.G1-i 1d (3c)


C: F.G1-i 1d (3d)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Rev.
A*	Private collection F		-	-	-	1a
2193*	189035	IOC.356	7.94	21	18.57	2a
2194†	189034	1879,0501.86	7.93	20	18.90	2a
B*	Göbl 1984: 515/1		-	-	-	3a
2195*	189040	IOC.358	7.98	20	19.11	3b
2196*	189042	1922,0229.16	7.99	20	-	3c
C*	CNG Auction, 81 (May 2009), 723		7.97	-	-	3d

†The SG for this entry may be inaccurate as the methods predate refinements in the technique (Oddy and Hughes 1972).

148 F.G1-i ¼d Main gold mint phase 1 quarter dinars, Oesho alone

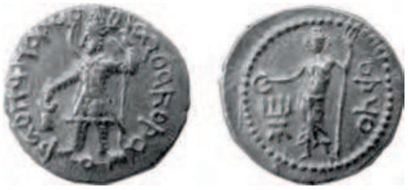
Göbl 1984: 505

Vasudeva (F), main gold mint (G1), first phase (i), quarter dinars (¼d), *c.* 2g.

Obverse: King, standing facing left, with halo, flames emanate from right shoulder, wearing tall conicle crown with ear pieces, diadem, banner behind head, heavy armour depicted as dots on torso, gridded skirt and bands on arms and legs. In left hand he holds a trident, with right hand he makes an offering at an altar. Inscription in Bactrian commencing at 7.00 ÞAONANO ÞAO BAZOΔHO [KO]ÞANO (King of Kings Vasudeva Kushan). The first characters of Kushan are omitted.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing facing frontally, hair arranged in a top knot with matted locks, ascetics string over chest, wearing a calf-length dhoti, holding diadem in extended right hand and trident in left, tamga in bottom left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): OHÞO (Þ sometimes inverted).

2197: F.G1-i ¼d


200% enlargement of 2197

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG
2197*	189036	1894,0506.104	1.95	12	18.46
2198	189037	1890,0502.3	1.92	12	18.65

149 F.G1-ii 1d Main gold mint phase 2 dinars

Göbl 1984: 501–4

Vasudeva (F), main gold mint (G1), second phase (ii), dinars (1d), *c.* 8g.

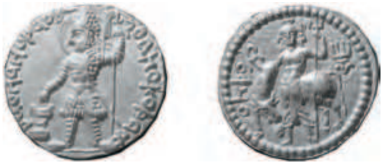
Obverse: King, standing facing left, with halo, wearing tall conicle crown with ear pieces, diadem, banner behind head, heavy armour depicted as dots on shirt, small plates on plated skirt and bands on arms and legs. In left hand he holds a trident, with right hand he makes an offering at an altar. Inscription in Bactrian commencing at 7.00 ÞAONANO ÞAO BAZOΔHO KOÞANO (King of Kings Vasudeva Kushan).

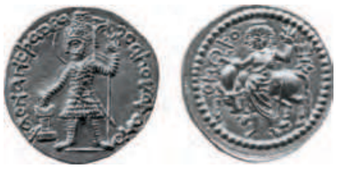
1A as above.

1B as above but flames emanate from right shoulder.

Reverse: Deity, full figure, tamga in field, all contained in dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian: deity's name.

1a Oesho, mountain god, standing facing frontally, many-faced (human faces facing front and right and horned head facing left), hair arranged in a top knot with matted locks, with erect linga, ascetics string over chest,


A: F.G1ii 1d (1A/1a)

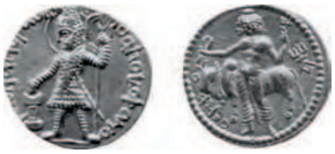

2199: F.G1ii 1d (1A/1b)

wearing a calf-length dhoti, holding diadem in extended right hand and trident in left, before a standing bull which bows its head to lick the god's feet, tamga in top right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field from 7.00): OHÞO.

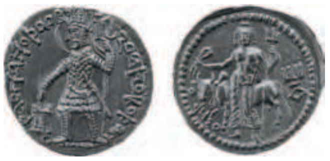
1b as for 1a but left face is no longer horned and the inscription starts from 9.00 and is broken by the diadem.

2a as for 1b but the bull no longer licks the god's feet and the inscription starts from 7.00.

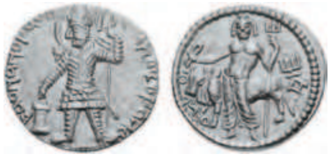
2b as for 2a but god is depicted with a single face.



2200: F.G1-ii 1d (1A/2a)



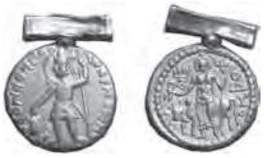
2204: F.G1-ii 1d (1A/2b)



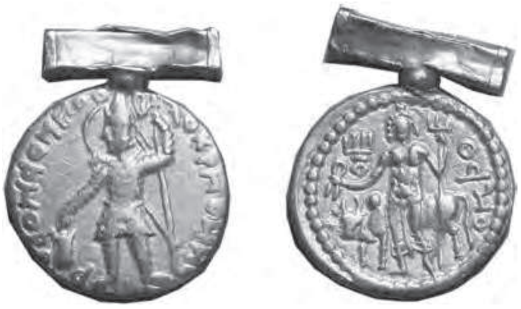
B: F.G1-ii 1d (1B/2b)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	BKB (8735); Göbl 1984: 501/2		8.07	22	-	1A	1a
2199*	189044	1879,0501.91	8.09	21	18.42	1A	1b
2200*	189045	1879,0501.90	8.08	19	18.60	1A	2a
2201	189046	1894,0506.92	8.06	19	18.52	1A	2a
2202	189047	1879,0501.89	8.05	19	18.66	1A	2a
2203	189048	IOC.357	8.01	21	18.69	1A	2a
2204*	189049	1894,0506.95	8.10	20	18.48	1A	2b
B*	www.vcoins.com		-	-	-	1B	2b

150 F.G1-ii ¼d Main gold mint phase 2 quarter dinars



A: F.G1-ii ¼d



200% enlargement of A

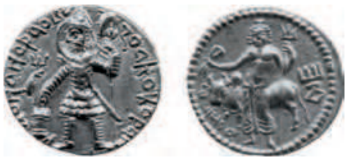
Vasudeva (F), main gold mint (G1), second phase (ii), quarter dinars (¼d), *c.* 2g.

Obverse: King, standing facing left, with halo, wearing tall conicle crown with ear pieces, diadem, banner behind head, heavy armour depicted as dots on shirt, small plates on plated skirt and bands on arms and legs, holding trident in left hand, making offering at altar with right hand. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 7.00): ÞOAONÞONNOO B AZOHÞNONNO (King of Kings Vasudeva Kushan) seems to be a badly blundered version of the inscription on the full units.

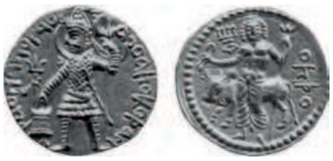
Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing facing frontally, many-faced (human faces facing front and right and horned head facing left), hair arranged in a top knot with matted locks, with erect linga, ascetics string over chest, wearing a calf-length dhoti, holding diadem in extended right hand and trident in left, before a bull standing to left, tamga in top right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): OHÞO.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Rev.
A*	Private collection B					

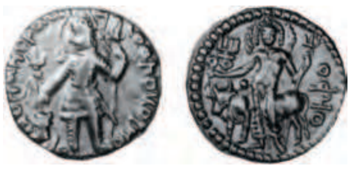
151 F.G1-iii 1d Main gold mint phase 3 dinars, with trident



2205: F.G1-iii 1a



2206: F.G1-iii 1b



A: F.G1-iii 1c

Göbl 1984: 507–9

Vasudeva (F), main gold mint (G1), third phase (iii), gold dinars (1d), *c.* 8g.

Obverse: King, standing facing left, with halo, flames emanate from right shoulder, wearing tall conicle crown with ear pieces, diadem, banner behind head, heavy armour depicted as dots on torso, gridded skirt and bands on arms and legs, holding trident in left hand, making offering over altar with right hand, above the altar is a trident with a ribbon (the ties of the ribbon hang to the left). Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 10.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO BAZOΔHO KOÞANO (King of Kings Vasudeva Kushan).

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing facing frontally, hair arranged in a top knot with matted locks, with erect linga, ascetics string over chest, wearing a calf-length dhoti, holding diadem in extended right hand and trident in left, before a bull standing to left, tamga in field. Inscription in Bactrian: OHÞO.

1a as above, tamga in right field, with inscription clockwise from 7.00.

1b as above, tamga in upper left field, with inscription clockwise from 2.00.

1c as 1c but flames depicted around the head of Oesho.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Rev.
2205*	189050	1894,0506.93	8.00	20	-	1a
2206*	189051	1879,0501.92	8.17	20	18.86	1b
2207	189052	1879,0501.88	8.10	20	18.74	1b
2208	189053	1979,0220.1	8.07	21	-	1b
2209	189054	1982,0625.2	7.86	21	-	1b
A*	Vienna		-	-	-	1c

The Museum has a forgery of this group, OR.7430 (COC240057)

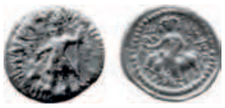
152 F.G1-iii ¼d Main gold mint phase 3 quarter dinars, with trident

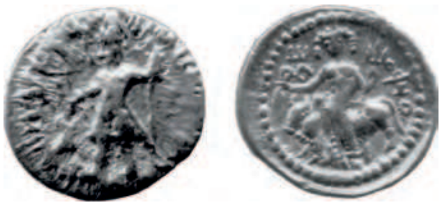
Göbl 1984: 510

Vasudeva (F), main gold mint (G1), third phase (iii), quarter dinars (¼d), *c.* 2g.

Obverse: King, standing facing left, with halo, flames emanate from right shoulder, wearing tall conicle crown with ear pieces, diadem, banner behind head, heavy armour depicted as dots on torso, gridded skirt and bands on arms and legs. In left hand he holds a trident, with right hand he makes an offering at an altar, above the altar a trident with a ribbon (the ties of the ribbon hang to the left). Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 7.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO BAZOΔHO [KO]ÞANO (King of Kings Vasudeva Kushan). The first characters of Kushan are omitted.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing facing frontally, hair arranged in a top knot with matted locks, with erect linga, ascetics string over chest, wearing a calf-length dhoti, holding diadem in extended right hand and trident in left, before a bull standing to left, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (right field): OHÞO.


2210: F.G1-iii ¼d


200% enlargement of 2210

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG
2210*	189055	IOC.359	2.02	13	18.78

153 F.G1-iv 1d Main gold mint phase 4 dinars, with nandipada

Göbl 1984: 509, 640A

Vasudeva (F), main gold mint (G1), fourth phase (iv), gold dinars (1d), *c.* 8g.

Obverse: King, standing facing left, with halo, flames emanate from right shoulder, wearing tall conicle crown with ear pieces, diadem, banner behind head, heavy armour depicted as dots on torso, gridded skirt and bands on arms and legs, holding trident in left hand, making offering over altar with right hand, above the altar is a trident with a ribbon (the ties of the ribbon hang to the left), in the right field a nandipada symbol. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 7.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO BAZOΔHO KOÞANO (King of Kings Vasudeva Kushan).

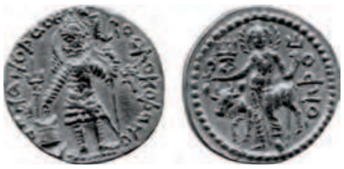
1A as above.

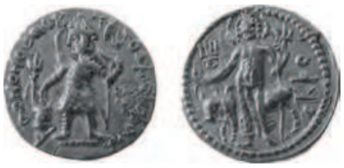
1B as above with a circular device on the fire altar.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing facing frontally, flames around head, hair arranged in a top knot with matted locks, with erect linga, ascetics string over chest, wearing a calf-length dhoti, holding diadem in extended right hand and trident in left, before a bull standing to left, tamga in upper left field. Inscription in Bactrian (right field): OHÞO.

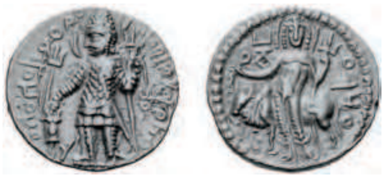
1a as above.

1b as above with circular device on trident.

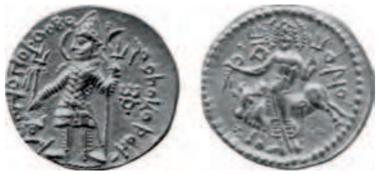

2211: F.G1-iv 1d (1A/1a)


A: F.G1-iv 1d (1B/1b)

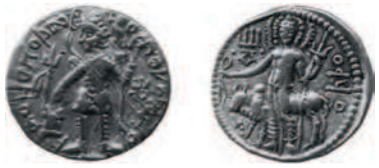
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
2211*	189056	1982,0625.3	7.92	21	-	1A	1a
A*	Private collection V		-	-	-	1B	1b



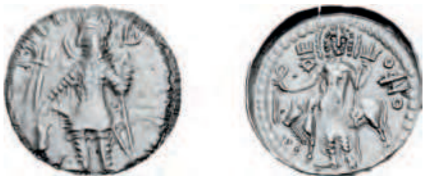
A: F.G1-v 1d (1A/1a)



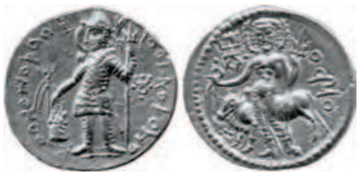
2212: F.G1-v 1d (1A/1b)



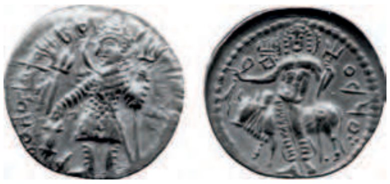
B: F.G1-v 1d (1A/2a)



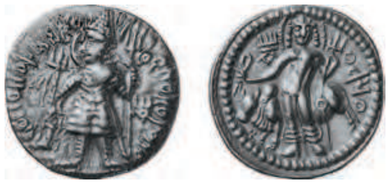
C: F.G1-v 1d (1A/3a)



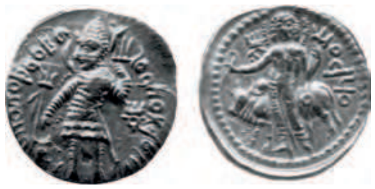
2213: F.G1-v 1d (1A/2c)



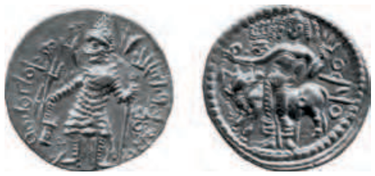
2214: F.G1-v 1d (1A/4d)



D: F.G1-v 1d (1B/1a)



2215: F.G1-v 1d (1B/2a)



2216: F.G1-v 1d (1B/3a)

154 F.G1-v 1d Main gold mint phase 5 dinars, transition to Kushanshah types

Göbl 1984: 641–59, 699, 700

Vasudeva (F), main gold mint (G1), fifth phase (v), dinars (1d), *c.* 8g. The fifth phase marks the transition to Sasanian control at the mint, some of these coins were issued by the Sasanians after the reign of Vasudeva.

Obverse: King, standing facing left, with halo, flames emanate from right shoulder, wearing tall conicle crown with ear pieces, diadem, banner behind head, heavy armour depicted as dots on torso, gridded skirt and bands on arms and legs. In left hand he holds a trident, with right hand he makes an offering (dropping small pellets) at an altar with a circular device on it, above the altar a trident with a ribbon (the ties of the ribbon hang to the left), in the right field a nandipada, various dot control marks (by fire altar, below nandipada, above nandipada). Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 7.00): ÞΑΟΝΑΝΟ ÞΑΟ ΒΑΖΟΔΗΟ [ΚΟ]ÞΑΝΟ (King of Kings Vasudeva Kushan).

1A as above.

1B as for 1A but with three dots by the fire altar.

1C as for 1A but with three dots above and below the nandipada and a dot by the fire altar.

1D as for 1A but with single dot by the fire altar.

2A as above but the ties of the ribbon fall either side of the trident.

3A as for 2A but with 1 dot above the nandipada.

4A as for 2A but with 3 dots above the nandipada.

4B as for 4A but with a dot by fire altar.

5A as for 2A but with 3 dots below the nandipada.

5B as for 5A with 3 dots above the nandipada and one dot by the fire altar.

5C as for 5A with 2 dots by the fire altar.

5D as for 5A with 1 dot by the fire altar.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing facing frontally, flames around head, hair arranged in a top knot with matted locks, with erect linga, ascetics string over chest, wearing a calf-length dhoti, holding diadem in extended right hand and trident in left, before a bull standing to left, tamga in upper left field, various dot controls marks (left and right of tamga, bottom left field, between legs of bull, below inscription, right of inscription, above inscription). Inscription in Bactrian (right field, anti-clockwise): ΟΗÞΟ.

1a as above with three dots in the bottom left field.

1b as for 1a with two dots below the inscription.

2a as for 1a with a dot on each side of the tamga.

3a as for 1a with a dot to the left of the tamga.

3b as for 3a with a dot below the inscription.

3c as for 3a with a dot to the right of the inscription.

3d as for 3a with a dot beween the legs of the bull.

3e as for 3a with a dot above and below the inscription.

4a as above with three dots to the left of the tamga and a dot below the inscription.

4b as above with three dots below the inscription and a dot between the legs of the bull.

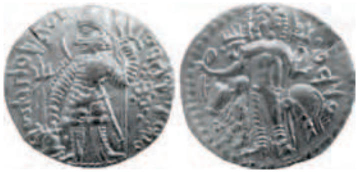
4c as above with three dots between the legs of the bull.

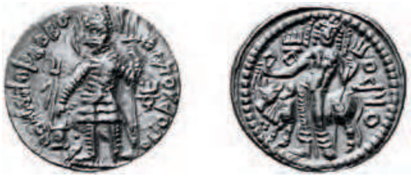
4d as above with one dot between the legs of the bull.

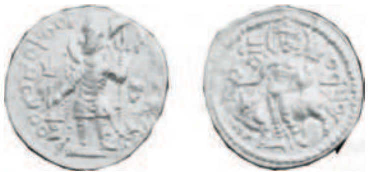
5a as above but with no dot control marks.

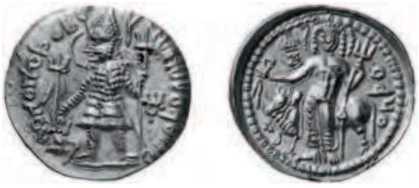
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	UBS Gold Sale, 77 (2008), 750;		8.00	-	-	1A	1a
2212*	189058	1894,0506.108	8.01	23	18.76	1A	1b
B*	Private collection W (03.01.20)		7.93	22	-	1A	2a
C*	Meister & Sonntag Auction 6 (2008): 148		-	-	-	1A	3a
2213*	189057	1894,0506.106	7.97	22	18.82	1A	2c

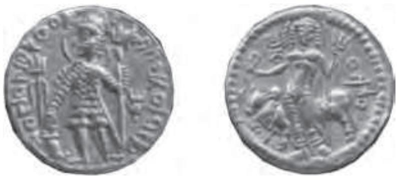
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
2214*	189060	1981,0324.1	7.92	23	-	1A	4d
D*	Gorny & Mosch Auction, 170 (2008) 1607		7.92	-	-	1B	1a
2215*	189061	1894,0506.165	7.97	24	18.78	1B	2a
2216*	189065	1860,1220.198	7.99	22	18.84	1B	3a
2217*	257935	1894,0506.107	7.87	22	18.50	1C	3e
E*	Fritz Rudolf Kunker, 89 (2004), 2996		7.96	-	-	1D	1a
F*	Seen by authors		-	-	-	1D	2a
G*	Lanz, 128 (2006) 143		7.92	-	-	2A	1a
H*	Ars Antiqua, 2003; Sotheby Sale, 28.5-1.6.1987, 77		-	-	-	2A	1b
I*	Seen by authors		-	-	-	2A	3a
J*	Göbl 1984: G640A/26		-	-	-	2A	4a
K*	zeno.ru: 18828		7.9	24	-	2A	4d
L*	Chand Collection (01.03.14)		7.85	23	-	2A	5a
M*	Private collection V		-	-	-	3A	1a
N*	Sotheby Sale, 1993, 51		-	-	-	3A	4a
O*	Sotheby Sale, 1993, 47		-	-	-	4A	3c
P*	zeno.ru: 41414		8.1	22	-	4A	4c
Q*	H D Rauch Auctions, 80 (2007): 69		7.98	-	-	4B	3b
R*	Baldwin Auction: 43, 2697		7.95	-	-	5A	1a
2218*	189063	1979,0215.1	7.99	23	-	5C	3a
2219*	189145	1889,0506.1	7.96	23	18.63	5D	3b

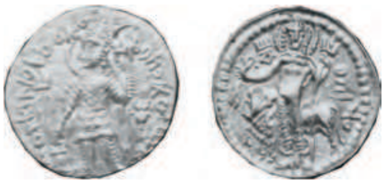

2217: F.G1-v 1d (1C/3e)

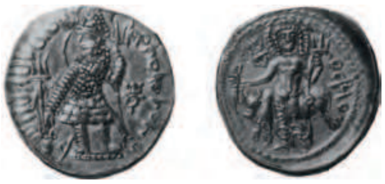

E: F.G1-v 1d (1D/1a)

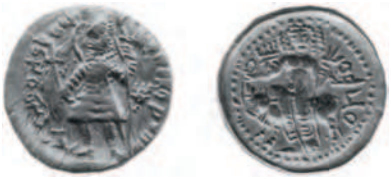

F: F.G1-v 1d (1D/2a)

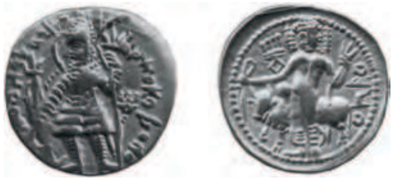

G: F.G1-v 1d (2A/1a)

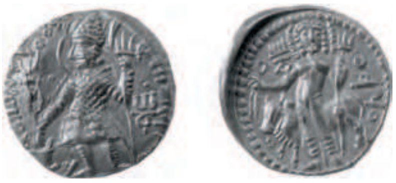

H: F.G1-v 1d (2A/1b)

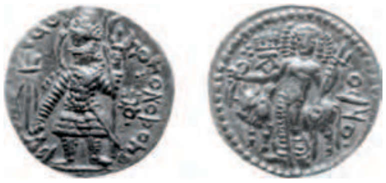

I: F.G1-v 1d (2A/3a)

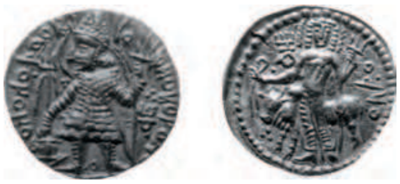

J: F.G1-v 1d (2A/4a)

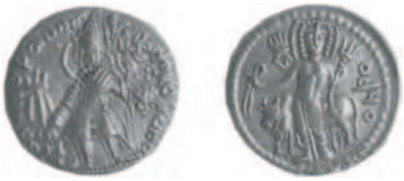

K: F.G1iva (2A/4d)

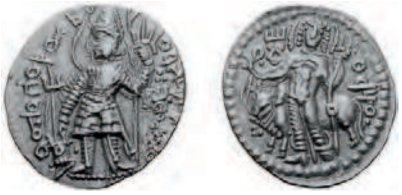

L: F.G1-v 1d (2A/5a)

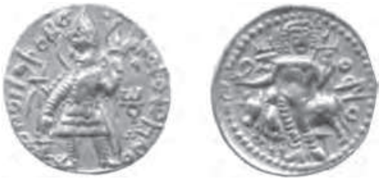

M: F.G1-v 1d (3A/1a)

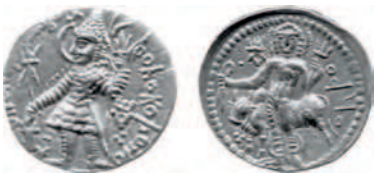

N: F.G1-v 1d (3A/4a)

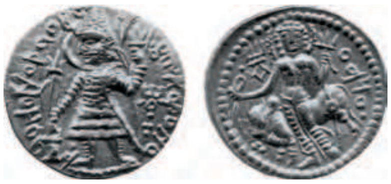

O: F.G1-v 1d (4A/3c)

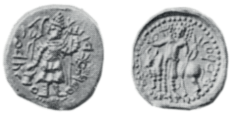

P: F.G1-v 1d (4A/4c)


Q: F.G1-v 1d (4B/3b)

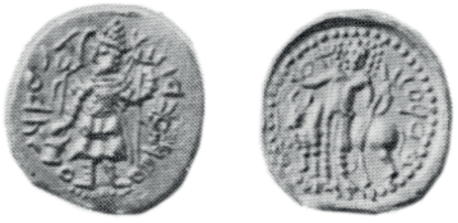

R: F.G1-v 1d (5A/1a)


2218: F.G1-v 1d (5C/3a)


2219: F.G1-v 1d (5D/3b)



A: F.G1-v ¼d



200% enlargement of A

155 F.G1-v ¼d Main gold mint phase 5 quarter dinars, with nandipada

Göbl 1984: 641A

Vasudeva (F), main gold mint (G1), fifth phase (v), quarter dinars (¼d), *c.* 2g.

Obverse: King standing facing left with halo, wearing crown, diadem, and heavy armour. Behind head a banner. In left hand he holds a trident, with right hand he makes an offering at an altar. In left field above the altar a trident, with ties falling to the left and right, in right field a nandipada. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 7.00), a blundered version of: ÞAONANO ÞAO BAZOΔHO KOÞANO (King of Kings Vasudeva Kushan).

Reverse: Oesho with standing wearing dhoti holding trident in left hand and diadem in right, in front of a bull facing left, three dots in lower left field below bulls head, tamga in right field, inscription in right field OHÞO.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG
A*	Göbl 1984: 641A/1		2.11	-	-

Subsidiary gold mint (F.G2)

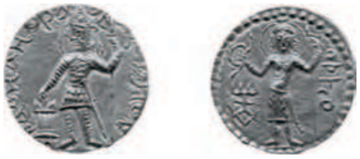
The subsidiary gold mint of Vasudeva was a continuation of the subsidiary gold mint of Huvishka probably located at Taxila or perhaps Peshawar. The obverse designs consisted of the king making an offering at an altar with a Bactrian inscription with titles. The reverses depicted a labelled deity, which was usually the mountain god Oesho standing before a bull.

Phase 1 production included both dinars and quarters. The designs were non-standard.

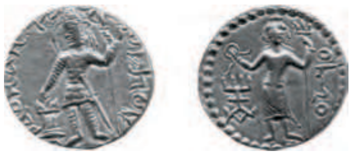
Phase 2 production included both dinars and quarters. From this point onwards Oesho was accompanied by a bull.

Phase 3 production included both dinars and quarters. It was marked by the introduction of a trident.

Phase 4 production included both dinars and quarters. It commenced with the introduction of a nandipada mark like that of the main mint and then subsequently employed various Brahmi, Greek, and Kharoshthi control marks.



2220: F.G2-i 1d (1a)



2221: F.G2-i 1d (1b)

156 F.G2-i 1d Subsidiary gold mint phase 1 dinars, non-standard types

Göbl 1984: 521–2

Vasudeva (F), subsidiary gold mint (G2), first phase (i), dinars (1d), *c.* 8g. Like phase I of the main mint the attribution is uncertain. These coins depict the plated skirt which becomes standard at the main mint but otherwise stylistically seem to belong to the subsidiary mint.

Obverse: King, standing facing left, with halo, flames emanate from right shoulder, wearing tall conicle crown with ear pieces, diadem, heavy armour depicted as dots on torso, skirt depicted as plates, and bands on arms and legs, holding trident in left hand, making offering over altar with right hand,. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 7..00): ÞAONANO ÞAO BAZOΔHO K[OÞANO] (King of Kings Vasudeva Kushan), inscription truncated as indicated.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing facing frontally, multi-faced (faces to front, left, and right are visible), hair arranged in a top knot, ascetics string over chest, wearing a knee-length dhoti, holding diadem in extended right hand and trident in left, tamga in field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field) : OHÞO.

1a as above with halo.

1b as above without halo and blundered inscription.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Rev.
2220*	189074	1860,1220.196	7.92	19	-	1a
2221*	189070	1879, 0501.87	7.84	19	18.32	1b

157 F.G2-i ¼d Subsidiary gold mint phase 1 quarter dinars, MAO type

Göbl 1984: 510A

Vasudeva (F), subsidiary gold mint (G2), first phase (i), quarter dinars (¼d), *c.* 2g. Whether the mint continued the practice of rotating deities for a time or simply expediently or in error re-used an old die from the reign of Huvishka is unclear.

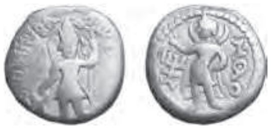
Obverse: King, standing facing left, with halo, flames emanate from right shoulder, wearing tall conicle crown with ear pieces, diadem, heavy armour depicted as dots on torso, skirt depicted as plates, and bands on arms and legs, holding trident in left hand, making offering over altar with right hand. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 7.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO BAZOΔHO KOÞANO (King of Kings Vasudeva Kushan).

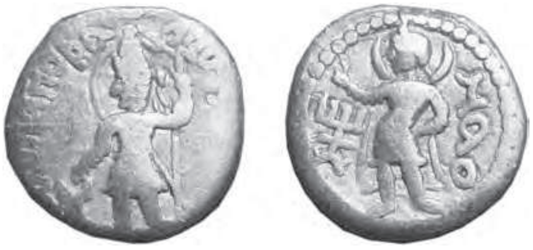
Reverse: Standing deity, with label in Bactrian, and tamga in field.

1A MAO, moon god, standing facing frontally head turned to left, crescent moon rising behind shoulders, short curly hair, wearing thigh length tunic, cloak, calf-high boots, making gesutre with right hand, left hand resting on waist, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): MAO.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Rev.
A* †	Private collection B					1a

† This coin was made with the reverse die used to make E.G2-iv 1/4d (2A/2d) example A.


A: F.G2-i 1/4d (1a)


200% enlargement of A

158 F.G2-ii 1d Subsidiary gold mint phase 2 dinars

Göbl 1984: 500, 519–20, 523, 519–20

Vasudeva (F), subsidiary gold mint (G2), second phase (ii), dinars (1d), *c.* 8g.

Obverse: King, standing facing left, with halo, flames emanate from right shoulder, wearing tall conicle crown with ear pieces, diadem, heavy armour depicted as dots on torso, grid of lines on skirt, and bands on arms and legs, holding trident in left hand, making offering over altar with right hand, above the altar is a trident with a ribbon (the ties of the ribbon hang to the left). Inscription in Bactrian: ÞAONANO ÞAO BAZOΔHO KOÞANO (King of Kings Vasudeva Kushan) frequently truncated or blundered.

1A as above, blundered inscription (clockwise from 1.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO BAZXHO.

1B as above, flames emenating from right shoulder, truncated inscription (clockwise from 7.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO AAZOΔHO.

1C as above, flames emenating from right shoulder, inscription complete or nearly complete (clockwise from 7.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO BAZΔHO KOÞANO.

1D as 1C but without flames. The style of these differ from other coins in this phase and they were probably engraved by the artist mostly responsible for the third phase. ÞAONANO ÞAO BAZOΔHO KOÞANO.

1E as 1D but with inscription: ÞAONANO ÞAO BAZΔHO KOÞANO.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing facing frontally, multi-faced (faces visible to front, left and right) hair arranged in a top knot,ascetics string over chest, wearing a calf-length dhoti, holding diadem in extended right hand and trident in left, before a bull standing to left, tamga in top field. Inscription in Bactrian.

1a as above with inscription (clockwise in right field): OHÞO.

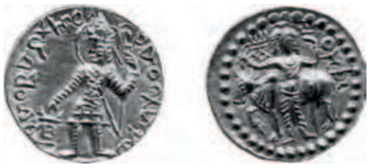
1b as above with inscription (clockwise in right field): OÞHO.

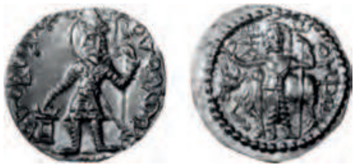
2a as above but with only a single face, matted locks, with inscription (clockwise in right field): OHÞI.

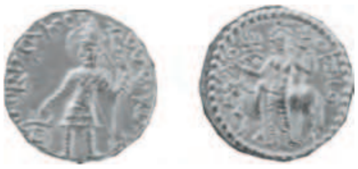
2b as 1a but with only a single face and matted locks.

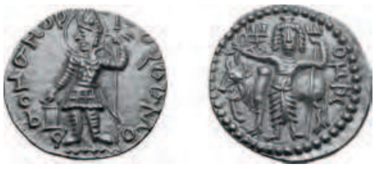
2c as 1b but with only a single face and matted locks.

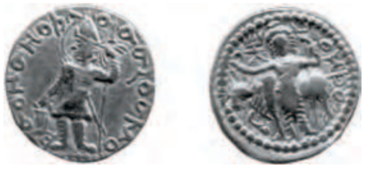
3a Oesho, mountain god, standing facing frontally, multi-faced (faces to front, left, and right visible) with hair arranged in top knot and matted locks, four armed, wearing ascetics string, knee-length dhoti, holding trident in upper left hand, flower in lower left hand, trident in upper right


2222: F.G2-ii 1d (1A/2a)


A: F.G2-ii 1d (1A/2b)


B: F.G2-ii 1d (1A/2c)

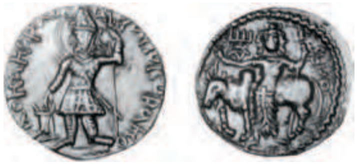

C: F.G2-ii 1d (1B/2a)

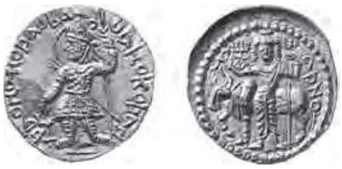

2224: F.G2-ii 1d (1B/2b)

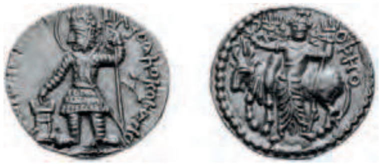
hand, water-pot in lower right hand, before a bull standing facing right with a bell handing from its neck, a tamga in top right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): OHÞO.

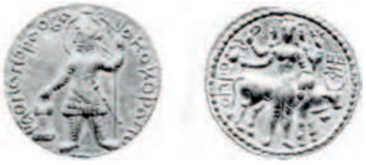
3b as 3a but god's left head a horned animal.

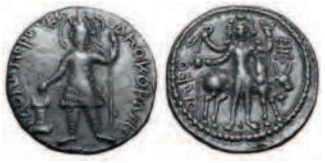
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
2222*	189076	1879,0501.93	8.04	21	18.53	1A	2a
2223	189077	1894,0506.102	7.95	-	18.69	1A	2a
A*	Bern (88.309)		8.07	-	-	1A	2b
B*	Shanghai Museum (1317)		-	-	-	1A	2c
C*	Gemini Auction VI (Jan. 2010): 392		8.08	-	-	1B	2a
2224*	189075	1894,0506.103	7.70	22	18.60	1B	2b
D*	Baldwin Auction, London 43, 2694		7.92	-	-	1C	1a
E*	Vienna		-	-	-	1C	1b
F*	Leu Numismatik, 91 (2004): 214		8.01	-	-	1C	2c
G*	CNG mailbid 58 (2001): 885		8.07	-	-	1D	1b
2225*	227563	1893,0506.28	8.00	20	-	1E	3a
H*	Private collection B		-	-	-	1E	3b


E: F.G2-ii 1d (1C/1b)


F: F.G2-ii 1d (1C/2c)


G: F.G2-ii 1d (1D/1b)


2225: F.G2-ii 1d (1E/3a)


H: F.G2-ii 1d (1E/3b)

159 F.G2-ii ¼d Subsidiary gold mint phase 2 quarter dinars, Oesho

Göbl 1984: 516–18

Vasudeva (F), subsidiary gold mint (G1), second phase (ii), quarter dinars (¼d), *c.* 2g.

Obverse: King, standing facing left, with halo, flames emanate from right shoulder, wearing tall conicle crown with ear pieces, diadem, heavy armour depicted as dots on torso, skirt depicted as grid of lines, and bands on arms and legs, holding trident in left hand, making offering over altar with right hand, above the altar is a trident with a ribbon (the ties of the ribbon hang to the left). Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 7.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO BAZOΔHO (King of Kings Vasudeva).

1A as above.

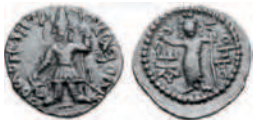
1B as above but with no flames emenating from shoulder.

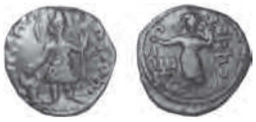
Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing facing frontally, multi-faced (faces visible to front, left and right) hair arranged in a top knot,ascetics string over chest, wearing a calf-length dhoti, holding diadem in extended right hand and trident in left, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field).

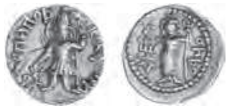
1a as above inscription: OHÞO.

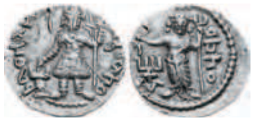
1b as above inscription: OÞHO.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	HD Rauch Auction 67 (2004): 1048					1A	1a
B*	Bern (88.311)		1.92	-	-	1A	1b
C*	Private collection B		-	-	-	1B	1a
D*	CNG Mailbid 75 (2007): 707		1.95	-	-	1B	1b


A: F.G2-ii ¼d (1A/1a)


B: F.G2-ii ¼d (1A/1b)


C: F.G2-ii ¼d (1B/1a)


D: F.G2-ii ¼d (1B/1b)

160 F.G2-iii 1d Subsidiary gold mint phase 3, trident control mark

Göbl 1984: 506, 525–8, 532

Vasudeva (F), subsidiary gold mint (G2), third phase (iii), dinars (1d), *c.* 8g.

Obverse: King, standing facing left, with halo, flames emanate from right shoulder, wearing tall conicle crown, diadem, heavy armour depicted as dots on torso, small plates on skirt, and bands on arms and legs, holding trident in left hand, making offering over altar with right hand, above the altar is a trident with a ribbon (the ties of the ribbon hang to the left). Inscription in Bactrian: ÞAONANO ÞAO BAZΔHO KOÞANO (King of Kings Vasudeva Kushan).

1A as above but ears and back of neck are covered by mail hanging from crown.

1B as above but ear is uncovered and depicted with long hair.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing facing frontally, hair arranged in top knot and matted locks, wearing ascetics string, knee-length dhoti, holding trident and diadem, before a bull, tamga in field. Inscription in Bactrian: OHÞO.

1a Oesho, mountain god, standing facing frontally, multi-faced (faces to front, left, and right visible) with hair arranged in top knot and matted locks, four armed, wearing ascetics string, knee-length dhoti, holding trident in upper left hand, water-pot in lower left hand, diadem in upper right hand, flower in lower right hand, before a bull standing facing right with a bell handing from its neck, a tamga in the right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): OHÞO.

1b as for 1a but three dots appear between the legs of the bull and the legs of Oesho.

1c as for 1b but a dot appears below the head of the bull.

1d as for 1a but the bull faces left.

1e as for 1d but trident is depicted as a trident/battle-axe and the inscription is counter-clockwise.

1f as for 1a but the god's left head is a horned animal.

2a Oesho, mountain god, dancing (left leg crossed behind right) facing frontally, multi-faced (faces to front, left, and right visible) with hair arranged in top knot and matted locks, four armed, wearing ascetics string, knee-length dhoti, holding trident in upper left hand, water-pot in lower left hand, diadem in upper right hand, flower in lower right hand, before a bull standing facing right with a bell handing from its neck, a tamga in the left field. Inscription in Bactrian (counter-clockwise in right field).

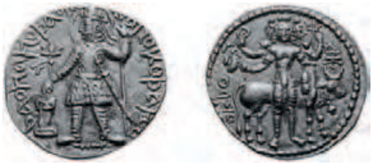
2b as for 2a but the bull lowers its head to lick Oesho's leg.

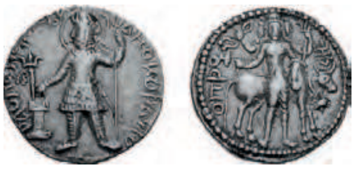
3a Oesho, mountain god, standing facing frontally, with hair arranged in top knot and matted locks, wearing ascetics string, knee-length dhoti, holding trident in left hand, diadem in right, before a bull standing facing left, tamga in upper left field. Inscription in Bactrian (counter-clockwise in right field).

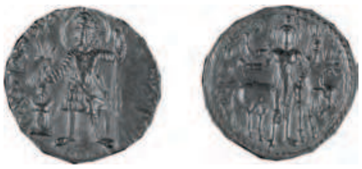
3b as for 3a but with halo.

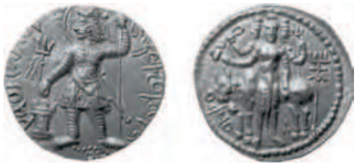
3c as for 3a but with flames surrounding head.

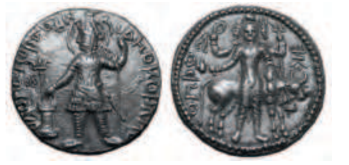
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	CNG Auction, 57 (2001), 760		8.03	-	-	1A	1a
B* †	CNG Auction, 66 (2004) 969		7.97	-	-	1A	1b
C*	Private collection Z		-	-	-	1A	1c
D*	Private collection W; CNG Auction, 58 (2001) 882		8.07	-	-	1A	1d
E*	Private collection B		-	-	-	1A	1f
F*	Bern (88.296); Burns, 1990, 14		8.00	22	-	1A	2a
G*	Bern (88.342)		7.97	19	-	1B	1e
H*	Triton Sale, XII (2009), 447		7.88	-	-	1B	2a
I*	Bharat Kala Bhavan (8703)		7.96	20	-	1B	2b
2226*	189078	1993,0642.1	7.93	20	-	1B	3a

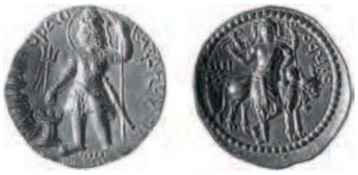

A: F.G2-iii 1d (1A/1a)

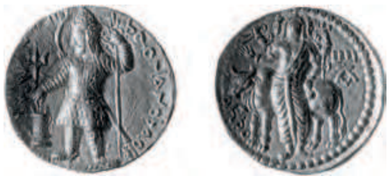

B: F.G2-iii 1d (1A/1b)

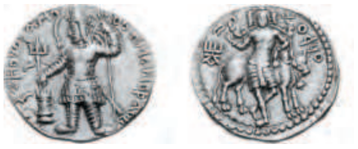

C: F.G2-iii 1d (1A/1c)

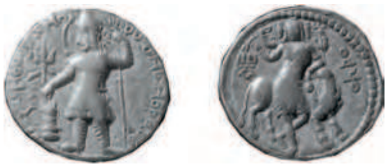

D: F.G2-iii 1d (1A/1d)

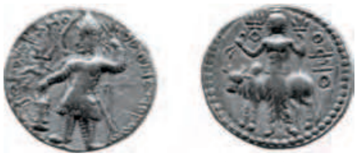

E: F.G2-iii 1d (1A/1f)

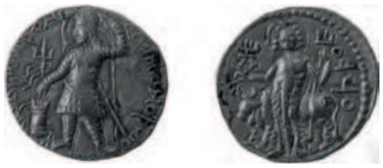

F: F.G2-iii 1d (1A/2a)


G: F.G2-iii 1d (1B/1e)

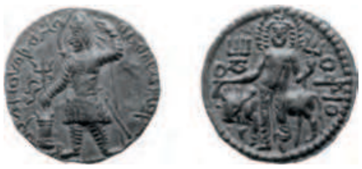

H: F.G2-iii 1d (1B/2a)


I: F.G2-iii 1d (1B/2b)


2226: F.G2-iii 1d (1B/3a)



J: F.G2-iii 1d (1B/3b)

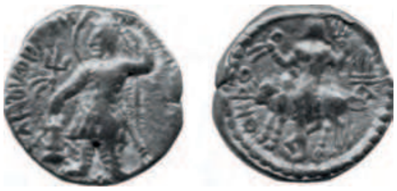


K: F.G2-iii 1d (1B/3c)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
J*	Private collection V		-	-	-	1B	3b
K*	Sotheby sale, 1993, 39					1B	3c

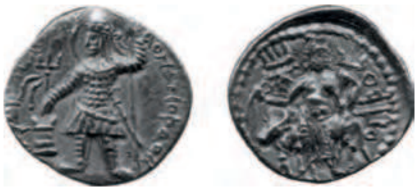
† This coin was struck with a recut version of the die used to strike 2225

2227: F.G2-iii ¼d (1a)



200% enlargement of 2227

2228: F.G2-iii ¼d (1b)



200% enlargement of 2228

161 F.G2-iii ¼d Subsidiary gold mint phase 3 quarters

Göbl 1984: 529–30, 534

Vasudeva (F), subsidiary gold mint (G2), third phase (iii), quarter dinars (¼d), *c.* 2g.

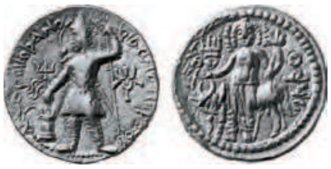
Obverse: King, standing facing left, with halo, flames emanate from right shoulder, wearing tall conicle crown, diadem, heavy armour depicted as dots on torso, small plates on skirt, and bands on arms and legs, sword in scabard projecting to right at waist, holding trident in left hand, making offering over altar with right hand, above the altar is a trident with a ribbon (the ties of the ribbon hang to the left). Inscription in Bactrian: ÞAONANO ÞAO BAZΔHO KOÞANO (King of Kings Vasudeva Kushan).

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing facing frontally, hair arranged in top knot and matted locks, wearing ascetics string, knee-length dhoti, holding trident and diadem, before a bull, tamga in field. Inscription in Bactrian: OHÞO.

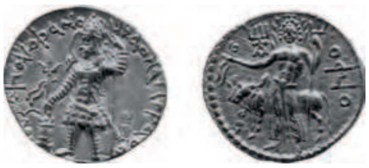
1a Oesho, mountain god, dancing (left leg crossed behind right) facing frontally, with hair arranged in top knot and matted locks, wearing ascetics string, knee-length dhoti, holding trident in left hand, diadem in right hand, before bull standing facing left, tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field).

1b Oesho, mountain god, standing facing frontally, with hair arranged in top knot and matted locks, wearing ascetics string, knee-length dhoti, holding trident in left hand, diadem in right hand, before a bull standing facing left, a tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (counter-clockwise in right field).

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Rev.
2227*	189084	1860,1220.200	1.98	12	-	1a
2228*	189083	1894,0506.105	1.73	12	-	1b



A: F.G2-iv 1d (1A/1a)



2229: F.G2-iv 1d (1B/1a)

162 F.G2-iv 1d Subsidiary gold mint phase 4 dinars, Brahmi control marks

Göbl 1984: 533, 535–6, 640

Vasudeva (F), subsidiary gold mint (G2), fourth phase (iv), gold dinars (1d), *c.* 8g.

Obverse: King, standing facing left, with halo, flames emanate from right shoulder, wearing tall conicle crown, diadem, heavy armour depicted as dots on torso seperated by vertical lines, small plates on skirt, and bands on arms and legs, holding trident in left hand, making offering over altar with right hand, above the altar is a trident with a ribbon (the ties of the ribbon hang to the left). Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO BAZOΔHO KOÞANO (King of Kings Vasudeva Kushan).

1A as above with nandipada in right field.

1B as above with Brahmi *pri* in right field with Greek A under king's arm.

1C as above with Brahmi *pri* between altar and king's leg with Greek A under king's arm.

1D as above with Brahmi *ha* in right field with Greek A under king's arm.

1E as 1D but Greek B under king's arm.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing facing frontally, flames emenating from head, with hair arranged in top knot and matted locks, wearing ascetics string, knee-length dhoti, holding trident in left hand, diadem in right, before a bull standing facing left, tamga in upper left field. Inscription in Bactrian (counter-clockwise in right field): ΟΗÞΟ.

1a as above.

1b as above, no flames around head but flames emenating from shoulders, Kharoshthi *pri* under god's left arm, and inscription clockwise in lower left field.

1c as above with Brahmi character *ha* superimposed on trident.

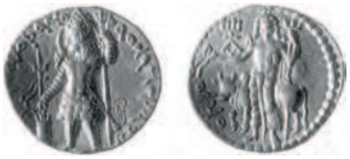
1d as above with Brahmi character *ha* above inscription and Greek A under god's arm.

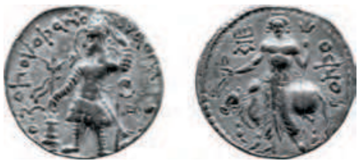
1e as above with Brahmi character *ha* below inscription, no flames around head, and Greek A under god's arm.

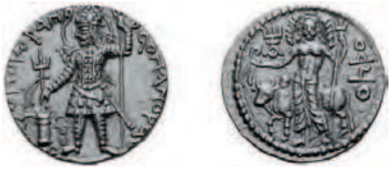
1f as for 1e but no Greek A under god's arm.

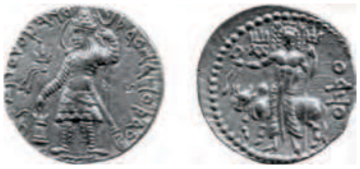
1g as 1d but no Brahmi *ha*.

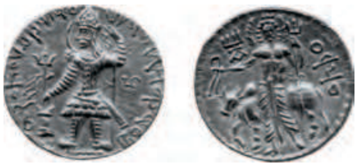
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Gorny & Mosch Auction, 108 (2001): 1404		8.07	-	-	1A	1a
2229*	189085	1889,0712.1	8.06	21	18.97	1B	1a
B*	Bern (88.345) ; Göbl 1984: 533A/1		8.01	20	-	1B	1b
2230*	189086	1893,0506.38	8.04	21	18.87	1B	1e
2231	189089	1847,1201,260	7.55	21	18.74	1B	1e
C*	H D Rauch Auctions, 76 (Oct 2005): 367		8.06	-	-	1C	1a
2232*	189094	1845,0613.124	8.04	21	18.83	1D	1a
2233*	189095	1989,0627.13	8.03	21	-	1D	1c
2234	189098	1993,0642.2	8.03	21	-	1D	1c
2235*	189090	1893,0506.37	8.05	22	18.84	1D	1d
E*	Seen by authors		8.06	19		1E	1f
F*	CNG e-action 331, lot 141		8.03	20		1E	1g

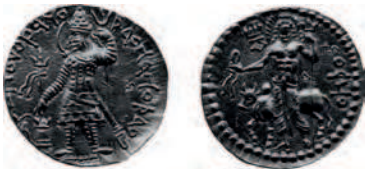

B: F.G2-iv 1d (1B/1b)

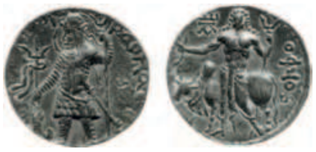

2230: F.G2-iv 1d (1B/1e)

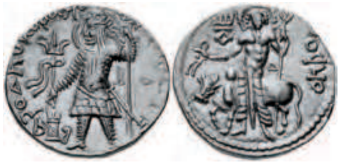

C: F.G2-iv 1d (1C/1a)


2232: F.G2-iv 1d (1D/1a)


2233: F.G2-iv 1d (1D/1c)


2235: F.G2-iv 1d (1D/1d)


E: F.G2-iv 1d (1E/1f)


F: F.G2-iv 1d (1E/1g)

163 F.G2-iv ¼d Subsidiary gold mint phase 4 quarter dinars

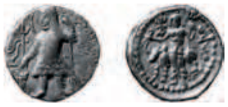
Göbl 1984: 537

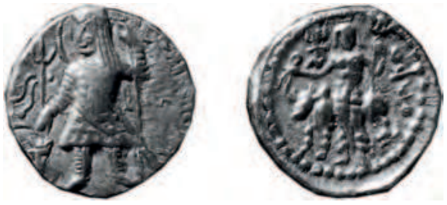
Vasudeva (F), subsidiary gold mint (G2), fourth phase (iv), quarter dinars (¼d), *c.* 2g. The obverse die for this coin was subsequently recut and used under Kanishka II (G.G1-i 1/4d).

Obverse: King, standing facing left, with halo, with long hair, wearing tall conicle crown, diadem, heavy armour depicted as dots on torso, grid of lines representing plates on skirt, and bands on arms and legs, holding trident in left hand, making offering over altar with right hand, above the altar is a trident with a ribbon (the ties of the ribbon hang to the left), Brahmi character *ha* in right field, Greek character B under arm. Inscription in Bactrian: ÞΑΟΝΑΝΟ ÞΑΟ ΒΑΖΟΔΗΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ (King of Kings Vasudeva Kushan), the inscription is assumed as only the first part is visible on known examples.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing facing frontally, with hair arranged in top knot and matted locks, wearing ascetics string, knee-length dhoti, holding trident in left hand, diadem in right, before a bull standing facing left, tamga in upper left field. Inscription in Bactrian (counter-clockwise in right field): ΟΗÞΟ.

No.			Wgt	Dia.	SG
A*	BKB (8710)		2.00	1.3	-


A: F.G2-iv ¼d


200% enlargement of A

Kushanshah gold

Kushano-Sasanian gold mint, Balkh (F-imit.G1)

The Balkh gold mint continued to produce coins after the region was lost to the Sasanians (F.G1-v). That these were no longer official issues is clear once the type imitated the inscriptions of Kanishka II coins (F-imit.G1-i), though still with the figure of the armoured king used at Vasudeva's main mint. The coins were issued in two denominations, gold dinars (*c.* 8g) and quarter dinars (*c.* 2g). The gold content continued to diminish over the production. All use an obverse deisgn of standing king, based upon the issues of Vasudeva at the Balkh mint. The reverse design was an image of Oesho in front of a bull.

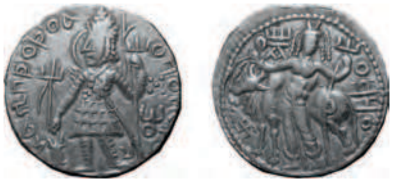
Phase 1 production was of dinars. The designs were imitations of Vasudeva's but the inscription was an imitation of those on Kanishka II coins.

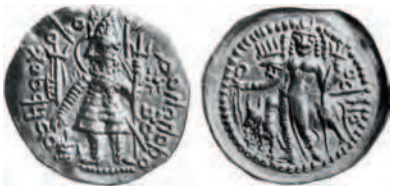
Phase 2 production included both dinars and quarters. The designs were in the name of Vasudeva and used only dot control marks (neither the swastika nor characters).

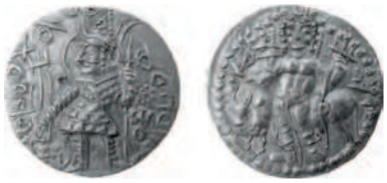
Phase 3 production included both dinars and quarters. The designs were in the name of Vasudeva but featured a swastika between the king's legs as a control mark.

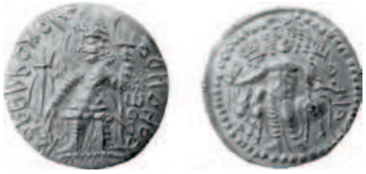
Phase 4 production was of dinars. This phase was marked by the introduction of various characters as control marks, the most common of which resembles a delta with a tail.

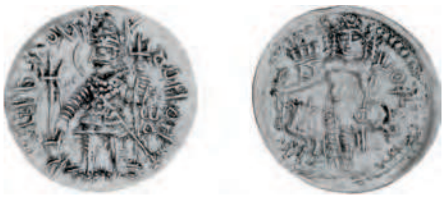
A note on the control marks: The control marks are small and the coins are often poorly struck. This can make attribution very difficult, and in some case the attribution given by Göbl is incorrect.


A: F-imit.G1-i 1d (1A/2d)


B: F-imit.G1-i 1d (2A/1a)


2236: F-imit.G1-i 1d (2A/2a)


2237: F-imit.G1-i 1d (2A/2b)


C: F-imit.G1-i 1d (2A/2c)

164 F-imit.G1-i 1d Main gold mint phase 1 imitation dinars, 'XOÞONO'

Göbl 1984: 662–5

Kushano-Sasanian imitations of Kanishka II (F-imit), main gold mint (G1), first phase (i), gold dinars (1d), *c.* 8g.

Obverse: King standing facing left with halo, wearing tall pointed crown with ear flaps, flames emanate from shoulder, banner behind head, diadem, and heavy armour depicted as dots on chest, plated skirt, and bands on arms and legs, sword in scabard at waist, holding trident in left, making offering with right at altar, above altar a trident with ribbons handing either side, nandipada in right field with rosette of dots above it. Bactrian inscription (clockwise from 1.00), usually blundered and truncated but resembling: [Þ]AONANO ÞA[O] KAΔHÞAO KOÞA[NO]. This is an imitation of the inscription on Kanishka II coins.

1A as above but the skirt is represented by a grid of lines, the rosette consists of five dots, a Brahmi *la* appears by the king's left leg, and the inscription reads: AONANO ÞAO KANHÞO ÞOA.

2A as above but without Brahmi control mark and inscription reads: AONANO ÞO KAΔHÞAO KOÞA .

Reverse: Oesho standing before bull, flames emanating from head, crescent above, hair arranged in matted locks, wearing a dhoti, holding a trident in left hand and a diadem in right hand, in top left field a tamga, various control marks, surrounded by dotted border broken by the crescent. Bactrian inscription (anti-clockwise in right field): OHÞO.

1a as above with three dots in bottom left field.

2a as above with swastika in bottom left field.

2b as above with swastika in bottom left field and dot to left of tamga.

2c as above with swastika in bottom left field and dot between legs of bull.

2d as above with swastika and three dots in the bottom left field.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Shown to authors		-	-	-	1A	2d
B*	Göbl 1984: 663/2		-	-	-	2A	1a
2236*	189538	1860,1220.210	7.66	23	18.20	2A	2a
2237*	189531	1846,1027.7	7.93	22	18.75	2A	2b
C*	ANS (1986.149.23)		8.03	25	-	2A	2c

165 F-imit.G1-i ¼d Main gold mint phase 1 imitation quarter dinars

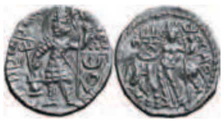
Göbl 1984: 674

Kushano-Sasanian imitations of Vasudeva (F-imit), main gold mint (G1), first phase (i), gold dinars (¼d), *c.* 2g. No equivalent of the 2A type in the dinars are known.

Obverse: King standing facing left with halo, wearing tall pointed crown with ear flaps, flames emanate from shoulder, banner behind head, diadem, and heavy armour depicted as dots on chest, plated skirt with grid of lines, and bands on arms and legs, sword in scabard at waist, holding trident in left, making offering with right at altar, above altar a trident with ribbons hanging either side, nandipada in right field with rosette of dots above it. Bactrian inscription, unclear on known examples but probably a version of the inscription on F-imit.G1-ii 1A.

Reverse: Oesho standing before bull, hair arranged in matted locks, wearing a dhoti, holding a trident in left hand and a diadem in right hand, in top left field a tamga, surrounded by dotted border. Bactrian inscription (anti-clockwise in right field): OHÞO.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG
A*	Private collection B		-	-	-



A: F-imit.G1-i ¼d

166 F-imit.G1-ii 1d Main gold mint phase 2 imitations, in name of Vasudeva

Göbl 1984: 666–73

Kushano-Sasanian Imitations of Vasudeva (F-imit), main gold mint (G1), second phase (ii), gold dinars (1d), *c.* 8g. These coins are issued in the name of Vasudeva I but have a slightly reduced gold content compared to phase I.

Obverse: King standing facing left with halo, wearing tall pointed crown with ear flaps, flames emanate from shoulder, banner behind head, and heavy armour depicted as dots on chest, plated skirt, and bands on arms and legs, sword in scabard at waist, holding trident in left, making offering with right at altar, above altar a trident with ribbons handing either side, nandipada in right field with rosette of dots above it. Various dot and symbol control marks (left of crown, near halo, above trident, by altar, between legs, above nandipada). Inscription in Bactrian (commencing at 1.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO BAZOΔHO KOÞANO (King of Kings Vasudeva Kushan).

1A with rosette of dots above the nandipada.

1B with rosette of dots above nandipada and a single dot between legs.

2A with rosetterof dots above nandipada, three dots above crown, one dot above trident, three dots between legs, and dots near halo.

2B with rosette of dots above nandipada, one dot above crown, one dot above trident, three dots between legs, and dots near halo.

2C with rosette of dots above the nandipada, three dots between the legs, three dots by altar, three dots left of crown, dots near the halo.

2D with rosette of dots above nandipada, three dots between legs, two dots above trident.

3A with three dots above the nandipada, three dots between legs, three dots by altar, one dot above trident, three dots by crown.

3B as for 3A but a rosette above the nandipada.

4A as above with three dots beneath arm, circle between legs.

Reverse: Oesho standing before bull, flames emenating from head, crescent above, hair arranged in matted locks, wearing dhoti, holding trident in left hand and diadem in right hand, in top left field tamga, various control marks, surrounded by dotted border broken by head. Bactrian inscription (anti-clockwise in right field): OHÞO.

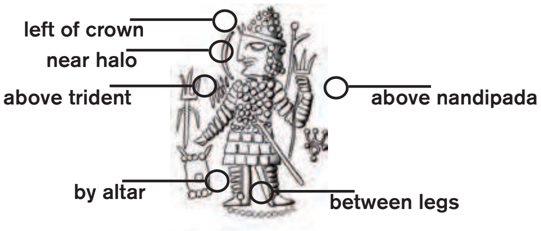
1a as above with swastika in lower left field.

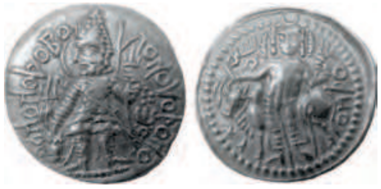
1b as for 1a with flames emenating from shoulders, three dot to right of tamga.

1c as for 1a with flames emenating from shoulders, and with three dots to left of inscription.

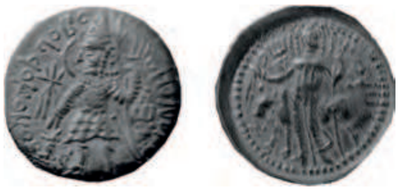
1d as for 1c with a dot between lower back legs of bull.

Positions of obverse marks

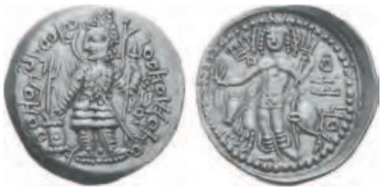




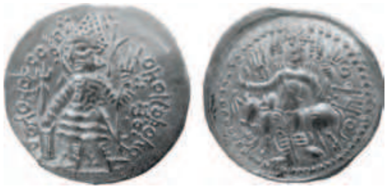
2238: F-imit.G1-ii 1d (1A/1a)



A: F-imit.G1-ii 1d (1A/2a)



B: F-imit.G1-ii 1d (1B/1a)



2240: F-imit.G1-ii 1d (2A/1c)

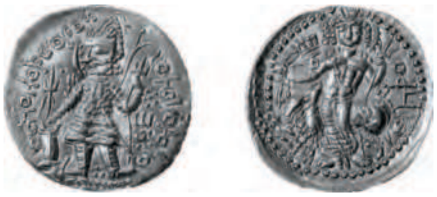
1e as for 1a with flames emenating from shoulders depicted as three dots and three dots to left of inscription.

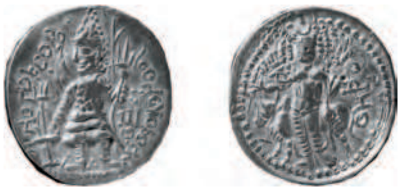
2a as above with three dots in lower left field.

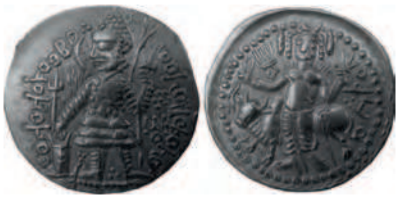
2b as above but flames emenating from head are replaced with a halo with three dots in lower left field.

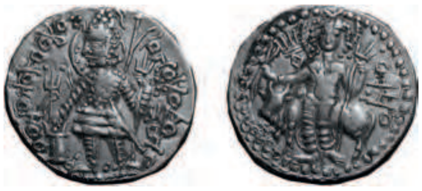
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
2238*	189545	1894,0506.164	7.94	24	17.48	1A	1a
2239	258750	1989,0904.4001	7.76	23	-	1A	1a
A*	Mukherjee 1990: fig.67		7.65	25	17.37†	1A	2a
B*	CNG e-auction 208 (2009): 156		7.95	-	-	1B	1a
2240*	189540	1894,0506.162	7.93	24	18.10	2A	1c
2241*	189541	1894,0506.163	8.02	25	18.19	2A	1d
2242	189543	1845,0613.84	7.82	24	18.29	2A	1d
C*	BKB (8740)		7.90	25	-	2B	1e
2243*	189544	1894,0506.161	7.89	25	18.14	2C	1c
D*	Private collection B					2D	1e
2244*	189539	1983,0729.41	7.82	25	-	3A	2b
E*	Göbl 1984: 672/1					3B	2b

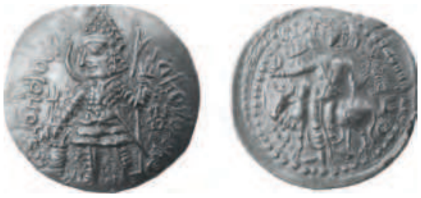
† SG as reported in Mukherjee 1990

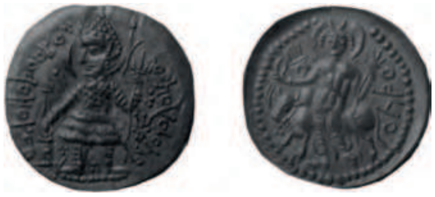

2241: F-imit.G1-ii 1d (2A/1d)


C: F-imit.G1-ii 1d (2B/1e)


2243: F-imit.G1-ii 1d (2C/1c)


D: F-imit.G1-ii 1d (2D/1e)


2244: F-imit.G1-ii 1d (3A/2a)


E : F-imit.G1-ii 1d (3B/2b)

167 F-imit.G1-ii ¼d Main gold mint phase 2 quarter dinars

Göbl 1984: 641A, 674

Kushano-Sasanian imitations of Vasudeva (F-imit), main gold mint (G1), second phase (ii), gold dinars (¼d), *c.* 2g.

Obverse: King standing facing left with halo, wearing tall pointed crown with ear flaps, banner behind head, diadem, and heavy armour depicted as dots on chest, plated skirt, and bands on arms and legs, sword in scabard at waist, holding trident in left, making offering with right at altar, above altar a trident with ribbons hanging either side, various dot control marks. Bactrian inscription (clockwise from 1.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO BAZOΔHO KOÞANO (King of Kings Vasudeva Kushan).

1A as above with single dot in right field.

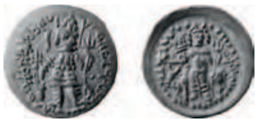
2A as above with three dots and single dot in right field and dot between legs.

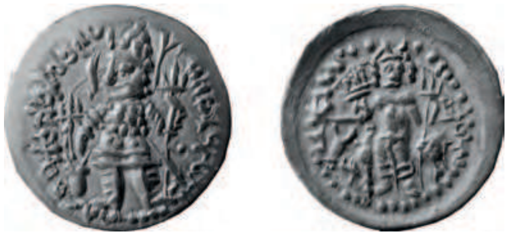
Reverse: Oesho standing before bull, flames emenating from head, crescent above, hair arranged in matted locks, wearing dhoti, holding trident in left hand and diadem in right hand, in top left field tamga, surrounded by dotted border broken by head. Bactrian inscription (anti-clockwise in right field): OHÞO.

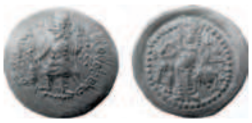
1a as above.

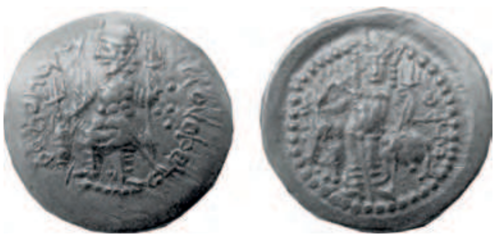
1b as above with a dot in the lower left field.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A	Private collection E		-	-	-	1A	1a
2245*	189542	1888,1208.560	1.97	15	18.09	2A	1b


A: F-imit.G1-ii ¼d (1A/1a)


200% enlargement of A


2245: F-imit.G1-ii ¼d (2A/1b)


200% enlargement of 2245

168 F-imit.G1-iii 1d Main gold mint phase 3 imitations, in name of Vasudeva

Göbl 1984: 676–7, 680–7

Kushano-Sasanian imitations of Vasudeva (F-imit), main gold mint (G1), third phase (iii), gold dinars (1d), *c.* 8g.

Obverse: King standing facing left with halo, flames emenating from right shoulder, wearing tall pointed crown with cresecent in design and mail hanging behind depicted as dots, banner behind head, heavy armour depicted as dots on chest, plated skirt, and bands on arms and legs, sword in scabard at waist, holding trident in left hand, making offering with right at altar, above altar a trident with ribbons handing either side, nandipada in right field, between legs a swastika, various control marks (left of crown, above trident, by altar, between legs, beneath king's arm, above nandipada). Bactrian inscription (clockwise from 1.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO BAZOΔHO KOÞANO (King of Kings Vasudeva Kushan).

1A as above with no additional control marks.

1B as for 1A but the ties on the trident hang to the left.

1C as above with a single dot above nandipada.

1D as above with a single dot above nandipada and a dot to left of the crown.

1E as above with 3 dots above nandipada.

1F as above with 3 dots above nandiapada and 3 dots by altar.

1G as above with 3 dots above nandipada, 3 dots by altar, 1 dot above trident and 3 dots to left of crown.

2A as above with three pronged mark above nandipada.

3A as above but the pointed crown is decorated with dots and has no crescent design.

3B as for 3A but 3 dots under the king's arm, 1 dot between legs, 1 dot by altar.

4A as above with a swastika between legs and a rosette of dots above the nandipada.

Reverse: Oesho standing before bull, flames emenating from head, crescent above, hair arranged in matted locks, wearing a dhoti, holding a trident in left hand and a diadem in right hand, in top left field a tamga, various control marks, surrounded by dotted border broken by head. Bactrian inscription (anti-clockwise in right field): OHÞO.

1a as above with 3 dots in bottom left field.

1b as above with 3 dots in lower left field and 1 dot to left of tamga.

1c as for 1a but the halo is replaced with flames (compare with F-imit.G1-ii).

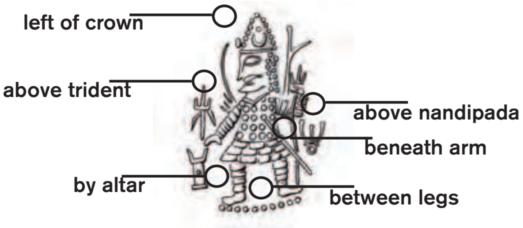
2a as above with dot to left of tamga.

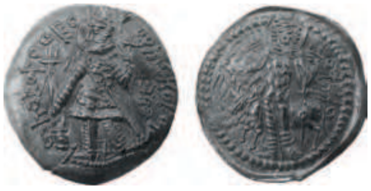
2b as above with no control marks.

3a as above with a swastika in lower left field and the halo is replaced by flames (compare with F-imit.G1-ii).

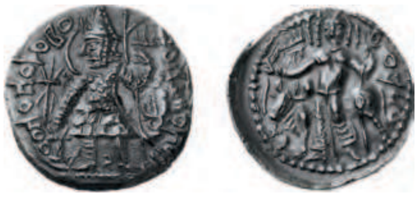
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
2246*	189549	1853,0301.1315	8.11	26	17.62	1A	1a
2247	189546	1906,1103.2366	7.96	25	17.30	1A	1a
A*	Kunker 89 (2004): 2998; Kunker 104 (2005): 753; Kunker 136 (2008): 1637		7.58	-	-	1A	1c
B*	Berlin		-	-	-	1A	2b
C*	Private collection P		-	-	-	1B	2a
D*	Göbl 1984: 680/1		7.97	-	-	1C	1a
E*	CNG mailbid 66 (2004): 977		8.08	-	-	1D	1a
F*	Seen by authors		-	-	-	1E	1a
G*	ANS (1944.100.63830)		7.79	25	-	1F	1a
2248*	189539	1983,0729.41	7.82	25	-	1G	1a
H*	CNG 58 (2001): 888		7.85	-	-	2A	1a
I*	Kunker Auction (2008) 136: 1636		7.99	-	-	3A	1a
2249*	189548	1838,EIC.3	8.01	26	-	3A	1b
J*	Berlin		8.08	-	-	3A	2a

Positions of obverse marks

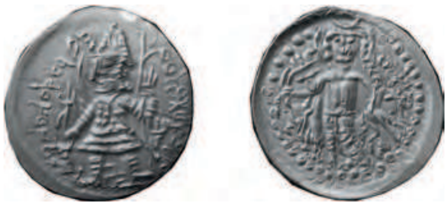




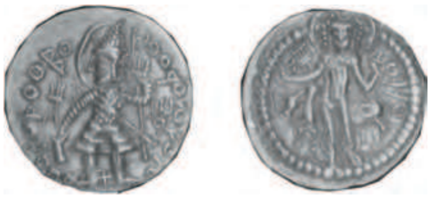
2246: F-imit.G1-iii1d (1A/1a)



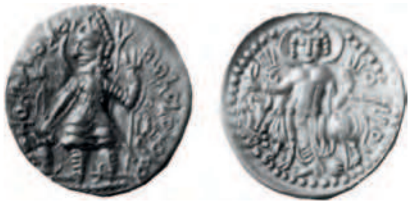
A: F-imit.G1-iii 1d (1A/1c)



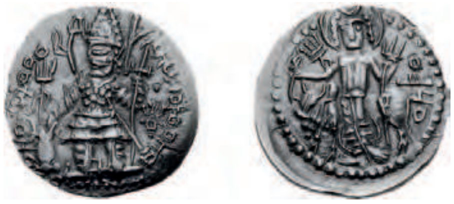
B: F-imit.G1-iii 1d (1A/2b)



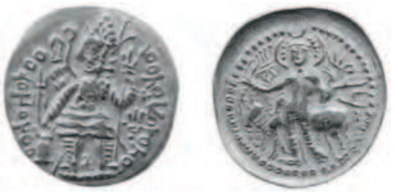
C: F-imit.G1-iii 1d (1B/2a)



D: F-imit.G1-iii 1d (1C/1a)



E: F-imit.G1-iii 1d (1D/1a)



F: F-imit.G1-iii 1d (1E/1a)

170 F-imit.G1-iv 1d Main gold mint phase 4 dinars, character control marks

Göbl 1984: 688–98

Kushano-Sasanian imitations of Vasudeva (F-imit), main gold mint (G1), fourth phase (iv), gold dinars (1d), *c.* 8g. At this stage various marks appear on the obverse which appear to be characters rather than shapes, at least one is a clear Bactrian B but the identification of others is uncertain.

Obverse: King standing facing left with halo, wearing tall pointed crown with ear flaps, banner behind head, diadem, and heavy armour depicted as dots on chest, plated skirt, and bands on arms and legs, sword in scabbard at waist, holding trident in left, making offering with right at altar, above altar a trident with ribbons handing either side, nandipada in right field with rosette of dots above it. Various dot, symbol and character control marks (to left of trident, to right of the altar, between the king's legs, in lower right field and beneath the king's arm). Bactrian inscription (clockwise from 1.00) blundered but based upon: ÞAONANO ÞAO BAZOΔHO KOÞANO (King of King Vasudeva Kushan).

1A as above with delta mark in left field, swastika and dot between legs, circle under arm.

1B as above with delta mark in left field, swastika between legs.

1C as above with delta mark in left field, swastika between legs, three dots under arm, and dot by altar.

1D as above with delta mark in left field, swastika and dot between legs, dot by left leg, and three dots under arm.

1E as above with delta mark in left field, swastika and dot between legs, and three dots under arm.

1F as above with delta mark in left field, swastika between legs, three dots under arm.

2A as above with delta mark in left field, swastika and dot between legs, character C by left leg, three dots under arm.

2B as above with circle by altar, swastika and dot between legs, three dots under arm and a character C by left leg.

2C as above with swastika and dot between legs, character C by left leg, and three dots under arm.

3A as above with delta mark left field, swastika and dot between legs, Greek B by left leg, and three dots under arm.

4A as above with dot by altar, dot and swastika between legs, character B by left leg, three dots under arm.

Reverse: Oesho standing before bull, flames emenating from head, crescent above, hair arranged in matted locks, wearing a dhoti, holding a trident in left hand and a diadem in right hand, in top left field a tamga with a dot to the left, surrounded by dotted border broken by head. Bactrian inscription (anti-clockwise in right field): OHÞO.

1a as above.

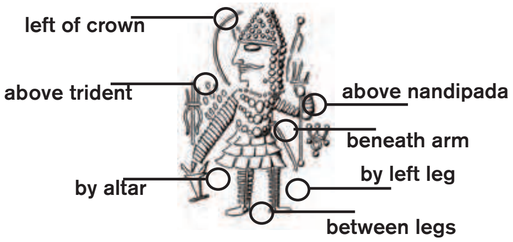
2a as above with three dots in the lower left field.

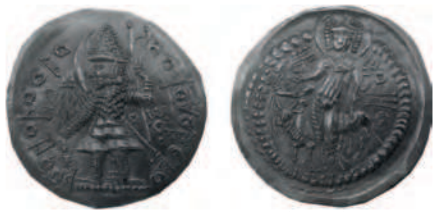
2b as above with three dots in the lower left field but no dot next to the tamga.

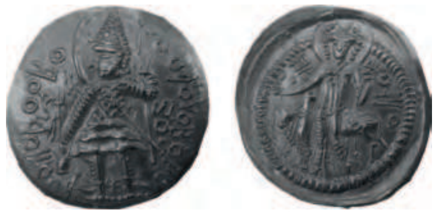
3a as above with four dots in the lower left field.

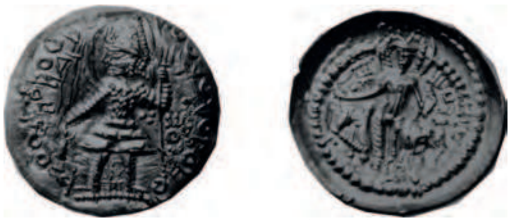
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
2252*	189551	IOC.583	8.06	27	16.62	1A	1a
2253*	189555	1894,0506.168	8.24	27	17.01	1B	1a
A*	Göbl 1984: 693/2		7.90	-	-	1B	2a
2254*	189556	1894,0506.169	8.01	29	16.57	1C	2a
B*	Göbl 1984: 695/1		-	-	-	1D	3a
2255*	189553	1997,0706.74	7.97	28	-	1E	3a
C*	ANS (1986.149.33)		7.88	27	-	1F	2a
2256*	189554	1894,0506.166	7.78	27	15.79	2A	2b
D*	Göbl 1984:690/1		-	-	-	2B	2a
E*	Shanghai		7.80	29	-	2C	3a
F*	CNG auction 61 (2002): 1000		7.90	-	-	3A	2a
G*	Lanz Munchen 138 (2007): 478		8.01	20	-	3A	2b
H*	Shanghai		7.90	28	-	4A	2b

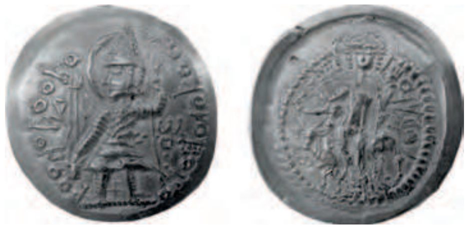
Positions of obverse marks

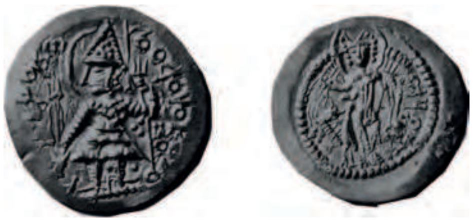


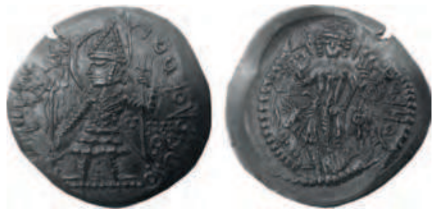

2252: F-imit.G1-iv 1d (1A/1a)

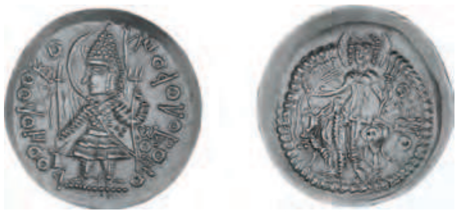

2253: F-imit.G1-iv 1d (1B/1a)


A: F-imit.G1-iv 1d (1B/2a)


2254: F-imit.G1-iv 1d (1C/2a)


B: F-imit.G1-iv 1d (1D/3a)


2255: F-imit.G1-iv 1d (1E/3a)


C: F-imit.G1-iv 1d (1F/2a)

Copper coinage (F.C)

Two copper mints operated officially in the reign of Vasudeva. The main mint (F.C1) which had operated under Huvishka continued to produce the bulk of the coinage with units starting at a weight standard of 10g and falling to 7g. If the subsiduary mint continued its products are not currently distinguishable from those of the main mint. The mint in the Mathura region (E.C4) continued briefly under Vasudeva (F.C2) producing a half unit of 5g.

The majority of coinage depicting a standing king and Oesho reverse are not official issues by the Kushan state. Most were issued by the Kushano-Sasanians in Bactria using the general type of Vasudeva but depicted the king in a kaftan as on coins of Kanishka II (F-imit.C1). These imitations began at a weight standard of about 6g and continued to reduce in weight for over a century.

Main copper mint, Begram (F.C1)

Vasudeva's main copper mint was a continuation of the main mint of Huvishka and was probably located in the Begram region. It was the only copper mint to produce full units (a reduced weight coin derived from the tetradrachm of earlier reigns). The weight of the coins was reduced over the reign and the mint used various control marks on the obverse of the coin. There is no evidence that would distinguish different productions but it is possible there might be more than one mint operating and such evidence will become available in the future.

Phase 1 coins were struck to a standard about 10g and are distinguished by the absence of a trident above the fire altar.

Phase 2 coins were struck to a standard about 9g.

Phase 3 coins were struck to standards between 8g and 7g.

172 F.C1-i 1u Begram copper mint phase 1 units, no trident

Göbl 1984: 1000, 1012

Khan 2010: F1a

Vasudeva (F), main copper mint (C1), first phase (i), units (1u), *c.* 10g.

Obverse: King standing facing left with halo wearing tall conical cap, diadem, armour depicted by dots on chest, grid of lines on skirt and bands on arms and legs, holding trident with a single pennant in left hand, making offering at altar with right. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO BAZOΔHO KOÞANO (King of Kings Vasudeva Kushan).

1A as above.

1B as for 1A but two pennants are depicted.

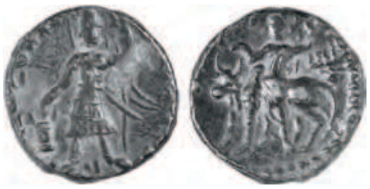
1C as for 1A but with no pennants.

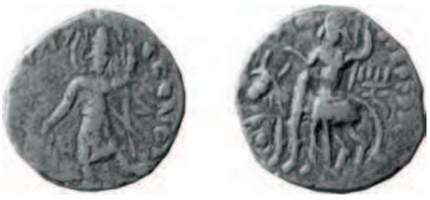
Reverse: Oesho standing before a bull, with three faces, wearing ascetic string, dhoti, holding trident in left hand, a diadem in outstretched right hand, in right field tamga, surrounded by dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian (anti-clockwise in left field): OHÞO.

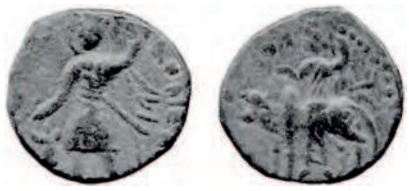
1a as above.

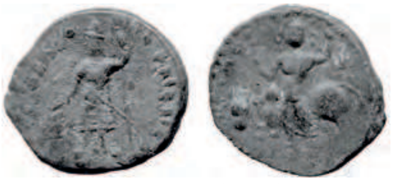
1b as for a1 but Oesho is depictedwith a single head.

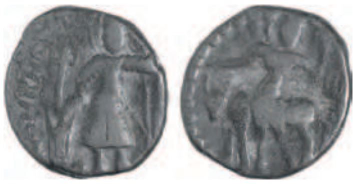
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
2257	251924	OR.6942	10.33	24	1A	1a
2258	252003	1982,1109.1	10.09	25	1A	1a
2259*	190627	IOC.360	10.04	24	1A	1a
A*	Private collection V		9.20	-	1A	1b
B*	Shown to authors (unpublished hoard)		11.24	24	1B	1b
C*	Shown to authors (unpublished hoard)		9.44	23	1C	1a

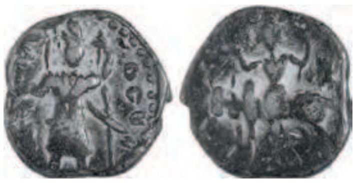

2259: F.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)

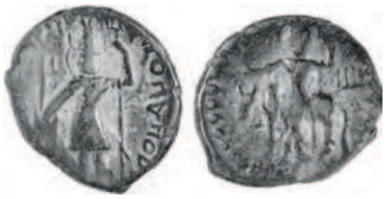

A: F.C1-i 1u (1A/1b)

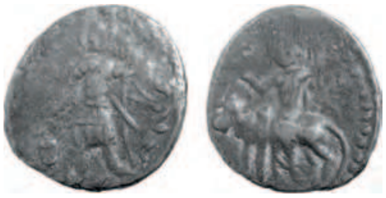

B: F.C1-i 1u (1B/1b)

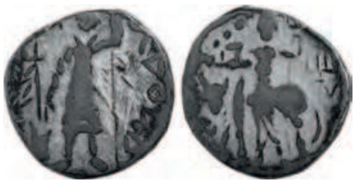

C: F.C1-i 1u (1C/1a)

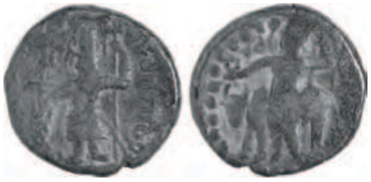

2261: F.G1-ii 1u (1A)

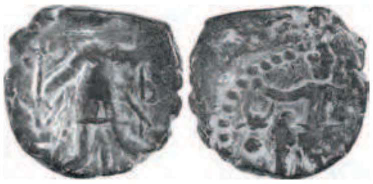

2263: F.G1-ii 1u (1A)


2264 F.C1-ii 1u (2A)


2268 F.C1-ii 1u (2A)


2274: F.C1-ii 1u (2B)


2278: F.C1-ii 1u (3A)


2294: F.C1-ii 1u (4A)

173 F.C1-ii 1u Begram copper mint phase 2 units, with trident

Göbl 1984: 1001–2, 1005–6

Khan 2010: F2, F3a-b

Vasudeva (F), main copper mint (C1), second phase (i), units (1u), 7–10g.

Obverse: King standing facing left with halo wearing tall conical cap, diadem, armour depicted by dots on chest, grid of lines on skirt and bands on arms and legs, holding trident in left hand, making offering at altar with right, above the altar a trident with ribbons hanging to left. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO BAZOΔHO KOÞANO (King of Kings Vasudeva Kushan).

1A as above.

2A as above with a single pennant on the king's trident.

2B as for 1A but a double pennant on the king's trident.

3A as for 1A but a bar appear on the trident above the altar.

4A as for 1A but a semi-circle of dots appears on the king's trident.

Reverse: Oesho standing before a bull, wearing ascetic string, dhoti, holding trident in left hand, a diadem in outstretched right hand, in right field a tamga, surrounded by dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian (anti-clockwise in left field): OHÞO.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.
2260	251960	1894,0506.1533	8.63	24	1A
2261*	252012	1892,1008.183	8.41	23	1A
2262	251939	OR.341	8.31	23	1A
2263*	251938	1894,0506.1532	8.21	23	1A
2264*	251964	1850,0305.176	8.17	25	1A
2265	251958	1989,0904.4040	8.08	25	1A
2266	251931	OR.6943	10.07	24	2A
2267	251936	OR.6944	9.93	24	2A
2268*	251970	1894,0506.1537	9.85	25	2A
2269	251937	OR.6945	9.44	25	2A
2270	251929	1850,0305.175	9.15	23	2A
2271	251940	OR.6946	8.37	25	2A
2272	251933	1889,0105.1161	9.50	23	2B
2273	251991	1865,0810.20	8.46	24	2B
2274*	251928	1894,0506.1536	8.44	23	2B
2275	251926	OR.351	8.16	24	2B
2276	251943	OR.6947	6.81	24	2B
2277	251944	OR.6948	6.40	22	2B
2278*	251951	1889,0105.1164	8.96	23	3A
2279	251992	OR.343	8.93	24	3A
2280	251953	OR.342	8.91	23	3A
2281	251942	1889,0105.1160	8.66	23	3A
2282	251945	OR.6950	8.53	23	3A
2283	251946	OR.6951	8.23	22	3A
2284	251948	OR.6952	8.22	23	3A
2285	251950	OR.6953	8.22	23	3A
2286	251952	OR.6954	8.00	22	3A
2287	251975	OR.6961	7.94	21	3A
2288	251925	1996,1030.33	7.80	21	3A
2289	251966	OR.6955	7.76	23	3A
2290	251949	1981,0325.1	7.75	25	3A
2291	251967	OR.6956	7.24	22	3A
2292	251968	OR.6957	8.60	24	4A
2293	251985	OR.344	8.50	24	4A
2294*	252005	1980,0610.6	8.42	23	4A
2295	251955	1981,0322.34	7.61	23	4A

174 F.C1-iii 1u Begram copper mint phase 3 units, small figure and various symbols

Göbl 1984: 1003–4, 1007

Khan 2010: F4-5

Vasudeva (F), main copper mint (C1), second phase (ii), units (1u), *c.* 6–9g. Phase III is distinguished from Phase II by a change in style, including a smaller figure for the king, and a tendency to reduced weight and diameter.

Obverse: King standing facing left with halo wearing tall conical cap, diadem, armour depicted by dots on chest, grid of lines on skirt and bands on arms and legs, holding trident in left hand, making offering at altar with right, above the altar a trident with ribbons hanging to left. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO BAZOΔHO KOÞANO (King of Kings Vasudeva Kushan) with frequent errors.

1A as above.

1B as for 1A but the inscription is from 7.00.

2A as for 1B but a tamga in the right field.

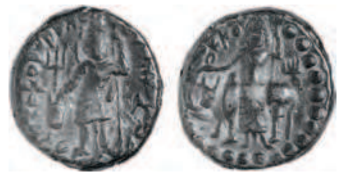
2B as for 1A but a nandipada in the right field.

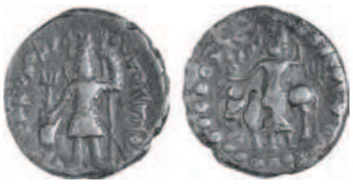
2C as for 1A but a nandipada in the right field, and a battle axe on the trident above the altar.

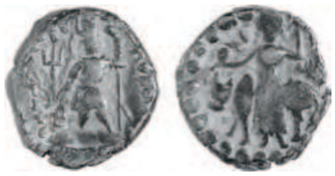
3A as for 1A but a delta and line mark in right field, and a battle axe on the trident above the altar.

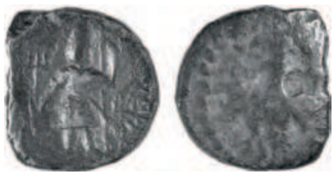
Reverse: Oesho standing before a bull, wearing ascetic string, dhoti, holding trident in left hand, a diadem in outstretched right hand, in right field a tamga, surrounded by dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian (anti-clockwise in left field): OHÞO.

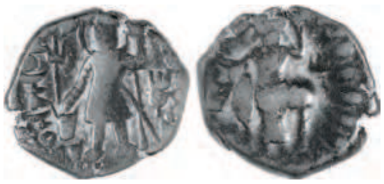
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.
2296*	251956	1894,0506.1531	8.83	22	1A
2297	251961	1922,0116.28	8.50	25	1A
2298	251962	1922,0424.3592	8.44	23	1A
2299	251954	1980,0610.5	8.42	22	1A
2300	251969	OR.6958	8.16	23	1A
2301	251965	1889,0105.1165	8.15	21	1A
2302	251974	OR.6960	7.96	22	1A
2303*	251989	1894,0506.1539	7.89	23	1A
2304	251988	OR.6962	7.16	22	1A
2305	25349	OR.348	7.14	21	1A
2306	251990	OR.6963	7.05	22	1A
2307	251996	OR.6964	6.87	22	1A
2308*	251982	1850,0305.177	8.68	22	1B
2309	251983	1847,1201.157	8.64	21	1B
2310	251972	OR.6959	7.97	22	1?
2311	251977	1984,1214.54	7.97	21	1?
2312	251927	OR.352	7.25	21	1?
2313	251976	1847,1201.159	7.06	22	1?
2314	251959	1984,1214.58	6.46	21	1?
2315	251986	1922,0424.3591	8.97	26	2A
2316*	251973	1847,1201.158	8.72	22	2A
2317	251994	1894,0506.1534	8.27	25	2A
2318	251971	OR.346	7.86	23	2A
2319*	251984	1894,0506.1538	9.01	23	2B
2320	251997	OR.6965	8.86	20	2B
2321	251995	1889,0105.1166	8.23	21	2B
2322	252007	1894,0506.1609	8.02	23	2B
2323	251935	OR.345	7.99	21	2B

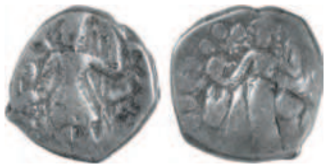

2296: F.C1-iii 1u (1A)

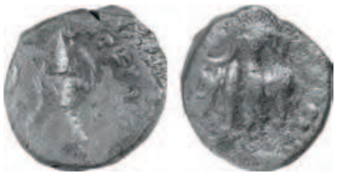

2303: F.C1-ii 1u (1A)

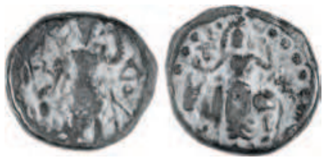

2308: F.C1-ii 1u (1B)


2316: F.C1-ii 1u (2A)

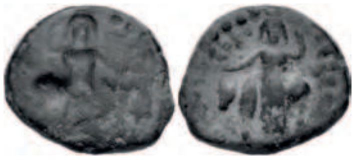

2319: F.C1-ii 1u (2B)


2328: F.C1-ii 1u (2C)


2333: F.C1-ii 1u (2?)


2339: F.C1-ii 1u (3A)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.
2324	251998	OR.6966	7.73	23	2B
2325	252004	OR.6970	7.55	20	2B
2326	252008	1980,0610.3	8.96	22	2C
2327	305185	OR.6973	8.35	19	2C
2328*	252009	1933,0703.3	7.67	21	2C
2329	251957	1843,0812.32	7.59	24	2C
2330	252010	1933,0703.4	6.85	21	2C
2331	305186	OR.6974	6.12	23	2C
2332	251999	OR.6967	7.83	23	2?
2333*	252001	OR.6968	7.66	22	2?
2334	252002	OR.6969	7.58	20	2?
2335	252006	OR.6971	6.58	20	2?
2336	305187	OR.6972	6.28	21	2?
2337	252013	1981,0327.1	9.68	23	3A
2338	251934	1983,0729.13	9.29	24	3A
2339*	251947	1996,1030.32	8.03	20	3A
2340	251963	1980,0610.4	8.51	23	?
2341	251993	1889,0105.1162	8.47	23	?
2342	251978	1984,1214.55	7.86	20	?
2343	251980	1984,1214.57	7.70	18	?
2344	251932	1894,0506.1535	7.67	21	?
2345	251979	1984,1214.56	7.40	19	?
2346	252000	1850,0305.179	6.59	21	?
2347	252011	1933,0703.5	6.39	20	?
2348	263416	1992,0119.61	6.30	18	?
2349	251981	1847,1201.152	6.08	23	?



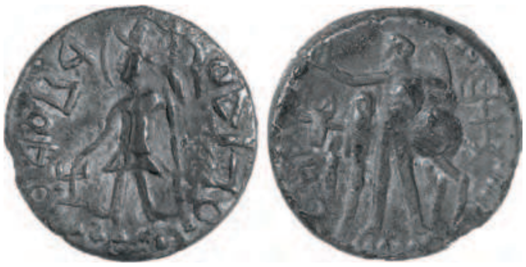
A: F.C1-misc 1u

175 F.C1-misc 1u Main copper mint miscellaneous, brocage

Vasudeva (F), Begram copper mint (C1), miscellanous (misc) unit (1u). Brocages are infrequently reported in the Kushan series. This shows the standard reverse type of Vasudeva with a negative impression of the same die caused by a coin stuck to the obverse die.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
A*	CNG 255 (2011): 186		8.06	-

2354: F.C2-i ½u (1A)



200% enlargement of 2354

176 F.C2-i ½u Mathura copper mint phase 1 half units

Göbl 1984: 1014

Khan 2010: F1a

Vasudeva (F), Mathura copper mint (C2), first phase (i), half units (½u), *c.* 5g.

Obverse: King standing facing left wearing wide brimmed crown, armour with wide skirt, holding spear in left hand and making offering at fire altar with right. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 8.00): ÞAO BAZOΔHO (King Vasudeva).

Reverse: Oesho standing before a bull, left hand raised to hold a trident (which is not clearly depicted), in front of a bull facing left, in right field a tamga. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in left field): OHÞO.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
2350	251914	1850,0305.181	5.51	17
2351	251915	1981,0324.8	5.00	17
2352	251916	1983,0119.1	4.61	16
2353	251917	1983,0119.5	4.57	17
2354*	251918	1983,0119.3	4.38	17

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
2355	251919	1983,0119.6	4.31	19
2356	251930	OR.7427	4.29	19
2357	251920	1983,0119.4	4.12	19
2358	251921	1983,0119.2	3.88	18
2359	251922	1983,0119.7	3.54	18

177 F.C-misc 8u Miscellaneous copper trial for a 20 dinar piece

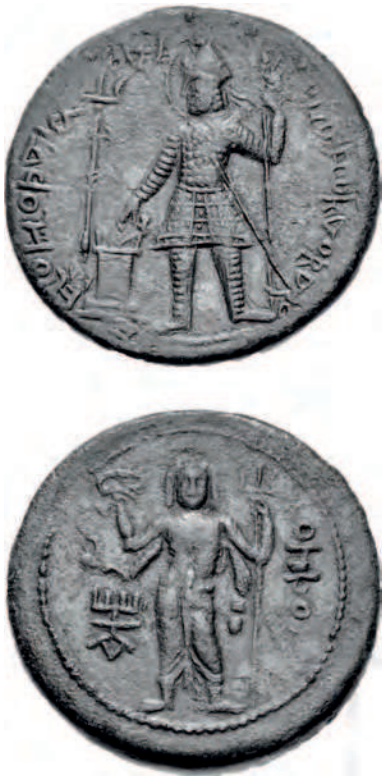
Vasudeva (F), miscellanous copper product from unknown mint (C-misc), 8 units (8u), *c.* 80g. The only example of this type was first offered for sale in 2012. It is similar in style and design to the products of the subsidiary gold mint (F.G2-iii).

The style of this coin suggests it was made at the subsiduary gold mint during its third phase (F.G2-iii), perhaps as an essay for a gold coin of *c.* 160g, a 20 dinar pieces. After discovery the coin was heavily cleaned and the cleaner tooled some elements of the design, changing the attributes of the god and the obverse description. The coin was seen by the authors before cleaning and the description is based on that observation.

Obverse: King standing facing left, wearing tall conical cap with ear flaps, diadem, armour depicted as dots on chest, grid of lines (filled with dots) on skirt, and bands on arms and legs, sword in scabard at waist, holding trident in left hand, making offering at fire altar with right, above fire altar a trident with ties. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 11.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO BAZOΔHO KOÞANO (King of Kings Vasudeva Kushan).

Reverse: Oesho standing facing frontally, four armed, hair arranged in matted locks, wearing dhoti, holding trident in upper left hand, water pot in lower left, thunderbolt in upper right and diadem in lower right, tamga in lower left field. Inscription in Bactrian clockwise in right field: OHÞO.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
A*	CNG mailbid 90 (2012): 883; Triton XVI (8 Jan. 2013): 673; CNG 117 (19 May 2021): 389		80.01	50



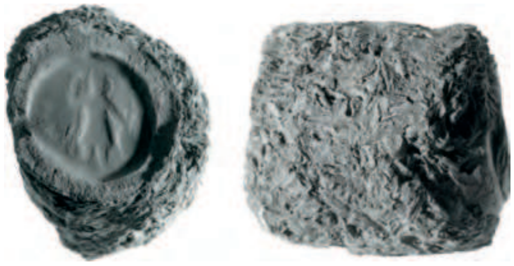
A: F.C-misc 8u

178 F-imit.C-misc Moulds produced from Vasudeva coins

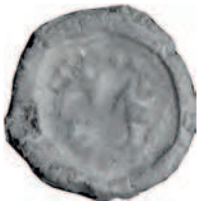
Göbl 1984: supplement 2

Moulds of Vasudeva (F) copper coins (C) produced in the Rohtak/Sunet region. In the region of Delhi, particularly at the sites of Sunet and Rohtak, large numbers of clay moulds of copper coins have been found. Most are Yaudheya coins but a small number of Kushan designs are also present. The Museum possesses a group of four moulds, prepared for use but empty, one of which derived from the obverse of a late Vasudeva copper (2360) and a single half of a mould derived from a reverse (2361). See also G-imit.C-misc.

No.	PRN	Reg. no.	
2360*	COC25346	1990,0525.1	Obverse
2361*	RRI38087	1892,1014.51	Reverse



2360: F-imit.C-misc



2361: F-imit.C-misc

Copper imitations of Vasudeva (F-imit)

Imitiations of Vasudeva types were primarily made in Bactria under the Sasanians and Kushano-Sasanians and commenced in the reigns of Kanishka II or Vasishka. They can be subdivided into several distinct series which may represent different production centres.

The first production centre (F-imit.C1) is distinguished by a flat or curved hem of the kaftan worn by the king. They commenced with a unit of *c.* 6g and were reduced in weight continuously to *c.* 1.5g.

The second production centre (F-imit.C2) is distinguished stylistically by pointed ends to the hem of the king's kaftan and pronounced dots on the edges of his clothes. They commenced with a unit of *c.* 6g and were reduced in weight continuously to *c.* 1.5g.

Aside from weight later phases can be distinguished from earlier ones as the king's arms became increasingly symetrical in their design.

The third production centre (F-imit.C3) is distinguished by the lines used as a stylised rendering of the Oesho and Bull design. They were struck to a standard of *c.* 4g.

The fourth and fifth production centres (Fimit.C4&C5) are less regular local imitations of the Kushano-Sasanian types. They commenced at 6g in weight and were reduced in weight continuously to *c.* 2g.

179 F-imit.C1-i 1u Vasudeva imitations copper production centre A phase 1

Göbl 1984: 1008–9

Khan 2010: F*1

Imitations of Vasudeva (F-imit) Kushano-Sasanian copper production centre A (C1) first phase (i) units (1u). Coins of about of 19mm or greater diameter weighing more than 5g. The majority of coins are between 5.5 and 7g. The die axis is usually 12.00.

Obverse: King standing before an altar wearing crown, diadem, and decorated Kaftan, holding sceptre in left hand, making an offering at a fire altar with right hand, above the fire altar a trident with ribbons hanging symetrically.

1A as above but beneath the king's arm a control mark consisting of a swastika above a sunrise.

1B as for 1A but control mark delta and loop.

1C as for 1A but control mark delta and sunrise.

1D as for 1A but control mark delta and 'comb'.

1E as for 1A but control mark is just a delta and in the left field a delta beneath the trident.

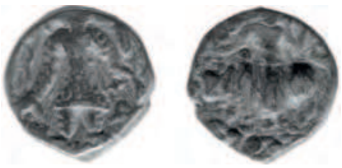
1F as for 1A but control mark resembles a delta and a square, or a swastika.

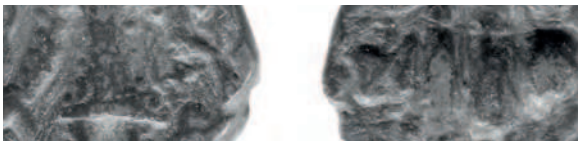
1G as above but a swastika before the king's face and no marks below arm.

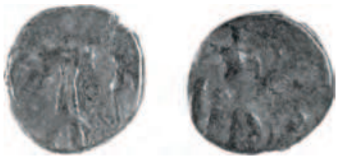
1? examples where the control marks are unclear.

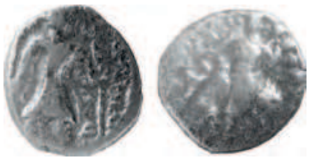
Reverse: Oesho standing before bull, wearing dhoti, left hand raised, above right hand the head of a trident.

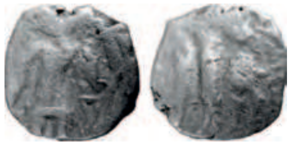
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.
2362*	263305	1844,0921.26	6.56	21	1A
2363	263307	1889,0105.1163	6.05	21	1A
2364	263319	OR.6978	5.83	19	1A
2365	1998	1853,301.46	3.36	17	1A
2366*	263324	OR.6981	5.07	20	1B
2367*	263309	OR.349	6.40	20	1C
2368	263310	1980,0610.7	7.64	20	1D
2369	263312	1844,0921.25	6.65	20	1D
2370	263306	1959,1001.3	3.97	20	1D
2371*	263308	1992,0119.540	3.43	18	1D
2372*	263331	1984,1214.59	4.80	18	1E
A*†	ANS (2012.31.7): Jongeward et al. 2015: 1727		7.05	22	1F
B*	Khan 2010: F*1a.5		6.20	-	1G
2373	263311	OR.6975	6.87	19	1?
2374	263313	OR.7429	6.59	19	1?
2375	263314	OR.6976	6.59	20	1?
2376	263393	1996,1030.34	6.58	20	1?
2377	263329	1992,0119.537	6.28	20	1?
2378	263315	1959,1001.1	6.00	19	1?

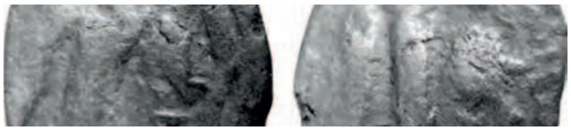

2362: F-imit.C1-i 1u (1A)

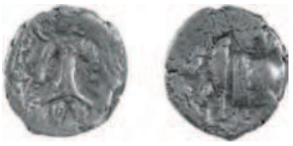

200% enlargement of detail of 2362

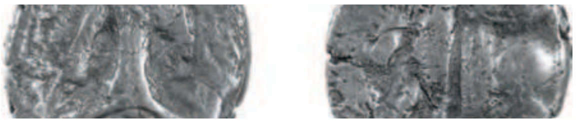

2366: F-imit.C1-i 1u (1B)


2367: F-imit.C1-i 1u (1C)

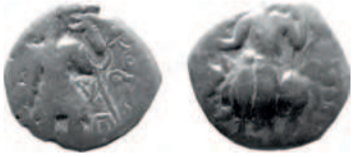

2371: F-imit.C1-i 1u (1D)

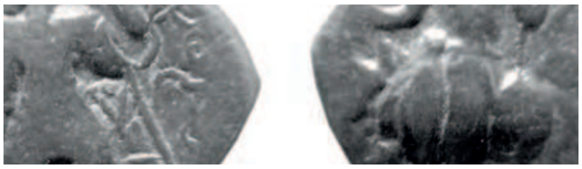

200% enlargement of detail of 2371

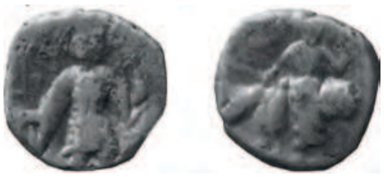

2372: F-imit.C1-i 1u (1E)


200% enlargement of detail of 2372

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.
2379	263316	OR.353	5.96	20	1?
2380	263394	1981,0322.37	5.89	21	1?
2381	263318	OR.6977	5.86	20	1?
2382	263317	1959,1001.6	5.85	19	1?
2383	263320	OR.6979	5.80	20	1?
2384	263605	OR.6986	5.68	20	1?
2385	263396	1959,1001.2	5.64	22	1?
2386	263327	1980,0610.8	5.62	22	1?
2387	263321	1894,0506.1542	5.61	19	1?
2388	263323	OR.6980	5.46	21	1?
2389	263390	1984,1214.61	5.30	19	1?
2390	263398	1959,1001.7	5.27	19	1?
2391§	257931	OR.7001	5.18	19	1?
2392	263392	1984,1214.62	4.94	19	1?


A: F-imit.C1-i 1u (1F)


200% enlargement of detail of A


B: F-imit.C1-i 1u (1G)

† This coin has elements of a Bactrian inscription on the right hand side which perhaps reads '...IPOζ...'

§ Reportedly found with Kota coins.

180 F-imit.C1-ii 1u Vasudeva imitations copper production centre A phase 2

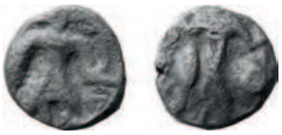
Göbl 1984: 1010

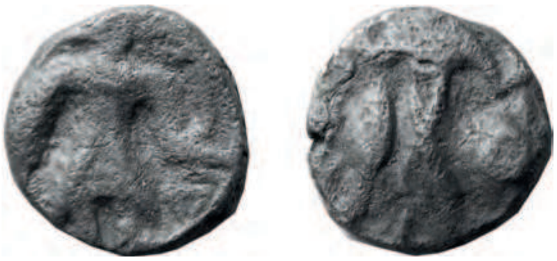
Khan 2010: F*2

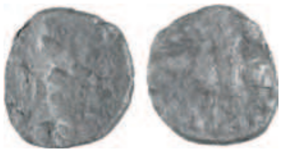
Imitations of Vasudeva (F-imit) Kushano-Sasanian copper production centre A (C1) second phase (ii) units (1u), falling weight standard from *c.* 5.5g to *c.* 2g. These coins use only the delta mark as a control, though it is frequently not visible. In general they are less than 20mm in diameter and between 4 and 5g.

Obverse: King standing before an altar wearing crown, diadem and decorated Kaftan, holding sceptre in left hand, making an offering at a fire altar with right hand, above the fire altar a trident with ribbons hanging symetrically. A delta mark is sometimes visible beneath the arm.

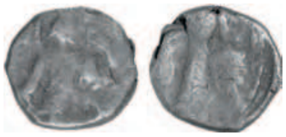
Reverse: Oesho standing before bull, wearing dhoti, left hand raised, above right hand a trident.


2393: F-imit.C1-ii 1u

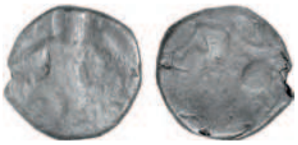

200% enlargement of 2393


2399: F-imit.C1-ii 1u

200% enlargement of 2399


2407: F-imit.C1-ii 1u

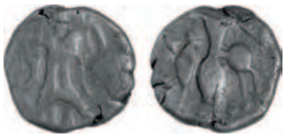
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
2393*	263336	1992,0119.541	5.72	17
2394	263322	1981,0322.35	5.57	19
2395	263407	1992,0119.618	5.48	17
2396	263325	OR.6982	5.00	18
2397	263355	1992,0119.408	4.94	17
2398	263397	1981,0322.36	4.82	21
2399*	263440	1992,0119.538	4.75	19
2400	263532	1992,0119.581	4.73	19
2401	263332	1984,1214.60	4.70	19
2402	263404	1980,0610.10	4.67	19
2403	263438	1992,0119.580	4.65	18
2404	263445	1992,0119.619	4.64	18
2405	263706	1992,0119.402	4.63	18
2406	263326	1959,1001.5	4.59	18
2407*	263574	1992,0119.612	4.59	17
2408	263389	1984,1214.63	4.58	18
2409	263408	1990,0518.5	4.52	19
2410	263411	1981,0322.39	4.49	19
2411	263418	1980,0610.9	4.40	17



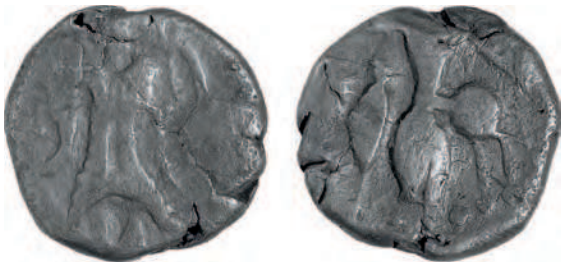
2417: F-imit.C1-ii 1u

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
2412	263412	1992,0119.539	4.38	18
2413	263446	1992,0119.620	4.34	17
2414	263410	OR.6994	4.31	20
2415	263409	1992,0119.550	4.28	18
2416	263413	1992,0119.555	4.25	17
2417*	263534	1992,0119.582	4.21	18
2418	263437	1992,0119.579	4.16	17
2419	263430	1992,0119.547	4.11	17
2420	263442	1992,0119.569	4.09	17
2421	263436	1992,0119.578	4.07	18
2422	263533	1992,0119.577	4.07	17
2423	263447	1995,0506.7	4.05	20
2424	263441	1990,0518.8	4.04	18
2425	263529	1992,0119.554	4.03	18
2426	263424	1992,0119.543	3.96	20
2427	263423	OR.6995	3.84	19
2428	263426	1995,0506.8	3.64	18
2429	263471	1995,0506.43	3.02	17
2430	263465	1995,0506.16	2.44	17
2431	263485	1983,0531.180	1.95	15

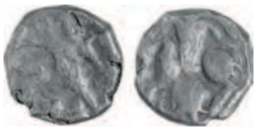
181 F-imit.C1-iii 1u Vasudeva imitations copper production centre A phase 3



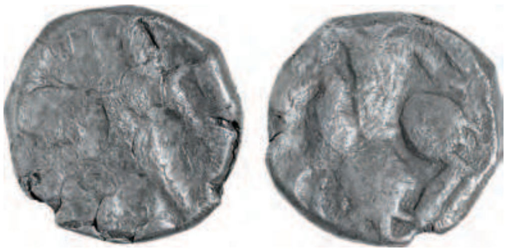
2432: F-imit.C1-iii 1u



200% enlargement of 2432



2442: F-imit.C1-iii 1u



200% enlargement of 2442

Göbl 1984: 1010

Khan 2010: F*2–4

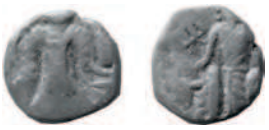
Imitations of Vasudeva (F-imit) Kushano-Sasanian copper production centre A (C1) third phase (iii) units (1u). Coins of less than 19mm diameter and usually weighing less than 3.5g. The designs on these coins are cruder than the preceding phases.

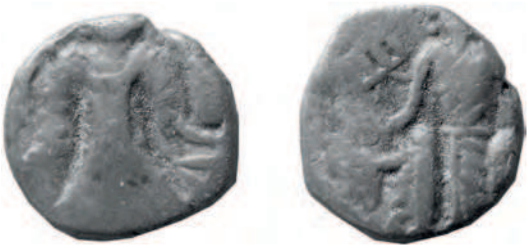
Obverse: King standing before an altar wearing crown, diadem, and decorated Kaftan, holding sceptre in left hand, making an offering at a fire altar with right hand, above the fire altar a trident with ribbons hanging symetrically. A delta mark is sometimes visible beneath the arm.

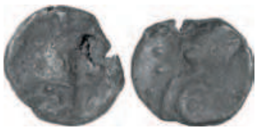
Reverse: Oesho standing before bull, wearing dhoti, left hand raised, above right hand a trident.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
2432*	263425	1992,0119.556	3.94	17
2433	263545	1992,0119.576	3.88	17
2434	263334	1992,0119.551	3.87	17
2435	263328	1990,0518.6	3.76	20
2436	263335	1992,0119.542	3.73	17
2437	263543	1992,0119.583	3.72	17
2438	263537	1992,0119.571	3.71	16
2439	263536	1992,0119.570	3.66	16
2440	263693	1992,0119.385	3.66	16
2441	263420	1992,0119.566	3.63	16
2442*	263434	1992,0119.534	3.54	16
2443	263333	1992,0119.391	3.50	17
2444	263422	1992,0119.549	3.50	19
2445	263538	1992,0119.572	3.48	17
2446	263431	1992,0119.546	3.43	18
2447	263443	1992,0119.565	3.43	16

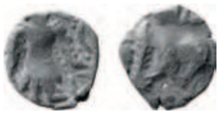
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
2448	263873	1983,0531.295	3.43	16
2449	263468	1995,0506.42	3.42	17
2450	263527	1992,0119.567	3.40	15
2451	263451	1990,0518.11	3.39	18
2452	263550	1992,0119.585	3.39	16
2453	263337	1990,0518.7	3.36	18
2454	263433	1987,0921.20	3.36	17
2455	263330	1983,0531.274	3.30	16
2456	263890	1983,0531.245	3.25	15
2457	263429	1992,0119.560	3.24	17
2458	263454	1995,0506.38	3.19	17
2459	263466	1983,0531.124	3.19	15
2460	263427	1992,0119.553	3.18	16
2461	263488	1983,0531.189	3.18	16
2462*	263338	1990,0518.15	3.15	16
2463	263460	1995,0506.18	3.09	18
2464	263448	1995,0506.13	3.06	18
2465	263452	1995,0506.11	3.04	18
2466	263501	1995,0506.31	3.04	17
2467	263444	1992,0119.564	3.03	16
2468	263405	1981,0322.40	3.02	17
2469	263339	1995,0506.12	2.91	17
2470	263549	1992,0119.584	2.90	16
2471	263473	1995,0506.10	2.88	17
2472	263802	1983,0531.176	2.87	15
2473	263476	1983,0531.242	2.86	15
2474	263844	1983,0531.90	2.83	15
2475	263341	1983,0531.262	2.80	16
2476	263456	OR.268	2.76	17
2477*	263851	1983,0531.103	2.74	16
2478	263449	1990,0518.10	2.68	16
2479	263464	1995,0506.17	2.64	19
2480	263477	1995,0506.15	2.64	18
2481	263499	1983,0531.252	2.54	15
2482	263461	1995,0506.19	2.53	17
2483	263594	1990,0518.14	2.53	16
2484	263458	1995,0506.9	2.47	17
2485	263475	1983,0531.299	2.42	15
2486	263496	1995,0506.21	2.42	16
2487	263380	1983,0531.285	2.40	14
2488	263482	1983,0531.260	2.37	14
2489*	263491	1983,0531.212	2.32	15
2490	263841	1983,0531.228	2.30	15
2491	263470	1995,0506.27	2.29	16
2492	263490	1983,0531.202	2.29	15
2493	263459	2002,1033.2	2.24	17
2494	263498	1983,0531.236	2.24	16
2495	263481	1983,0531.134	2.20	14
2496	263479	1995,0506.24	2.18	16
2497	263467	1995,0506.22	2.15	17

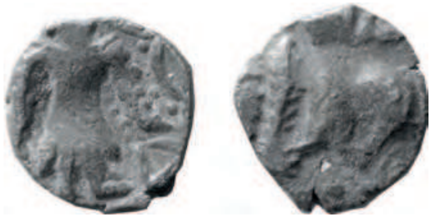

2462: F-imit.C1-iii 1u

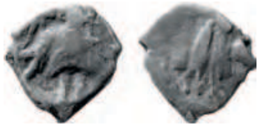

200% enlargement of 2462


2477: F-imit.C1-iii 1u

2489: F-imit.C1-iii 1u


2502: F-imit.C1-iii 1u

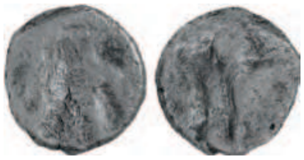

200% enlargement of 2502


2519: F-imit.C1-iii 1u

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
2498	263512	1995,0506.32	2.15	18
2499	263484	1983,0531.178	2.13	15
2500	263493	1983,0531.220	2.03	14
2501	263342	1983,0531.315	1.98	14
2502*	263382	1983,0531.277	1.92	14
2503	263598	1990,0518.13	1.87	15
2504	263508	1983,0531.223	1.85	14
2505	263495	1995,0506.29	1.81	16
2506	263486	1995,0506.25	1.77	16
2507	263494	1995,0506.23	1.76	16
2508	263513	1995,0506.34	1.74	16
2509	263509	1983,0531.313	1.73	13
2510	263505	1995,0506.30	1.72	16
2511	263503	1983,0531.307	1.70	14
2512	263515	1983,0531.291	1.69	13
2513	263597	1990,0518.12	1.68	17
2514	263511	1995,0506.36	1.66	16
2515	263519	1983,0531.169	1.65	14
2516	263497	1983,0531.311	1.56	13
2517	263518	1983,0531.157	1.56	14
2518	263599	1995,0506.35	1.53	16
2519*	263514	1995,0506.37	1.52	16
2520	263517	1995,0506.49	1.37	15
2521	263504	1995,0506.28	1.31	16
2522	263385	1983,0531.237	1.30	14
2523	263383	1983,0531.280	1.26	14

Kushano-Sasanian copper production centre B (F-imit.C2)

This group are distinguished by a pointed hem of the kaftan with an angular join. The phases of production can be distinguished by the fabric and weight of the coins.


2524: F-imit.C2-i 1u

182 F-imit.C2-i Vasudeva imitations copper production centre B phase 1 units

Göbl 1984: 1010

Khan 2010: F*4a–e

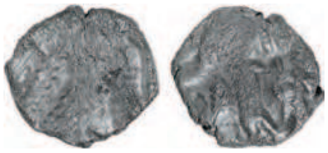
Imitations of Vasudeva (F-imit) Kushano-Sasanian copper production centre B (C2) first phase (i) units. Distinguished in style from the rest of the C2 group and with thinner flans these are probably the earliest issues of the type.

Obverse: King standing before an altar wearing crown, diadem, and decorated Kaftan, holding sceptre in left hand, making an offering at a fire altar with right hand, above the fire altar a trident with ribbons hanging symetrically. A delta mark is sometimes visible beneath the arm.

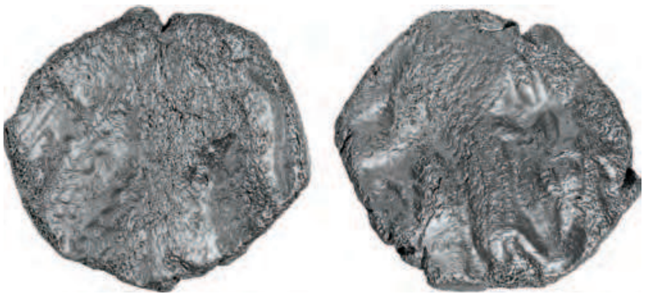
Reverse: Oesho standing before bull, wearing dhoti, left hand raised, above right hand a trident.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
2524*	263602	OR.6998	6.78	20
2525	263700	1992,0119.399	6.19	17
2526	263343	1981,0322.38	6.07	20
2527	263344	1894,0506.1541	5.78	20
2528	1996	1865,0803.84	5.660	19
2529	263350	1992,0119.388	5.24	19
2530	263604	1959,1001.4	4.92	20

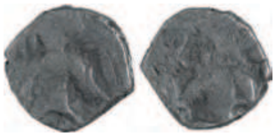
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
2531	263349	1992,0119.393	4.83	18
2532	263357	1992,0119.392	4.60	17
2533	263345	OR.6983	4.56	19
2534	263606	OR.6999	4.46	19
2535	263607	OR.7000	4.43	20
2536	263608	OR.6991	4.16	19
2537	263348	OR.6984	4.12	17
2538	263704	1992,0119.407	4.12	17
2539*	263603	OR.6992	4.11	19
2540	263358	1992,0119.382	4.10	17
2541	263699	1992,0119.383	3.96	17
2542	263660	OR.6990	3.80	19
2543	263450	1990,0518.9	3.75	17
2544	263701	1992,0119.384	3.74	18
2545	263715	1995,0506.50	3.40	18
2546	263362	1992,0119.387	3.36	18
2547	263729	1983,0531.109	3.34	17
2548	263340	1983,0531.279	3.07	16
2549	263360	1995,0506.41	3.02	17
2550	263462	1995,0506.20	2.98	16
2551*	263698	1992,0119.381	2.97	17
2552	263668	OR.6988	2.66	17
2553	263359	OR.6985	2.47	17



2539: F-imit.C2-i 1u



200% enlargement of 2539



2551: F-imit.C2-i 1u

183 F-imit.C2-ii 1u Vasudeva imitations copper production centre B phase 2

Göbl 1984: 1010

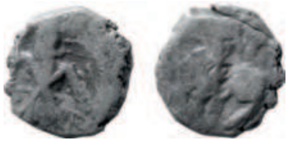
Khan 2010: F*4b–e

Imitations of Vasudeva (F-imit) Kushano-Sasanian copper production centre B (C2) second phase (ii) units (1u).

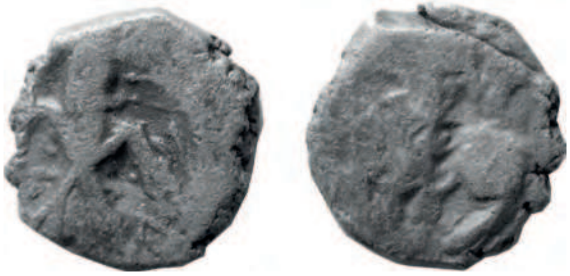
Obverse: Crude standing figure, a delta mark is sometimes visible in the right field.

Reverse: Oesho standing before bull, wearing dhoti, left hand raised, above right hand a trident.

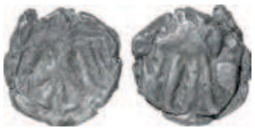
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
2554*	263347	1992,0119.411	5.80	18
2555	263695	1992,0119.395	5.74	17
2556	263943	1980,0610.11	5.43	17
2557	263346	1992,0119.400	5.08	17
2558	263944	1980,0610.12	5.04	17
2559	263620	1992,0119.418	4.92	15
2560	263651	1992,0119.452	4.91	15
2561	263945	1980,0610.13	4.79	18
2562	263643	1992,0119.522	4.78	17
2563	263614	1992,0119.422	4.71	15
2564	263692	1992,0119.394	4.70	16
2565	263696	1992,0119.389	4.69	15
2566	263652	1992,0119.453	4.68	15
2567*	263609	1992,0119.461	4.67	16
2568	263672	1992,0119.473	4.67	17



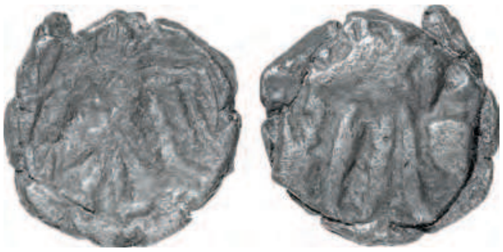
2554: F-imit.C2-ii 1u



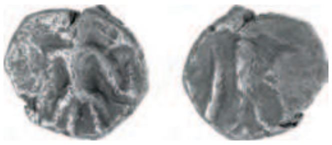
200% enlargement of 2554



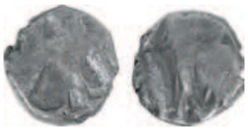
2567: F-imit.C2-ii 1u



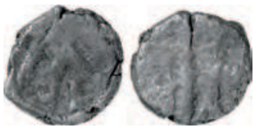
200% enlargement of 2567



2581: F-imit.C2-ii 1u



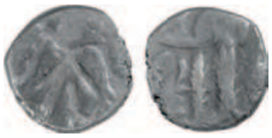
2593: F-imit.C2-ii 1u

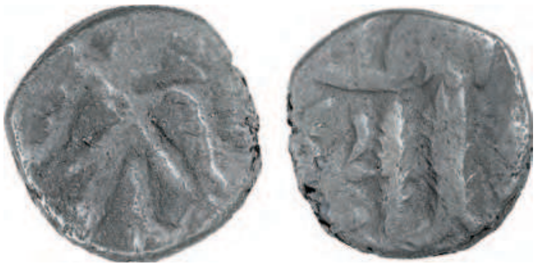


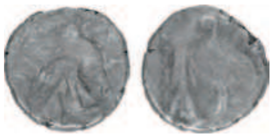
2610: F-imit.C2-ii 1u

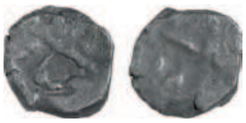
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
2569	263714	1992,0119.520	4.65	16
2570	263615	1992,0119.460	4.64	18
2571	263688	1992,0119.489	4.63	16
2572	263352	1992,0119.405	4.60	17
2573	263667	1992,0119.468	4.58	15
2574	263612	1992,0119.420	4.56	17
2575	263621	1992,0119.464	4.55	17
2576	263622	1992,0119.454	4.54	16
2577	263642	1992,0119.467	4.52	18
2578	263677	1992,0119.478	4.50	15
2579	263644	1992,0119.445	4.49	16
2580	263613	1992,0119.414	4.48	16
2581*	263354	1992,0119.401	4.46	18
2582	263659	1992,0119.470	4.44	15
2583	263946	1980,0610.14	4.43	15
2584	263641	1992,0119.442	4.40	16
2585	263618	1992,0119.459	4.39	17
2586	263634	1992,0119.435	4.38	15
2587	263682	1992,0119.483	4.35	15
2588	263361	1992,0119.404	4.34	17
2589	263665	1992,0119.413	4.34	14
2590	263713	1992,0119.521	4.34	16
2591	263625	1992,0119.426	4.32	17
2592	263645	1992,0119.465	4.31	15
2593*	263686	1992,0119.487	4.31	16
2594	263610	1992,0119.443	4.30	15
2595	263689	1992,0119.490	4.30	15
2596	263762	1983,0531.142	4.30	15
2597	266503	1983,0531.248	4.30	15
2598	263947	1980,0610.16	4.27	15
2599	263702	1992,0119.398	4.26	17
2600	263353	1992,0119.396	4.25	17
2601	263356	1992,0119.416	4.25	17
2602	263707	1992,0119.403	4.25	15
2603	263630	1992,0119.431	4.24	16
2604	263627	1992,0119.428	4.22	16
2605	263632	1992,0119.433	4.22	15
2606	263719	1992,0119.532	4.22	16
2607	263351	1981,0120.12	4.20	12
2608	263684	1992,0119.485	4.17	17
2609	263638	1992,0119.439	4.16	17
2610*	263623	1992,0119.424	4.15	16
2611	263679	1992,0119.480	4.15	16
2612	263649	1992,0119.450	4.12	16
2613	263656	1992,0119.457	4.08	15
2614	263685	1992,0119.486	4.08	15
2615	263629	1992,0119.430	4.07	16
2616	263653	1992,0119.469	4.07	14
2617	263364	1992,0119.409	4.06	17
2618	263619	1992,0119.421	4.03	16

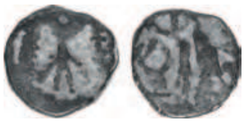
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
2619	263637	1992,0119.438	4.03	19
2620	263646	1992,0119.447	4.02	16
2621	263657	1992,0119.458	4.02	16
2622	263648	1992,0119.449	3.99	16
2623	263711	1992,0119.533	3.97	16
2624	263655	1992,0119.423	3.95	17
2625	263658	1992,0119.417	3.95	15
2626*	263710	1992,0119.466	3.95	17
2627	263676	1992,0119.477	3.93	15
2628	263721	1995,0506.39	3.93	17
2629	263690	1992,0119.491	3.92	15
2630	263674	1992,0119.475	3.91	15
2631	263869	1983,0531.289	3.90	16
2632	263683	1992,0119.484	3.89	16
2633	263647	1992,0119.448	3.86	15
2634	263664	1992,0119.446	3.84	17
2635	263663	1992,0119.419	3.81	14
2636	263635	1992,0119.436	3.75	15
2637	263678	1992,0119.479	3.75	16
2638	263633	1992,0119.434	3.74	15
2639*	263628	1992,0119.429	3.65	17
2640	263636	1992,0119.437	3.65	19
2641	263728	1983,0531.158	3.63	16
2642	263617	1992,0119.415	3.62	17
2643	263784	1983,0531.111	3.51	17
2644	263371	1983,0531.283	3.50	15
2645	263709	1992,0119.456	3.49	16
2646	263744	1983,0531.149	3.47	14
2647	263675	1992,0119.476	3.43	17
2648	263795	1983,0531.171	3.43	15
2649	263951	1980,0610.22	3.43	15
2650	263705	1992,0119.444	3.41	15
2651	263365	1992,0119.410	3.40	17
2652*	263883	1992,0119.515	3.40	15
2653	263953	1980,0610.19	3.38	14
2654	263811	1983,0531.188	3.33	16
2655	263790	1983,0531.251	3.32	15
2656	263765	1983,0531.121	3.31	15
2657	263842	1983,0531.92	3.27	16
2658	263789	1983,0531.257	3.22	16
2659	263724	1983,0531.161	3.20	15
2660	263805	1983,0531.181	3.20	16
2661	263843	1983,0531.99	3.15	16
2662	263727	1983,0531.120	3.14	17
2663	266502	1983,0531.209	3.13	17
2664*	263962	1980,0610.24	3.08	15
2665	263742	1983,0531.147	3.07	16
2666	263877	1983,0531.233	3.00	16
2667	263723	1995,0506.44	2.97	18
2668	263734	1983,0531.138	2.95	14

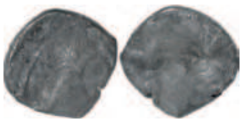

2626: F-imit.C2-ii 1u


200% enlargement of 2626

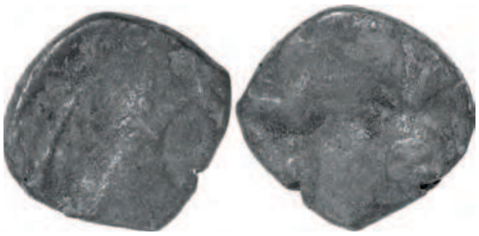

2639: F-imit.C2-ii 1u


2654: F-imit.C2-ii 1u

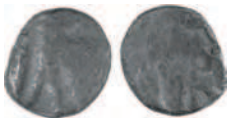

2664: F-imit.C2-ii 1u



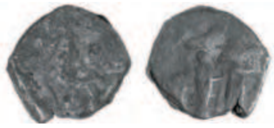
2674: F-imit.C2-ii 1u



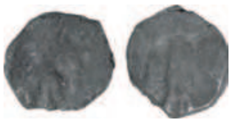
200% enlargement of 2674



2678: F-imit.C2-ii 1u



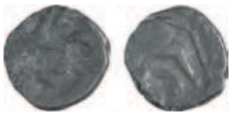
2690: F-imit.C2-ii 1u

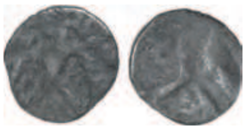


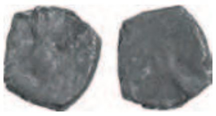
2706: F-imit.C2-ii 1u

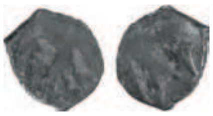
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
2669	263669	1992,0119.519	2.93	15
2670	263363	1983,0531.96	2.92	15
2671	263840	1983,0531.227	2.92	15
2672	263818	1983,0531.197	2.90	15
2673	263500	1983,0531.143	2.89	15
2674*	263819	1983,0531.199	2.88	15
2675	263735	1983,0531.139	2.87	15
2676	263754	1983,0531.270	2.87	15
2677	263718	1992,0119.502	2.86	14
2678*	263751	1983,0531.156	2.86	15
2679	263876	1983,0531.298	2.86	15
2680	263772	1983,0531.129	2.84	14
2681	263749	1983,0531.154	2.83	14
2682	263807	1983,0531.269	2.83	15
2683	263862	1983,0531.267	2.81	15
2684	263759	1983,0531.165	2.79	15
2685	263769	1983,0531.126	2.77	14
2686	263834	1983,0531.217	2.76	15
2687	263758	1983,0531.164	2.75	15
2688	263806	1983,0531.183	2.72	15
2689	263737	1983,0531.141	2.70	15
2690*	263739	1983,0531.144	2.68	16
2691	263822	1983,0531.203	2.68	16
2692	263763	1983,0531.221	2.67	15
2693	263778	1983,0531.118	2.66	17
2694	263830	1983,0531.211	2.66	15
2695	263858	1983,0531.278	2.62	15
2696	263859	1983,0531.261	2.61	15
2697	263379	1983,0531.196	2.58	16
2698	263825	1983,0531.206	2.58	14
2699	263378	1983,0531.184	2.57	16
2700	263833	1983,0531.215	2.57	15
2701	263847	1983,0531.85	2.57	15
2702	263863	1983,0531.265	2.57	15
2703	263736	1983,0531.140	2.56	14
2704	263845	1983,0531.95	2.55	15
2705	263733	1983,0531.136	2.49	15
2706*	263824	1983,0531.205	2.48	15
2707	263872	1983,0531.294	2.47	15
2708	263827	1983,0531.208	2.45	15
2709	263368	1990,0518.16	2.43	16
2710	263722	1995,0506.40	2.43	18
2711	263826	1983,0531.207	2.43	14
2712	263848	1983,0531.104	2.43	16
2713	263812	1983,0531.191	2.42	15
2714	263757	1983,0531.163	2.40	14
2715	263780	1983,0531.116	2.40	15
2716	263849	1983,0531.94	2.39	15
2717	263725	1990,0518.20	2.37	16
2718	263786	1983,0531.323	2.37	14

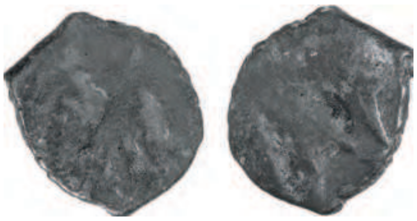
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
2719	263792	1983,0531.167	2.37	14
2720*	263747	1983,0531.152	2.36	14
2721	263815	1983,0531.194	2.36	16
2722	263838	1983,0531.225	2.36	14
2723	263370	1990,0518.17	2.35	16
2724	263839	1983,0531.226	2.34	13
2725	263850	1983,0531.86	2.34	13
2726	263753	1983,0531.159	2.33	14
2727	263823	1983,0531.204	2.32	14
2728	263745	1983,0531.150	2.30	13
2729	263821	1983,0531.201	2.30	15
2730	263731	1983,0531.137	2.29	16
2731*	263808	1983,0531.185	2.29	16
2732	263726	1990,0518.18	2.28	15
2733	263755	1983,0531.162	2.28	16
2734	263773	1983,0531.130	2.26	15
2735	263816	1983,0531.195	2.26	14
2736	263881	1983,0531.254	2.25	15
2737*	263748	1983,0531.153	2.24	14
2738	263756	OR.6987	2.24	16
2739	263860	1983,0531.263	2.24	16
2740	263894	1983,0531.249	2.24	14
2741	263852	1983,0531.102	2.23	14
2742	263384	1983,0531.108	2.22	15
2743	263794	1983,0531.170	2.22	14
2744	263381	1983,0531.276	2.21	15
2745	263793	1983,0531.168	2.21	15
2746	263774	1983,0531.131	2.19	13
2747	263781	1983,0531.110	2.19	16
2748	263832	1983,0531.214	2.19	14
2749	263887	1983,0531.239	2.19	15
2750*	263741	1983,0531.146	2.18	14
2751	263866	1983,0531.255	2.18	15
2752	263764	1983,0531.119	2.17	14
2753	263809	1983,0531.186	2.17	14
2754	263889	1983,0531.243	2.17	14
2755	263775	1983,0531.132	2.16	14
2756	263787	1983,0531.308	2.14	15
2757	263893	1983,0531.113	2.14	14
2758	263768	1983,0531.125	2.13	15
2759	263817	1983,0531.271	2.12	14
2760	263853	1983,0531.101	2.12	13
2761	263854	1983,0531.89	2.12	16
2762*	263804	1983,0531.179	2.11	15
2763	263761	1983,0531.100	2.10	16
2764	263766	1983,0531.122	2.10	14
2765	263367	1983,0531.114	2.09	14
2766	263865	1983,0531.268	2.09	14
2767	263771	1983,0531.128	2.08	14
2768	263801	1983,0531.232	2.08	17

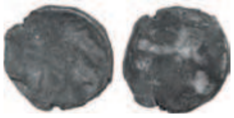

2720: F-imit.C2-ii 1u

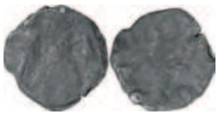

2731: F-imit.C2-ii 1u


2737: F-imit.C2-ii 1u

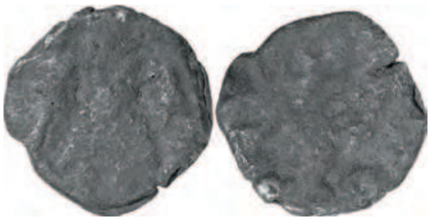

2750: F-imit.C2-ii 1u


200% enlargement of 2750

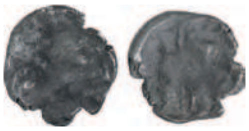

2762: F-imit.C2-ii 1u



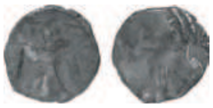
2769: F-imit.C2-ii 1u



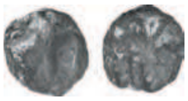
200% enlargement of 2769



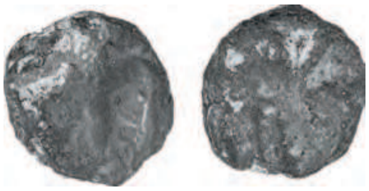
2784: F-imit.C2-ii 1u



2800: F-imit.C2-ii 1u



2810: F-imit.C2-ii 1u



200% enlargement of 2810

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
2769*	263831	1983,0531.213	2.08	14
2770	263864	1983,0531.284	2.08	14
2771	263891	1983,0531.246	2.08	15
2772	263796	1983,0531.172	2.07	15
2773	263779	1983,0531.117	2.07	14
2774	263855	1983,0531.97	2.05	14
2775	263483	1983,0531.175	2.04	15
2776	263369	1990,0518.19	2.03	16
2777	263750	1983,0531.155	1.98	15
2778	263386	1983,0531.93	1.96	16
2779	263861	1983,0531.264	1.93	14
2780	263897	1983,0531.253	1.91	14
2781	263856	1983,0531.87	1.90	13
2782	263892	1983,0531.247	1.89	14
2783	263857	1983,0531.98	1.88	13
2784*	263770	1983,0531.127	1.87	16
2785	263896	1983,0531.259	1.87	13
2786	263752	1995,0506.46	1.86	16
2787	263898	1983,0531.258	1.84	14
2788	263791	1983,0531.105	1.83	14
2789	263375	1983,0531.281	1.81	14
2790	263738	1995,0506.45	1.80	15
2791	263798	1983,0531.229	1.80	14
2792	263800	1983,0531.231	1.80	14
2793	263803	1983,0531.177	1.71	14
2794	263820	1983,0531.200	1.71	14
2795	263810	1983,0531.187	1.70	14
2796	263829	1983,0531.210	1.69	15
2797	263376	1983,0531.272	1.68	14
2798	263888	1983,0531.241	1.64	15
2799	263760	1983,0531.166	1.63	14
2800*	263767	1983,0531.123	1.61	13
2801	263884	1983,0531.234	1.60	15
2802	263387	1983,0531.286	1.58	14
2803	263746	1995,0506.48	1.58	17
2804	263880	1983,0531.256	1.55	14
2805	263797	1983,0531.173	1.53	14
2806	266504	1983,0531.174	1.52	15
2807	263867	1983,0531.287	1.48	14
2808	263895	1983,0531.266	1.40	14
2809	263516	1995,0506.51	1.22	14
2810*	263837	1983,0531.224	1.09	12

Kushano-Sasanian copper production centre C (F-imit.C3)

This production centres coins are distinguished by the use of lines on the reverse rather than a depiction of Oesho. It is clear from some examples that the lines were inspired by the Oesho design. Like the other productions it can be divided according to the weight and style.

184 F-imit.C3-i 1u Vasudeva imitations copper production centre C phase 1

Göbl 1984: 1010A

Khan 2010: F*4f

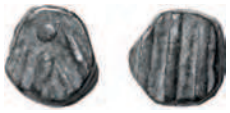
Imitations of Vasudeva (F-imit) Kushano-Sasanian copper production centre C (C3) first phase (i) units (1u). Coins generally heavier than 2.5g and of small dumpy fabric.

Obverse: Standing figure.

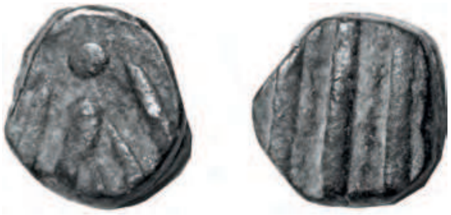
Reverse: Vertical lines representing the god Oesho and a bull.

1A three, four, or five, thin vertical lines.

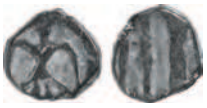
1B three thick lines with small crossbars or lines, resembling depictions of Oesho.



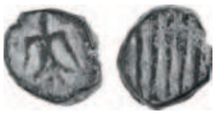
2812: F-imit.C3-i 1u (1a)



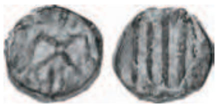
200% enlargement of 2813



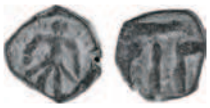
2814: F-imit.C3-i 1u (1a)



2816: F-imit.C3-i 1u (1a)



2825: F-imit.C3-i 1u (1a)



2828: F-imit.C3-i 1u (1a)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Rev.
2811	263932	1981,0325.36	4.51	13	1a
2812*	263965	1981,0325.34	4.28	14	1a
2813	263931	1981,0120.17	3.93	14	1a
2814*	263964	1980,0610.28	3.68	13	1a
2815	263924	1992,0119.507	3.55	16	1a
2816*	263935	1981,0325.33	3.55	14	1a
2817	263970	1922,0424.4433	3.38	13	1a
2818	263941	1981,0325.37	3.35	12	1a
2819	263928	1992,0119.638	3.31	14	1a
2820	263968	1922,0424.4430	3.21	12	1a
2821	263969	1981,0325.38	3.18	12	1a
2822	263967	1922,0424.4432	3.17	13	1a
2823	263926	1981,0120.16	3.14	14	1a
2824	263930	1981,0120.15	3.10	15	1a
2825*	263966	1981,0325.35	3.08	13	1a
2826	263971	1981,0325.39	2.90	12	1a
2827	263933	1981,0325.32	4.43	14	1b
2828*	263936	1981,0325.31	3.75	13	1b
2829	263940	1922,0424.4429	3.35	13	1b
2830	1997	1848,0803.186	3.200	13	1b

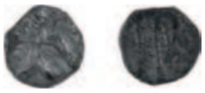
185 F-imit.C3-ii 1u Vasudeva imitations copper production centre C phase 2

Göbl 1984: 1010A

Imitations of Vasudeva (F-imit) Kushano-Sasanian copper production centre C (C3) first phase (i) units (1u). Coins less than 3g in weight and cruder in design than in the first phase (F-imit.C3-i).

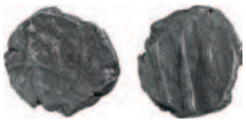
Obverse: Standing figure.

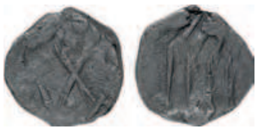
Reverse: Thin vertical lines.



2831: F-imit.C3-ii 1u

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
2831*	263972	1980,1004.77	1.33	11


2832: F-imit.C3-iii 1u


2833: F-imit.C3-iii 1u

186 F-imit.C3-iii 1u Vasudeva imitations copper production centre C phase 3

Göbl 1984: 1010A

Khan 2010: F*4g

Imitations of Vasudeva (F-imit) Kushano-Sasanian copper production centre C (C3) third phase (iii) units (1u). Irregular types with vertical lines on the reverse, possibly local imitations similar in nature to F-imit.C4 and C5.

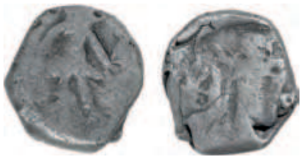
Obverse: Standing figure.

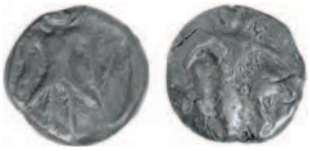
Reverse: Vertical lines.

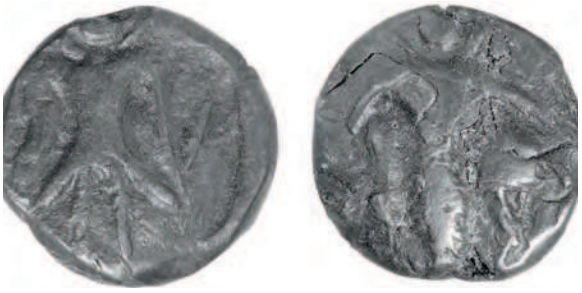
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
2832*	263904	1992,0119.505	3.92	15
2833*	263914	1992,0119.510	3.81	16
2834	263925	1992,0119.535	2.95	16

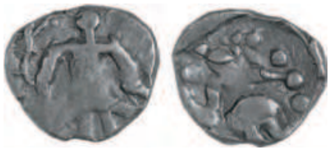
Local copper imitations of Kushanshah types (F-imit)

Alongside the issues of the Kushano-Sasanian copper production centres are found a large number of coins of poor workmanship, some with iron cores and inconsistent die axis. These can be divided into two board groups. Those which imitate the shallow kaftan of F-imit.C1 and those which imitate the pointed kaftan of F-imit.C2.


2835: F-imit.C4-i 1u


2844: F-imit.C4-i 1u


200% enlargement of 2844


2861: F-imit.C4-i 1u

187 F-imit.C4 1u Local imitation copper units

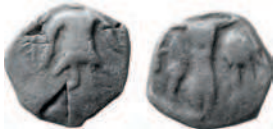
Imitations of Vasudeva (F-imit) from a local copper production centre (C4) units (1u). Imitating the shallow kaftan of F-imit.C2.

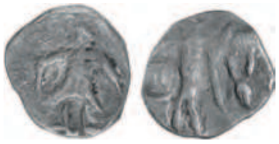
Obverse: Standing figure.

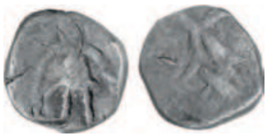
Reverse: Oesho standing before bull.

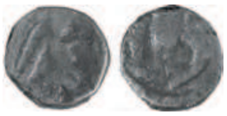
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
2835*	263589	1992,0119.626	6.03	20
2836	263590	1992,0119.632	5.61	18
2837	263400	1987,0921.19	5.55	19
2838	263406	1992,0119.545	5.36	18
2839	263395	OR.347	5.28	20
2840	263401	1981,0325.3	5.18	19
2841	263402	1987,0921.21	5.14	18
2842	263403	1987,0921.22	5.14	18
2843	263561	1992,0119.598	5.02	19
2844*	263582	1983,0531.60	5.00	18
2845	263583	1983,0531.61	4.98	18
2846	263601	1992,0119.642	4.94	18
2847	263562	1992,0119.601	4.90	19
2848	263572	1992,0119.611	4.87	17
2849	263435	1992,0119.561	4.81	18
2850	263552	1992,0119.587	4.80	17
2851	263585	1992,0119.629	4.76	18
2852	263528	1992,0119.527	4.75	17
2853	263580	1992,0119.631	4.74	17
2854	263586	1992,0119.627	4.74	20
2855	263524	1992,0119.503	4.68	18
2856	263567	1992,0119.613	4.67	17
2857	263578	1992,0119.530	4.62	17
2858	263439	1992,0119.614	4.59	17
2859	263535	1992,0119.604	4.56	18
2860	263563	1992,0119.593	4.53	17
2861*	263414	1981,0120.11	4.50	19

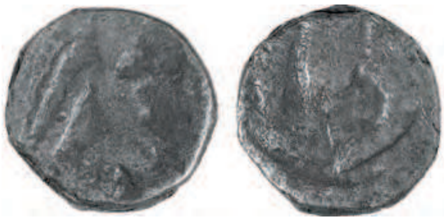
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
2862	263544	1992,0119.575	4.50	16
2863	263555	1992,0119.592	4.50	16
2864	263415	1992,0119.562	4.45	17
2865	263600	1992,0119.641	4.41	18
2866	263526	1992,0119.525	4.38	15
2867	263554	1992,0119.590	4.32	17
2868	263566	1992,0119.602	4.31	17
2869	263565	1992,0119.603	4.29	19
2870*	263581	1992,0119.591	4.29	17
2871	263901	1980,0610.15	4.26	15
2872	263564	1992,0119.600	4.26	17
2873	263417	1992,0119.544	4.25	17
2874	263593	1992,0119.643	4.23	17
2875	263521	1992,0119.559	4.22	18
2876	263571	1992,0119.609	4.14	17
2877	263520	1992,0119.558	4.05	17
2878*	263579	1992,0119.625	4.04	18
2879	263551	1992,0119.586	3.94	18
2880	263584	1992,0119.622	3.94	19
2881	263530	1992,0119.495	3.91	16
2882	263569	1992,0119.607	3.89	19
2883	263540	1992,0119.557	3.88	16
2884	263573	1992,0119.616	3.82	19
2885	263421	1992,0119.548	3.78	18
2886	263539	1992,0119.526	3.77	14
2887	263547	1992,0119.624	3.77	18
2888	263553	1992,0119.588	3.76	18
2889	263523	1992,0119.498	3.75	17
2890	263372	1983,0531.275	3.73	15
2891*	263575	1992,0119.606	3.72	17
2892	263531	1992,0119.496	3.67	17
2893	263559	1992,0119.596	3.66	16
2894	263592	1992,0119.646	3.63	16
2895	263455	1983,0531.198	3.62	15
2896	263560	1992,0119.589	3.62	16
2897	263661	1992,0119.462	3.57	15
2898	263591	1992,0119.630	3.56	18
2899	263548	1992,0119.617	3.54	17
2900*	263522	1992,0119.497	3.50	14
2901	263587	1992,0119.640	3.48	15
2902	263568	1992,0119.599	3.46	16
2903	263558	1992,0119.595	3.44	15
2904	263541	1992,0119.563	3.43	16
2905	263588	1992,0119.628	3.40	16
2906	263432	OR.6996	3.38	17
2907	263525	1992,0119.506	3.32	16
2908	263472	1983,0531.306	3.29	16
2909	263557	1992,0119.594	3.14	20
2910	263542	1992,0119.574	3.12	16
2911	263453	1995,0506.14	3.11	17

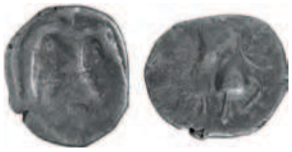

2870: F-imit.C4-i 1u


2878: F-imit.C4-i 1u

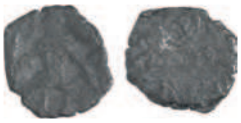

2891: F-imit.C4-i 1u


2900: F-imit.C4-i 1u


200% enlargement of 2900

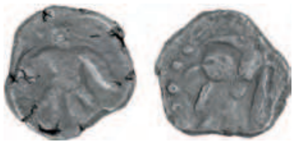


2913: F-imit.C4-i 1u

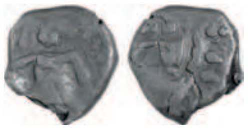


2924: F-imit.C4-i 1u

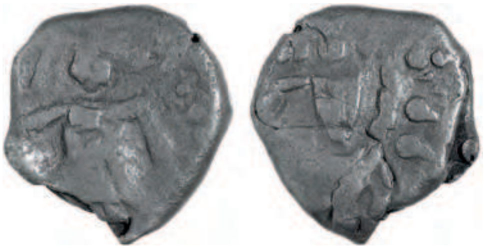
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
2912	263419	OR.6997	3.08	16
2913*	263428	1992,0119.552	3.08	19
2914	263469	1983,0531.190	2.98	15
2915	263570	1992,0119.608	2.98	15
2916	263492	1983,0531.216	2.95	15
2917	263463	1983,0531.303	2.90	15
2918	263717	1992,0119.523	2.66	16
2919	263489	1995,0506.47	2.62	17
2920	263474	1983,0531.317	2.50	15
2921	263595	1995,0506.33	2.48	16
2922	263478	1983,0531.244	2.43	15
2923	263480	1983,0531.316	2.21	15
2924*	263502	1983,0531.235	2.16	15
2925	263510	1983,0531.240	1.88	14
2926	263596	1995,0506.52	1.79	16
2927	263487	1983,0531.310	1.71	14
2928	263507	1983,0531.182	1.58	18
2929	263506	1983,0531.320	1.22	13



2934: F-imit.C5-i 1u



2942: F-imit.C5-i 1u



2942: F-imit.C5-i 1u

188 F-imit.C5 1u Local imitation copper units

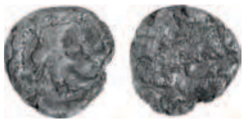
Imitations of Vasudeva II (F-imit) from various local copper production centres (C5) units (1u) from *c.* 5.5g to *c.* 2g. Imitating the pointed kaftan of F-imit.C3

Obverse: Standing figure.

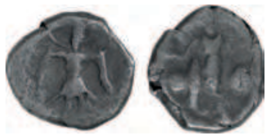
Reverse: Oesho standing before bull.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
2930	263399	OR.6993	5.66	19
2931	263626	1992,0119.427	5.29	16
2932	263697	1992,0119.390	5.19	17
2933	263616	1992,0119.406	5.08	18
2934*	263703	1992,0119.397	5.03	18
2935	263903	1992,0119.504	4.94	18
2936	263909	1992,0119.644	4.94	18
2937	263611	1992,0119.412	4.77	17
2938	263708	1981,0120.14	4.76	16
2939	263691	1992,0119.492	4.73	18
2940	263687	1992,0119.488	4.69	16
2941	263905	1992,0119.529	4.53	17
2942*	263954	1992,0119.380	4.50	16
2943	263694	1992,0119.386	4.41	17
2944	263639	1992,0119.440	4.40	17
2945	263662	1992,0119.463	4.28	16
2946	263950	1980,0610.26	4.26	15
2947	263654	1992,0119.455	4.25	17
2948	263712	1992,0119.501	4.19	15
2949	263952	1992,0119.378	4.19	15
2950	263907	1980,0610.17	4.18	17
2951	263631	1992,0119.432	4.12	15
2952	263919	1992,0119.514	4.12	15
2953	263958	1980,0610.20	4.12	14
2954	263680	1992,0119.481	4.11	15

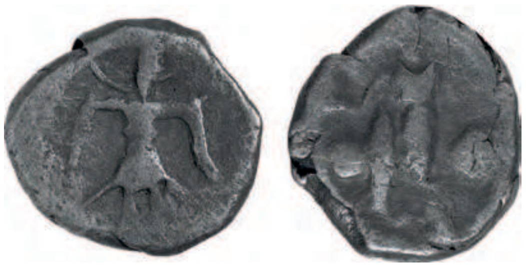
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
2955	263948	1980,0610.21	4.07	16
2956	263640	1992,0119.441	4.04	15
2957*	263681	1992,0119.482	4.00	15
2958	263949	1980,0610.18	4.00	15
2959	263788	1983,0531.296	3.97	16
2960	263673	1992,0119.474	3.96	17
2961	263902	1992,0119.508	3.89	17
2962	263937	1980,0610.27	3.84	15
2963	263911	1992,0119.500	3.82	17
2964*	263900	1992,0119.597	3.80	17
2965	263670	1992,0119.471	3.76	15
2966	263732	1983,0531.151	3.75	17
2967	263923	1992,0119.494	3.72	15
2968	263920	1992,0119.524	3.70	16
2969	263915	1992,0119.639	3.65	16
2970	263671	1992,0119.472	3.58	16
2971	263934	1992,0119.635	3.54	15
2972	263650	1992,0119.451	3.53	14
2973*	263917	1992,0119.499	3.50	14
2974	263720	1995,0506.26	3.45	16
2975	263959	1980,0610.23	3.42	15
2976	263922	1992,0119.536	3.34	16
2977	263963	1922,0424.4504	3.33	13
2978	263871	1983,0531.319	3.31	14
2979	263624	1992,0119.425	3.29	15
2980	263666	OR.6989	3.28	16
2981	263730	1983,0531.133	3.27	17
2982	263878	1983,0531.300	3.27	15
2983	263906	1981,0120.13	3.24	14
2984*	263913	1992,0119.516	3.24	17
2985	263870	1983,0531.290	3.22	15
2986	263916	1992,0119.634	3.20	15
2987	263929	1992,0119.517	3.18	14
2988	263921	1992,0119.528	3.17	15
2989	263716	1992,0119.531	3.14	16
2990	263927	1992,0119.512	3.14	13
2991	263961	1922,0424.4431	3.08	15
2992	263912	1992,0119.518	3.06	16
2993	263835	1983,0531.219	3.04	14
2994	263908	1992,0119.509	3.03	14
2995*	263910	1992,0119.511	3.00	15
2996	263782	1983,0531.106	2.99	16
2997	263777	1983,0531.115	2.98	15
2998	263374	1983,0531.218	2.92	15
2999	263740	1983,0531.145	2.89	15
3000	263785	1983,0531.238	2.89	15
3001	263938	1992,0119.637	2.88	16
3002	263956	1992,0119.493	2.87	14
3003	263836	1983,0531.222	2.86	15
3004	263885	1983,0531.91	2.86	16



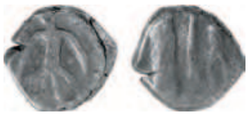
2957: F-imit.C5-i 1u



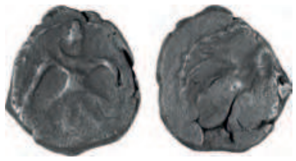
2964: F-imit.C5-i 1u



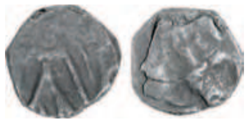
200% enlargement of 2964



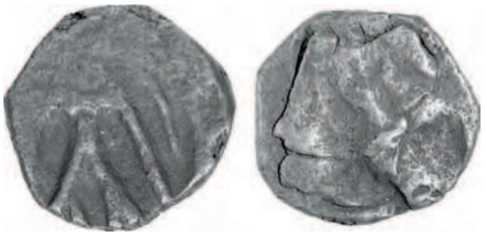
2973: F-imit.C5-i 1u



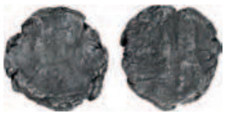
2984: F-imit.C5-i 1u

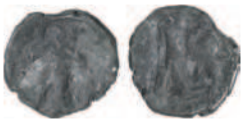


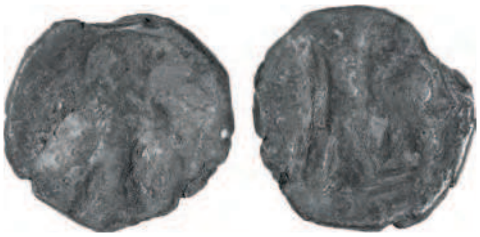
2995: F-imit.C5-i 1u

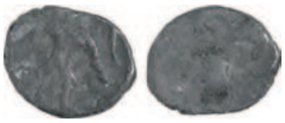


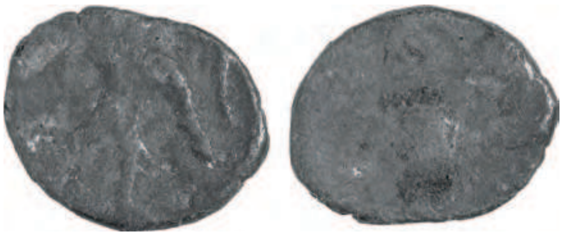
200% enlargement of 2995


3011: F-imit.C5-i 1u

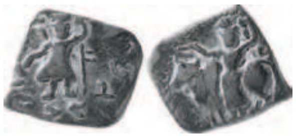

3017: F-imit.C5-i 1u


200% enlargement of 3017


3025: F-imit.C5-i 1u


200% enlargement of 3025

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
3005	263939	1992,0119.636	2.86	17
3006	263918	1992,0119.513	2.85	15
3007	263776	1983,0531.135	2.84	15
3008	263957	1992,0119.379	2.84	15
3009	263373	1983,0531.160	2.83	15
3010	263875	1983,0531.302	2.83	15
3011*	263955	1992,0119.633	2.78	14
3012	263366	1983,0531.112	2.77	14
3013	263868	1983,0531.288	2.74	16
3014	263813	1983,0531.192	2.73	15
3015	263879	1983,0531.301	2.71	15
3016	263899	1992,0119.605	2.70	17
3017*	263846	1983,0531.88	2.68	15
3018	263783	1983,0531.107	2.66	16
3019	263960	1980,0610.25	2.66	14
3020	263377	1983,0531.282	2.65	14
3021	263743	1983,0531.148	2.63	14
3022	263799	1983,0531.230	2.63	15
3023	263874	1983,0531.250	2.63	15
3024	263942	1995,0506.53	2.33	12
3025*	263814	1983,0531.193	2.07	15


3026: F-imit.C6-i 1u

189 F-imit.C6-i 1u Gandharan copper imitation unit

Vasudeva Imitation (F-imit) probably Gandharan (C6), unit of *c.* 2g (1u). The presence of Kharoshthi might suggest the period of Wima Kadphises but the low weight, that the king's trident appears to have pennants, and the posture of Oesho, suggests a post-Vasudeva local imitation of the main mint (F.C1-i).

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, wearing large crown, wearing overcoat or armour with broad hem, making offering with right hand over altar, holding sceptre or spear with pennants in left hand. Inscription in Kharoshthi partially visible (anticlockwise from 3.00 to 6.00 and at 10.00).

Reverse: Oesho, full figure standing frontally, with top knot, wearing dhoti, holding trident in left hand, right hand outstretched, before a bull facing to left. In right field partially off-flan a control mark, all surrounded by a dotted border.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
3026*	1986	1903,1106.19	1.76	12

Gold coinage

Kanishka II main gold mint (G.G1)

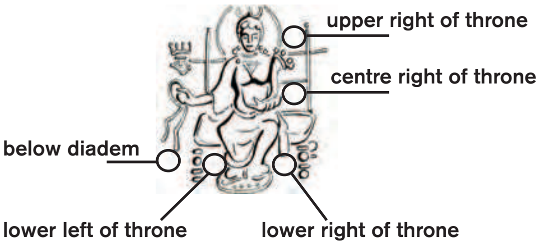
The former subsidiary mint at Peshawar or Taxila seems to have taken on the role of the main mint after its loss to the Sasanians and produced gold coins throughout the reign. They were issued in two denominations, the normal gold dinar (*c.* 8g) and the rare issues of quarter dinars (*c.* 2g). The gold content of the coins was marginally reduced from that of Vasudeva I.

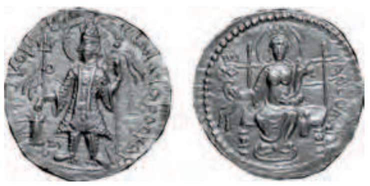
The issues of this mint can be divided into two phases:

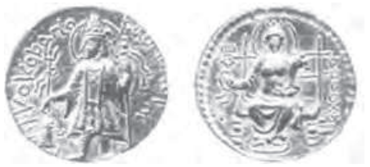
Phase 1 production consisted of dinars and quarters. The new design of king wearing overcoat was introduced, and the standard design of goddess enthroned was used. These types are important as they served as the basis for almost all later Kushan coin production and persisted into Kidarite, Gupta, and Kashmiri coinage.

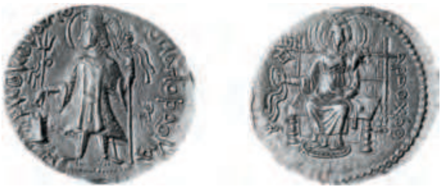
Following Phase 1 there are several types which are hard to distinguish from those of Vasishka Vasishka. It is unusual for the mints not to mark a clear break between the reign of two kings. Those types attributable based on the dies used to Kanishka II are repeated in this section, and all examples are presented as a single phase in the section on Vasishka (H. G1-i).

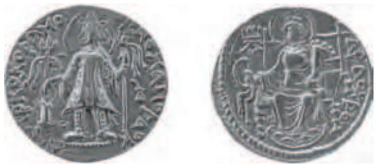
Positions of control marks




A: G.G1-i 1d (1A/1a)


B: G.G1-i 1d (1B/1a)


3028: G.G1-i 1d (1B/2a)


3030: G.G1-i 1d (2A/3a)

190 G.G1-i 1d Main gold mint phase 1 dinars, Ardochsho enthroned

Göbl 1984: 539–42, 544–5, 551

Kanishka II (G) main gold mint (G1) first phase (i) dinars (1u), *c.* 8g.

Obverse: King, full figure standing facing left, halo surrounding head, long hair, wearing decorated conical crown, ear ring, diadem, knee-length tunic tied at waist with belt, decorated boots, sword in scabard, under long decorated overcoat, making offering with right hand at altar, holding sceptre with ribbons in left hand, above fire altar a trident with ribbons hanging to left, various characters, mostly Brahmi, as control marks by fire altar or in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO KANHÞKO KOÞANO (King of Kings Kanishka Kushan).

1A with *ha* by the fire altar and Bactrian B in the right field.

1B with *ha* by the fire altar and *bhi* in the right field.

2A with *ha* by the fire altar and *vi* in the right field.

2B with *pu* by the fire altar and *vi* in the right field.

2C with just *vi* in right field

3A with *la* by the fire altar and *a* in the right field.

3B with *la* by the fire altar and *harva*(?) and *a* in the right field.

3C with *la* by the fire altar and *harva*(?) and *pu* in the right field.

3D with *la* by the fire altar and *harva*(?) and *ru* in the right field.

Reverse: Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, seated facing frontally, long hair arranged in curls, head surrounded by halo, two crescents above head, wearing sleeved ankle-length gown with tie below chest and at waist, holding diadem in right hand, cornucopia over left shoulder, pile of coins at feet, on a four legged chair with high back, tamga in left field, Brahmi characters in various positions (beneath diadem, and lower left, lower right, right, and upper right, of throne) all surrounded by dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): APΔOXÞO.

1a with no control marks.

2a with Brahmi *ha* beneath diadem.

3a with Brahmi *la* lower left of throne.

3b with Brahmi *la* lower left of throne.

3c with Brahmi *la* centre right of throne.

3d with Brahmi *pu* lower left of throne and *la* centre right.

3e with Brahmi *la* lower left of throne and *ru* upper right.

4a with Brahmi *pu* upper right of throne.

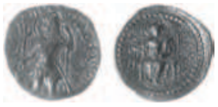
4b with Brahmi *pu* lower left of throne, and *ha* to right of goddess.

4c with Brahmi *la* lower left of throne and *pu* upper right

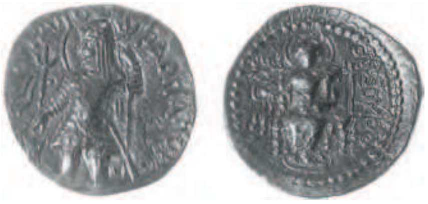
5a with Brahmi *ru* in lower left of throne.

5b with Brahmi *ru* in lower left of throne and *ga* in lower right.

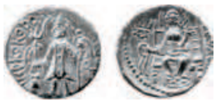
5c as 5b but positions of *ru* and *ga* are reversed.



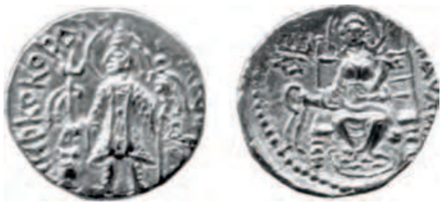
A: G.G1-i ¼d (2A)



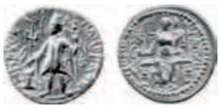
200% enlargement of A



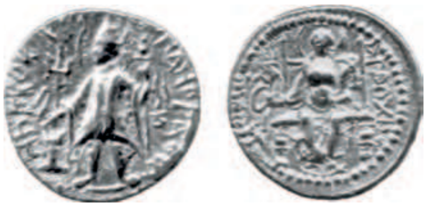
3031: G.G1-i ¼d (1A)



200% enlargement of 3031



3032: G.G1-i ¼d (1B)



200% enlargement of 3032

191 G.G1-i ¼d Main gold mint phase 1 quarter dinars

Göbl 1984: 543, 546

Kanishka II (G), main gold mint (G1) first phase (i), quarter dinars (¼d), *c.* 2g.

Obverse: King, full figure standing facing left, halo surrounding head, long hair, wearing decorated conical crown, ear ring, diadem, knee-length tunic tied at waist with belt, decorated boots, sword in scabard, under long decorated overcoat, making offering with right hand at altar, holding sceptre with ribbons in left hand, above fire altar a trident with ribbons hanging to left, various characters as control marks by fire altar or in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO KANHÞKO KOÞANO (King of Kings Kanishka Kushan).

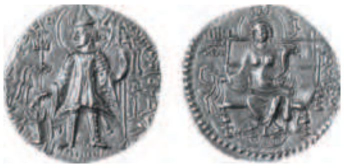
1A as above with Brahmi *vi* in right field.

1B as for 1A with Brahmi *pu* by fire altar.

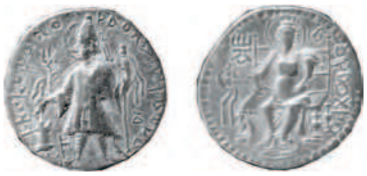
2A The king is depicted in heavy armour shown as dots on torso, grid of lines representing plates on skirt, and bands on arms and legs, with Bactrian B below arm and Brahmi *ha* in right field. Coins of this type use a die already employed in the previous reign, see F.G2-iv ¼d and prior to publication an example was seen in which the inscription was clearly readable as ÞAONANO ÞA[O BA]Z[O]ΔHO KOÞANO (King of Kings Vasudeva Kushan).

Reverse: Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, seated facing frontally, long hair arranged in curls, head surrounded by halo, two crescents above head, wearing sleeved ankle-length gown with tie below bust, holding diadem in right hand, cornucopia over left shoulder, tamga in left field, all surrouned by dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): APΔOXÞO.

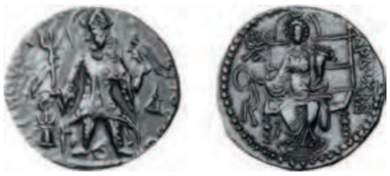
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.
A*	Bern; Göbl 1993a: 595		1.97	13	-	2A
3031*	189155	IOC.295	1.97	13	16.58	1A
3032*	189152	1894,0506.118	1.97	13	17.84	1B



3239: H.G1-i 1d (1B/1a)



A: H.G1-i 1d (1A/1b)



B: H.G1-ii1d (1C/1c)

H.G1-i 1d-ref (see pp. 660–1, no. 200) Main gold mint phase 1 dinars, transitional types

Göbl 1984: 549–50, 552–3, 556–7

Transitional types between Kanishka II and Vasishka (H) main mint (G1) first phase (i) dinars (1d) *c.* 8g. The final issues of Kanishka II are hard to distinguish from the first issues of Vasishka as the distinguishing features of the inscription are usually off-flan. See H.G1-i 1d for a full description of types, the types listed below are for control mark combinations used exclusively by Kanishka II.

Obverse: King standing, facing left, wearing peaked crown, diadem, decorated coat and trousers, making offering at fire altar with right hand, holding sceptre in left hand, in right field a trident. Control marks are a Kharoshthi *pa* by the fire altar, and a Brahmi *vi* in the right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO KANHÞKO KOÞANO (King of Kings Kanishka Kushan).

1A as above.

1B as for 1A but with addition of Brahmi *ru* in right field.

1C as for 1A but Brahmi *thā* between the king's legs.

Reverse: Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, seated on four legged throne, facing frontally, with halo, wearing long dress, holding diadem in right hand and cornucopia in left hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian in right field: APΔOXÞO.

1a as above with Brahmi *ru* upper right of throne and *ha* in the lower left of the throne.

1b as above with Brahmi *thā* upper right of throne.

1c as above with Brahmi *ru* in lower left of throne.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
3239*	25336	1893,0506.32	7.8	21	17.32	1B	1a
A*	BKB (8732); Göbl 1984, 550/3		7.69	23	-	1A	1b
B*	Göbl 1984, 552/1		7.87	-	-	1C	1c

192 G.G2-i 1d Subsidiary gold mint phase 1 dinars, Oesho types

Göbl 1984: 547–8

Kanishka II (G) subsidiary gold mint (G2) first phase (i) dinars (1d), *c.* 8g.

Obverse: King, standing facing frontally head turned to left and surrounded by halo, flames emanating from right shoulder, wearing tall conical crown, diadem, armour, holding trident in left hand, making offering at altar with right hand, trident in upper left field, control marks in various positions (by altar, between legs, between leg and trident, in right field). Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO KANHÞKO KOÞANO (King of Kings Kanishka Kushan).

1A as above, armour is depicted as vertical lines with bars on torso, plates on skirt, and bands on arms and legs, with Kharoshthi *pa* by altar and Brahmi *pu* between legs.

1B armour as 1A, Kharoshthi *pa* by altar, Brahmi *ru* between leg and trident.

1C armour as 1A, Brahmi *vi* in right field, Kharoshthi *pa* by altar, Brahmi *thā* between legs

2A as above, armour is depicted as dots on torso, plates on skirt, and bands on arms and legs, Brahmi *vi* with nandipada symbol in right field, Kharoshthi *pa* by altar.

Reverse: Oesho, standing facing frontally, halo around head, wearing dhoti and ascetic thread, holding diadem in right hand and trident in left hand, before bull facing left, in top left field a tamga. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): OHÞO.

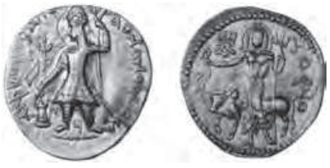
1a as above with a Brahmi *ru* control mark.

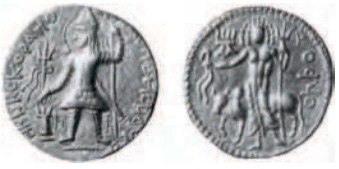
1b as above with a Brahmi *thā* at the top right.

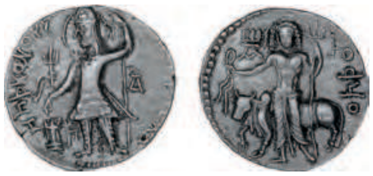
1c as above with a Brahmi *thā* beneath the bull's head.

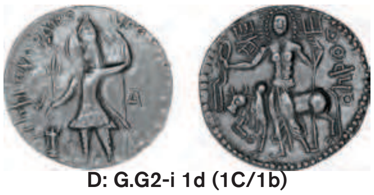
1d as above with three dots beneath the bull's head.

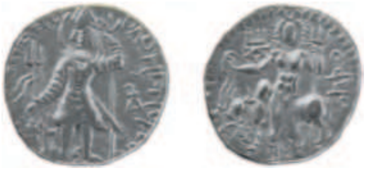
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Göbl 1984, 547/1; Sotheby sale, Sept. 1987: 76;		7.84	-	-	1A	1a
B*	Bern; Göbl 1993a: 606		7.00	-	-	1B	1a
C*	Private collection P		-	-	-	1C	1a
D*	Private collection P		-	-	-	1C	1b
E*	Shanghai Museum (Cat. 1310)		7.90	22	-	1C	1c
3033*	189100	1988,0808.9	7.90	21	-	2A	1c
F*	Private collection P		-	-	-	2A	1d

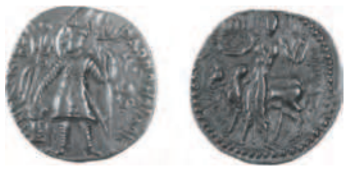

A: G.G2-i 1d (1A/1a)

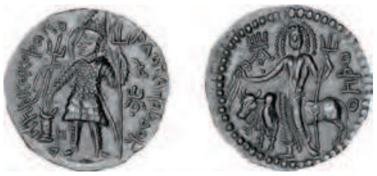

B: G.G2-i 1d (1B/1a)


C: G.G2-i 1d (1C/1a)


D: G.G2-i 1d (1C/1b)


E: G.G2-i 1d (1C/1c)


3033: G.G2-i 1d (2A/1c)

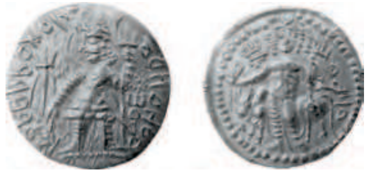

F: G.G2-i 1d (2A/1d)

F-imit.G1-i 1d Main gold mint phase 1 imitation dinars (see p. 618, no. 164)

Göbl 1984: 662–5

Kushano-Sasanian imitations of Vasudeva I (F-imit), main gold mint (G1), first phase (i), gold dinars (1d), *c.* 8g. Though issued in the name of Kanishka II these are based on types of Vasudeva I. For full details of types see series F.

Obverse: King standing facing left with halo, wearing tall pointed crown with ear flaps, banner behind head, diadem, and heavy armour depicted

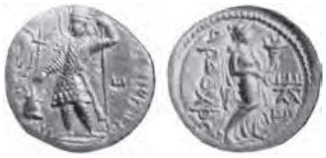

2236: see F-imit.G1-i 1d

as dots on chest, plated skirt, and bands on arms and legs, sword in scabard at waist, holding trident in left, making offering with right at altar, above altar a trident with ribbons handing either side, nandipada in right field with rosette of dots above it. Bactrian inscription. In left field above the altar a trident. Rosette above the nadipada, a swastika between the king's legs. Inscription in Bactrian imitating inscriptions (clockwise from 1.00) of Kanishka II coins, usually blundered but resembling: [Þ]ΑΟΝΑΝΟ ÞΑΟ ΚΑΔΗÞΑΟ ΚΟÞΑ[ΝΟ] (King of Kings Kanishka Kushan).

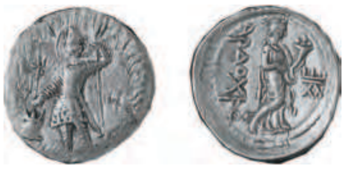
Reverse: Oesho standing before bull, flames emanating from head, crescent above, hair arranged in matted locks, wearing a dhoti, holding a trident in left hand and a diadem in right hand, in top left field a tamga, various control marks, surrounded by dotted border broken by the crescent. Inscription in Bactrian (anti-clockwise in right field): ΟΗÞΟ.

Kanishka II third mint of unknown location (G.G3)

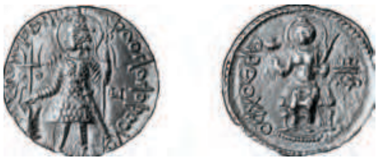
Briefly, probably early in the reign, a small group of coins were made borrowing iconographic elements from the end of Vasudeva I's reign but in a style unrelated to the work at either mint. The location of this mint is unclear but it may have been opened to replace the mint at Balkh lost to the Sasanians.



A: G.G3-i 1d (1a)



B: G.G3-i 1d (1b)



3034: G.G3-i 1d (2a)

193 G.G3-i 1d Third gold mint phase 1 dinars, Vasudeva I types

Göbl 1984: 538

Kanishka II (G) third gold mint (G3) first phase (i) dinars (1d), *c.* 8g.

Obverse: King standing, full figure standing frontally with head to left, flames emanate from right shoulder, head surrounded by halo, wearing conical crown with ear-flaps, diadem, and armour represented by dots of chest, scaled skirt, and bands on arms and legs, sword in scabard held by belt and strap, making offering with right hand over small altar, holding trident with with ribbon in left hand, above altar a trident with ribbons flowing to left, in right field a Brahmi character *pa*. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00): ÞΑΟΝΑΝΟ ÞΑΟ ΚΑΝΗÞΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ (King of Kings Kanishka Kushan).

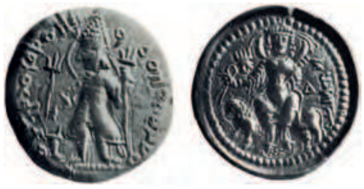
Reverse: Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, tamga in right field and label in Bactrian.

1a Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, standing facing right, long curled hair tied into a bun at the back, wearing sleeved ankle-length gown, holding cornucopia with flower like mass at the top with both hands in front of her, tamga in right field, Brahmi character *pa* below tamga, all surrounded by dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian (anti-clockwise in left field): ΑΡΔΟΧÞΟ.

1b as for 1a but with no Brahmi character.

2a Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, seated facing frontally head turned to left, head surrounded by halo, on head a modius, wearing sleeved ankle-length gown with tie below bust, holding lotus flower in right hand, palm over left shoulder, seated on a four legged chair with row of coins at feet, tamga in right field, all surrounded by dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian (anti-clockwise in left field): ΑΡΔΟΧÞΟ.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Rev.
A*	Vienna		-	-	-	1a
B*	Los Angeles		-	-	-	1b
3034*	189147	1893,0506.29	8.09	20	18.98	2a



A: G.G4-i 1d

194 G.G4-i 1d Fourth gold mint phase I dinars, Nana type

Göbl 1984: 660

Kanishka II (G) fourth gold mint (G4) first phase (i) dinars (1d), *c.* 8g. Only one example of this coin is known and it shares no clear stylistic elements with any of the other mints so probably represents an independent production.

Obverse: King, standing facing frontally head turned to left and surrounded by halo, flames emanating from right shoulder, wearing tall conical crown, diadem, overcoat over tunic and leggings, holding trident in left hand, making offering at altar with right hand, trident in upper left field above altar. Bactrian inscription (clockwise from 1.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO/ KANHÞKO KOÞANO (King of Kings Kanishka Kushan) with initial Þ reversed.

Reverse: Nana, royal goddess, seated facing frontally, lunar crescent, emanating from shoulders, around head, wearing ankle length dress, and slippers, pendant earrings formed heart-shaped jewel hanging from ring, hair dressed in curls and tied with diadem crescent on top of head, offering diadem with extended right hand and holding sceptre in left hand before left shoulder, enthroned on back of lion facing left, with her feet resting in dotted circle (a plate of coins?), in top left field a tamga, in right field a Greek control mark, A or Δ. Bactrian inscription (clockwise in right field): NΩNEITO (the same inscription as appears with Nana on coins of Huvishka E.G2-iii and E.G2-iv, reverses 4f and 4j).

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG
A*	Martin 1933, no. 3†		7.91	24	-

† Mukherjee 1969, pl. 1, no. 1

Kanishka II main copper mint Begram (G.C1)

The Begram mint was responsible for the official issues of copper coinage under Kanishka II. It was issued in a single denomination with the weight of the unit beginning at about 9g and reducing to about 6g. The coins all use a standard obverse design of a standing king making an offering at a fire altar and a standard reverse design of Ardochsho seated on a throne. The coinage is homogenous and represents one long phase of continuous production without significant changes, apart from the detioration of the design.

195 G.C1-i 1u Main copper mint phase 1 copper units

Göbl 1984: 1015–17

Kanishka II (G) main copper mint (C1) first phase (i) units (1u) reducing from *c.* 9g to *c.* 6g.

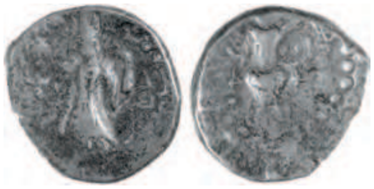
Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally head turned to left, wearing conical crown, diadem, decorated overcoat, making offering with right hand over altar, left hand holding sceptre. In the left field a trident with ribbons hanging to left and in the right field a Brahmi or Kharoshthi control mark. Bactrian inscription (from 1.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO KANHÞKO KOÞANO (King of Kings Kanishka Kushan) usually off-flan.

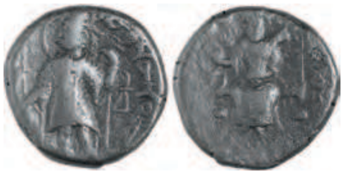
1A control mark is a Brahmi *vi*.

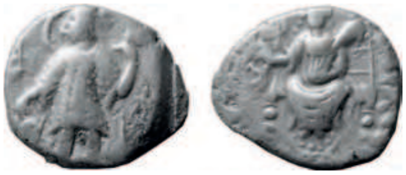
1B control mark is a Kharoshthi *vi*.

1? on most examples it is not possible to identify the control mark or be certain if a mark was present.

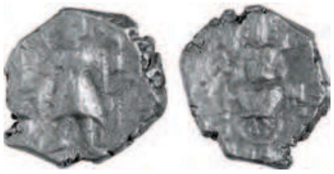
Reverse: Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, seated on throne, facing frontally, two crescents above head, wearing long gown, holding diadem in right hand, cornucopia in left hand, seated on throne with high back, pile of coins at feet, all surrounded by dotted border. Traces of inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): APΔOXÞO


3036: G.C1-i 1u (1A)

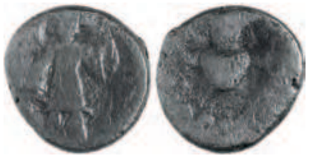

3045: G.C1-i 1u (1A)


3046: G.C1-i 1u (1A)

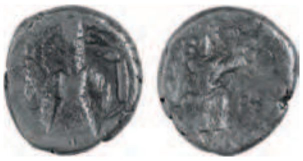
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.
3035	258215	OR.7004	9.07	23	1A
3036*	258216	1889,0105.1169	8.37	24	1A
3037	258217	1894,0506.1543	8.36	21	1A
3038	258219	OR.7005	8.05	22	1A
3039	258218	1847,1201.267	8.03	22	1A
3040	258220	1847,1201.287	7.93	21	1A
3041	258221	1894,0506.1544	7.84	21	1A
3042	258222	OR.7006	7.80	21	1A
3043	258223	1922,0424.3593	7.58	20	1A
3044	258224	1853,0301.1363	7.56	24	1A
3045*	258225	OR.7007	7.55	21	1A
3046*	258226	OR.350	7.49	22	1A



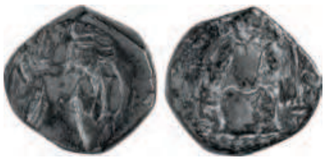
3054: G.C1-i 1u (1B)



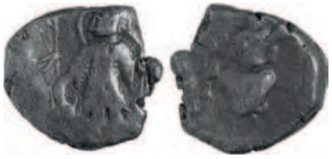
3060: G.C1-i 1u (1B)



3074: G.C1-i 1u (1?)



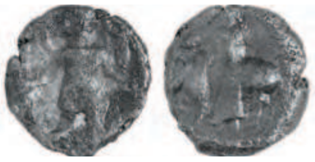
3081: G.C1-i 1u (1?)

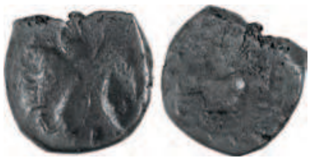


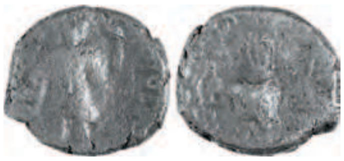
3082: G.C1-i 1u (1?)

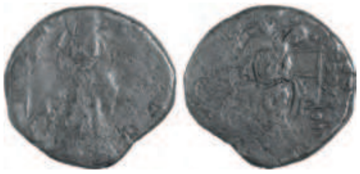
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.
3047	258227	1847,1201.282	6.99	21	1A
3048	258228	1847,1201.288	6.92	22	1A
3049	258229	OR.7008	6.76	21	1A
3050	258230	OR.7009	6.60	22	1A
3051	258231	1847,1201.290	8.87	21	1B
3052	258234	OR.7010	7.74	20	1B
3053	258235	OR.7011	7.63	23	1B
3054*	258236	OR.7012	7.59	22	1B
3055	258237	OR.7013	7.58	21	1B
3056	258238	OR.7014	7.39	21	1B
3057	258239	OR.7015	7.26	21	1B
3058	258240	1853,0301.1364	7.20	24	1B
3059	258242	1984,1214.75	6.81	18	1B
3060*	258241	OR.7016	6.53	20	1B
3061	258243	1984,1214.90	6.03	20	1B
3062	258247	OR.7017	8.30	20	1?
3063	258248	OR.7018	8.18	21	1?
3064	258249	OR.7019	8.15	21	1?
3065	258250	OR.7020	8.13	21	1?
3066	258272	OR.7040	8.09	22	1?
3067	258273	OR.7041	8.08	21	1?
3068	258312	1984,1214.100	8.00	20	1?
3069	258245	1853,0301.1366	7.80	21	1?
3070	258329	1996,1030.35	7.79	21	1?
3071	258330	1844,921.36	7.70	21	1?
3072	258331	OR.7065	7.69	21	1?
3073	258251	1981,322.32	7.67	21	1?
3074*	258274	OR.7042	7.66	20	1?
3075	258246	1847,1201.283	7.65	22	1?
3076	258275	OR.7043	7.63	20	1?
3077	258332	OR.7066	7.63	20	1?
3078	258317	1984,1214.99	7.57	18	1?
3079	258333	OR.7067	7.56	21	1?
3080	258335	1981,0322.42	7.56	22	1?
3081*	258276	OR.7044	7.54	20	1?
3082*	258300	1984,1214.74	7.52	20	1?
3083	258336	OR.7068	7.50	20	1?
3084	258253	OR.7022	7.42	21	1?
3085	258297	1984,1214.71	7.42	19	1?
3086	258337	OR.7069	7.42	20	1?
3087	258338	OR.7070	7.42	21	1?
3088	258339	OR.7071	7.40	21	1?
3089	258254	OR.7023	7.38	22	1?
3090	258341	1853,0301.1365	7.33	21	1?
3091	258340	OR.7072	7.32	19	1?
3092	258342	OR.7073	7.32	20	1?
3093	258255	OR.7024	7.31	21	1?
3094	258270	OR.7038	7.31	22	1?
3095	258256	OR.7025	7.26	20	1?
3096	258343	1933,0703.6	7.26	22	1?
3097	258371	OR.7088	7.24	19	1?
3098	258257	OR.7026	7.21	20	1?
3099	258258	1843,0812.46	7.21	21	1?
3100	258278	OR.7046	7.19	19	1?
3101	258279	1981,0322.41	7.19	20	1?
3102	258344	1843,0812.43	7.19	20	1?
3103	258277	OR.7045	7.17	22	1?
3104	258345	OR.7074	7.17	19	1?
3105	258346	OR.7075	7.15	21	1?
3106	258355	1843,0812.44	7.12	19	1?
3107	258356	OR.7076	7.11	21	1?

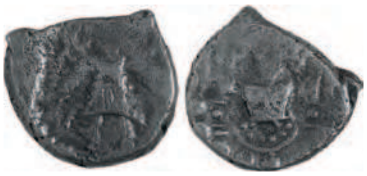
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.
3108	258287	OR.7053	7.08	20	1?
3109*	258305	1984,1214.79	7.07	20	1?
3110	258357	OR.7077	7.05	20	1?
3111*	258296	1984,1214.70	7.02	20	1?
3112	258358	OR.7078	7.01	21	1?
3113	258359	1847,1201.279	7.00	18	1?
3114	258271	OR.7039	6.99	20	1?
3115	258361	OR.7079	6.98	20	1?
3116	258281	OR.7048	6.96	19	1?
3117	258363	1844,0909.55	6.94	21	1?
3118	258353	1984,1214.98	6.93	20	1?
3119	258259	OR.7027	6.89	19	1?
3120	258282	OR.7049	6.89	21	1?
3121	258293	2002,1033.1	6.89	21	1?
3122	258304	1984,1214.78	6.89	20	1?
3123	258364	OR.7081	6.89	19	1?
3124	258283	OR.7050	6.88	20	1?
3125	258367	OR.7084	6.88	23	1?
3126	258260	OR.7028	6.87	21	1?
3127	258284	OR.7051	6.86	19	1?
3128	258365	OR.7082	6.86	20	1?
3129	258366	OR.7083	6.86	20	1?
3130	258286	OR.7052	6.83	20	1?
3131	258309	1984,1214.83	6.83	20	1?
3132	258302	1984,1214.76	6.79	20	1?
3133*	258303	1984,1214.77	6.79	20	1?
3134	258368	OR.7085	6.79	21	1?
3135	258261	OR.7029	6.78	21	1?
3136	258262	OR.7030	6.78	20	1?
3137	258311	1984,1214.97	6.78	20	1?
3138*	258244	1855,0608.30	6.77	22	1?
3139	258348	1992,0119.10	6.76	19	1?
3140	258369	OR.7086	6.75	20	1?
3141	258373	OR.7090	6.75	21	1?
3142	258370	OR.7087	6.73	20	1?
3143	258263	OR.7031	6.72	20	1?
3144	258288	OR.7054	6.71	20	1?
3145	258289	OR.7055	6.71	19	1?
3146	258280	OR.7047	6.68	19	1?
3147	258294	1984,1214.68	6.68	19	1?
3148	258306	1984,1214.80	6.66	20	1?
3149*	258351	1984,1214.96	6.63	22	1?
3150	258372	OR.7089	6.63	21	1?
3151	258374	OR.7091	6.61	20	1?
3152	258375	OR.7092	6.59	19	1?
3153	258290	OR.7056	6.56	19	1?
3154*	258301	1984,1214.67	6.56	20	1?
3155	258264	OR.7032	6.54	20	1?
3156	258376	OR.7093	6.51	20	1?
3157	258378	1843,0812.42	6.51	20	1?
3158	258269	OR.7037	6.50	21	1?
3159	258313	1984,1214.94	6.50	19	1?
3160	258377	OR.7094	6.50	20	1?
3161	258265	OR.7033	6.48	20	1?
3162	258314	1984,1214.95	6.45	20	1?
3163	258292	1984,1214.66	6.41	20	1?
3164	258379	OR.7095	6.40	21	1?
3165	258380	OR.7096	6.37	19	1?
3166	258266	OR.7034	6.36	19	1?
3167	258381	1959,1001.8	6.36	20	1?
3168*	258291	OR.7057	6.34	20	1?

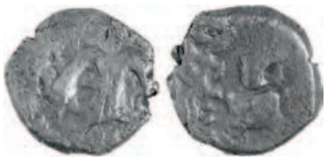

3109: G.C1-i 1u (1?)

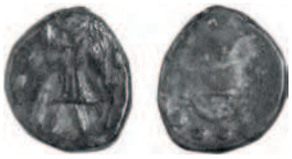

3111: G.C1-i 1u (1?)

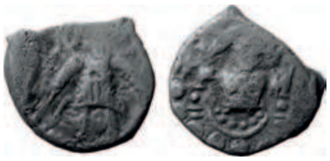

3133: G.C1-i 1u (1?)


3138: G.C1-i 1u (1?)


3149: G.C1-i 1u (1?)


3154: G.C1-i 1u (1?)


3168: G.C1-i 1u (1?)



3193: G.C1-i 1u (1?)

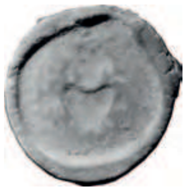
3216: G.C1-i 1u (1?)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.
3169	258319	OR.7058	6.34	19	1?
3170	258267	OR.7035	6.32	21	1?
3171	258318	1984,1214.93	6.32	20	1?
3172	258382	OR.7097	6.32	18	1?
3173	258383	OR.7098	6.23	19	1?
3174	258384	OR.7099	6.21	19	1?
3175	258320	OR.7059	6.19	18	1?
3176	258299	1984,1214.73	6.16	20	1?
3177	258310	1984,1214.92	6.12	19	1?
3178	258321	OR.7060	6.12	20	1?
3179	258322	OR.7061	6.12	20	1?
3180	258307	1984,1214.81	6.10	19	1?
3181	258316	1984,1214.91	6.10	20	1?
3182	258385	OR.7100	6.09	20	1?
3183	258298	1984,1214.72	6.07	21	1?
3184	258388	1847,1201.277	6.07	20	1?
3185	258315	1984,1214.89	6.06	19	1?
3186	258386	OR.7101	6.06	19	1?
3187	258323	OR.359	6.05	19	1?
3188	258349	1990,0518.4	6.04	21	1?
3189	258387	1981,0322.43	6.04	21	1?
3190	258389	OR.358	6.03	19	1?
3191	258268	OR.7036	6.01	19	1?
3192	258390	1847,1201.278	5.87	19	1?
3193*	258391	OR.7102	5.85	20	1?
3194	258324	OR.7062	5.77	21	1?
3195	258252	OR.7021	5.75	21	1?
3196	258308	1984,1214.82	5.71	17	1?
3197	258392	OR.7103	5.63	19	1?
3198	258393	OR.7104	5.63	20	1?
3199	258325	1889,0105.1167	5.60	21	1?
3200	258354	1984,1214.87	5.59	18	1?
3201	258362	OR.7080	5.54	19	1?
3202	258347	1984,1214.85	5.46	21	1?
3203	258350	1984,1214.86	5.42	20	1?
3204	258295	1984,1214.69	5.41	19	1?
3205	258394	OR.7105	5.29	21	1?
3206	258395	OR.7106	5.29	19	1?
3207	258352	1984,1214.84	5.20	18	1?
3208	258396	OR.7107	5.20	19	1?
3209	258326	1847,1201.289	5.19	21	1?
3210	258327	OR.7063	4.92	19	1?
3211	258397	OR.7108	4.92	19	1?
3212	258398	OR.7109	4.77	19	1?
3213	258399	OR.7110	4.77	22	1?
3214	258328	OR.7064	4.76	20	1?
3215	258400	OR.7111	4.64	19	1?
3216*	258401	OR.7112	4.52	19	1?
3217	258402	OR.7113	3.83	17	1?
3218	258403	OR.7114	3.67	19	1?
3219	258404	OR.7115	3.50	17	1?

196 G-imit.C-misc Kanishka II imitation coin moulds, Sunet and Rohtak

Göbl 1984: Supplement II 1017

Imitations of Kanishka II (C-imit) production centres in the Sunet and Rohtak region (C1). These are clay coin moulds made from impressions of Kanishka II coins (see also F-imit.C-misc), the Museum has two examples made by impressing the reverse of a Kanishka II coin.



3220: G-imit.C-misc

No.	PRN	Reg. no.
3220*	COC304631	1989,0904.3998
3221	RRI12580	1996,1214.15

197 G-imit.C1-i 1u Kushano-Sasanian imitations of Kanishka II

Göbl 1984: 1017/147, 171–2, 1017B–D

Imitations of Kanishka II (C-imit) produced by a Kushano-Sasanian mint (C1) as a single phase (i) of units (1u), *c.* 6g. These coins are well made and would be indistinguishable from official issues (G.C1) except for the presence of obverse control marks not normally used by the Kushan mint but routinely employed (compare F-imit.G1 and F-imit.C1-i) by Kushano-Sasanian imitations of Vasudeva I.

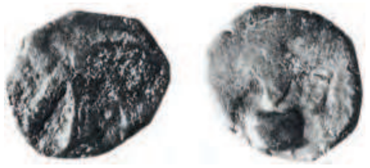
Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally head turned to left, wearing conical crown, diadem, decorated overcoat, making offering with right hand over altar, left hand holding sceptre. In the left field a trident with ribbons (direction of hanging unclear), various control marks, under king's arm or in right field.

1A as above with circle under king's arm.

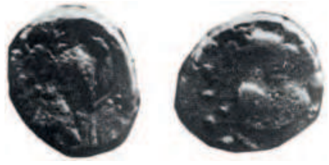
1B as above with three dots in right field.

1C as above with delta mark under king's arm.

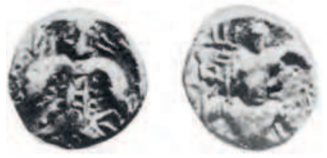
Reverse: Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, seated on throne, facing frontally, two crescents above head, wearing long gown, holding diadem in right hand, cornucopia in left hand, seated on throne with high back, pile of coins at feet, all surrounded by dotted border.



A: G-imit.C1-i 1u (1A)



B: G-imit.C1-i 1u (1B)



C: G-imit.C1-i 1u (1C)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.
A*	Gobl, 1984: 1017B/3		6.65	-	1A
B*	Gobl, 1984: 1017C/1		6.80	20	1B
C*	Gobl, 1984: 1017D/1		5.40	19	1C

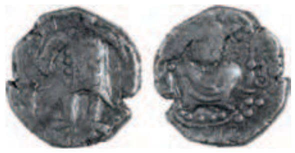
198 G-imit.C2-i 1u copper local imitations

Göbl 1984: 1017

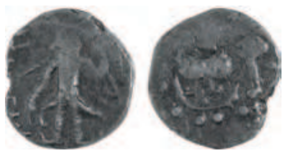
Imitations of Kanishka II (C-imit) of unknown production centre (C2) with units (1u) ranging from *c.* 8g to *c.* 1g. The designs and style are eclectic and may represent multiple centres, they are distinguished from later imitations featuring Ardochsho (M-imit.C2) in that they are generally round in shape rather than with cut edges.

Obverse: Crude image of king making an offering at fire altar.

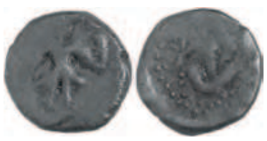
Reverse: Crude image of Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, seated on a throne.



3223: G-imit.C2-i 1u

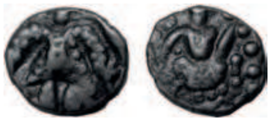


3225: G-imit.C2-i 1u



3228: G-imit.C2-i 1u

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
3222	258040	1981,0322.33	7.85	21
3223*	258042	1981,0325.4	5.84	19
3224	258041	1984,1214.88	5.73	19
3225*	258046	1983,0531.59	5.45	19
3226	258044	1844,0909.54	4.40	19
3227	258047	1980,1113.1	4.21	17
3228*	258048	1987,0921.23	3.72	17
3229	258051	1983,0531.329	2.82	16
3230	258053	1983,0531.330	2.77	15
3231	258050	1983,0531.273	2.67	16


3233: G-imit.C2-i 1u

3235: G-imit.C2-i 1u

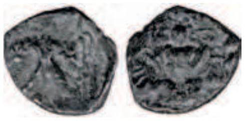
3232	258055	1983,0531.292	2.54	15
3233*	258056	1894,0506.1546	2.44	15
3234	258052	OR.7119	2.28	17
3235*	258058	1983,0531.312	1.93	13
3236	258054	OR.7118	1.55	15
3237	258057	1981,0324.13	1.47	14
3238	258059	OR.7121	0.88	13

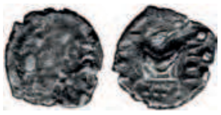
199 G-imit.C3-i 1u copper imitations from Begram region

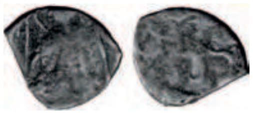
Imitations of Kanishka II (G-imit) from Begram region (G3) with unit (1u) of *c.* 1g. Unlike other Kanishka II local imitations (G-imit.C2) this group is coherent in terms of weight and design. They clearly derive from Kanishka II types but the weight suggests a dating in the Kidarite period of the mid-4th century.

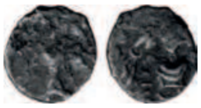
Obverse: King, standing to left, wearing overcoat with straight or curved hem, holding spear with a ribbon, making sacrifice with right hand over an altar. above the altar a trident.

Reverse: Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, seated on throne, wearing gown, holding cornucopia over left shoulder and diadem in right hand, pile of coins at her feet, surrounded by a dotted border.


A: G-imit.C3-i 1u


B: G-imit.C3-i 1u


C: G-imit.C3-i 1u


D: G-imit.C3-i 1u

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
A*	276591	IOLC.4438	1.47	15
B*	276594	IOLC.4441	1.12	14
C*	276597	IOLC.4444	1.10	14
D*	276601	IOLC.4448	1.16	13

Gold coinage

Main gold mint (H.G1)

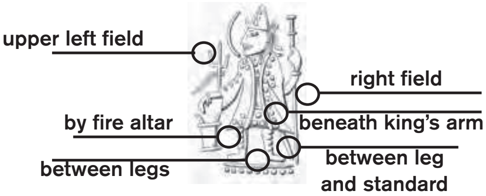
The majority of Vasishka's gold coins were made at this mint. It is a continuation of the main mint of Kanishka II which had been located at Taxila or Peshawar. The location of mints becomes harder to establish from this point (see Ch.3 for discussion). The mint made principally dinars (*c.* 8g) with a small irregular production of quarter dinars (*c.* 2g). All coins feature an image of the king, standing making an offering at the altar on the obverse and the goddess Ardochsho enthroned on the reverse. Various Brahmi control marks are used on the obverse and reverse of the coins. The coinage can be subdivided into three phases:

Phase 1 production is only of dinars, the same control marks are used for both the last Kanishka II and the first Vasishka issues which makes them difficult to seperate.

Phase 2 production is of both dinars and quarters dinars. The Brahmi character *chu* makes its first appearance as a control mark in this phase.

Phase 3 production consists only of dinars. For the first time multipe characters are clearly conjoined into a monogram in the right field to make a word (or name). In later issues this is the space used for the issuer's name as the Bactrian inscriptions become increasingly unintelligble but it is not clear what *Hivara* means.

Positions of control marks



200 H.G1-i 1d Main gold mint phase 1 dinars, transitional types

Göbl 1984: 549–50, 552–3, 556–7

Kanishka II or Vasishka transitional types (H) main gold mint (G1), first phase (i), dinars (1d), *c.* 8g. The control marks *pa thā pa* were used on coins of both Kanishka II (obverse types 1A, 1B, 1C) and Vasishka (obverse types 2A and 2B), and can be attributed only when the Bactrian inscription (identical other than the first two characters of the name) is fully visible. To aid identification an example of each obverse die of Kanishka II known to the authors is illustrated (all illustrations except 3240 and 3241).

Obverse: King standing, facing left, wearing peaked crown, diadem, decorated coat and trousers, making offering at fire altar with right hand, holding sceptre in left hand, in right field a trident. All types have Kharoshthi *pa* by the fire altar, and a Brahmi *vi* in the right field.

1A as above in the name of Kanishka. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO KANHÞKO KOÞANO (King of Kings, Kanishka Kushan).

1B as for 1A but with addition of Brahmi *ru* in right field.

1C as for 1A but Brahmi *thā* between the king's legs. Errors and truncations in the inscription are normal.

2A as above in the name of Vasishka, with addition of Brahmi *thā* between the king's legs. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO BAZHÞKO KOÞANO (King of Kings, Vasishka Kushan). Errors and truncations are normal.

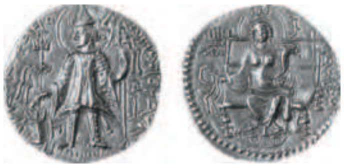
2B as for 2A but the Brahmi *vi* in the right field is replaced by the similarly shaped Brahmi *e*.

Reverse: Ardoxsho seated on two legged throne, facing frontally, with halo, wearing long dress, holding diadem in right hand and cornucopia in left hand, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΑΡΔΟΧÞΟ.

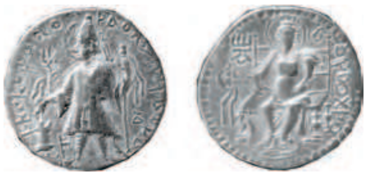
1a as above with Brahmi *ru* upper right of throne.

1b as above with Brahmi *thā* upper right of throne.

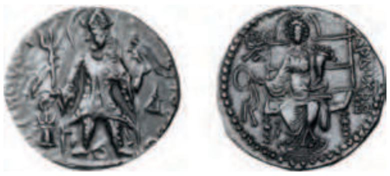
1c as above with Brahmi *ru* in lower left of throne.



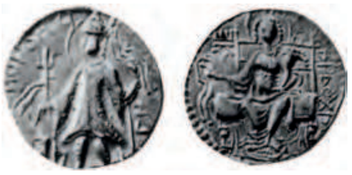
3239: G.G1-i 1d (1B/1a)



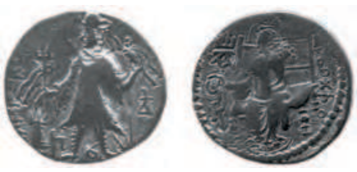
A: H.G1-i 1d (1A/1b)



B: H.G1-i 1d (1C/1c)



C: H.G1-i 1d (1C/1b)

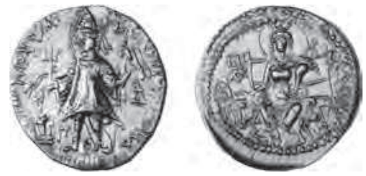


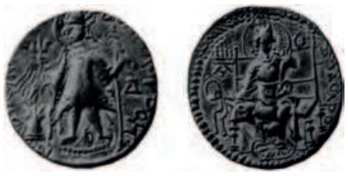
D: H.G1-i 1d (1C/1c)

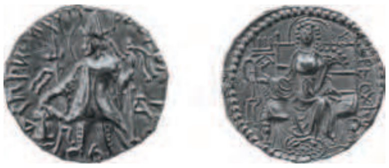
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
3239*	25336	1893,0506.32	7.8	21	17.32	1B	1a
A*	BKB (8732); Göbl 1984, 550/3		7.69	23	-	1A	1b
B*	Göbl 1984, 552/1		7.87	-	-	1C	1c
C*	Göbl 1984, 550/4		-	-	-	1C	1b
D*	Private collection W		7.46	21	-	1C	1c

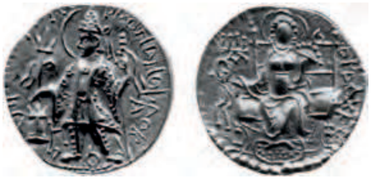
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
E*†	Bern (88.367); Göbl 1993, 614		7.85	24	-	1C	1b
F*	Ashmolean		7.76	-	-	1C	1b
3240*	221977	1993,0506.31	7.83	21	-	2A	1b
3241*	189161	1890,0604.2	7.94	22	17.77	2B	1b
3242	189159	1893,0506.31	7.83	22	17.67	2B	1b

† This coin is overstruck on an example of G.G2-i 1d (2B/1c)


E: H.G1-i 1d (1C/1b)


F: H.G1-i 1d (1C/1b)


3240: H.G1-i 1d (2A/1b)


3241: H.G1-i 1d (2B/1b)

201 H.G1-ii 1d Main mint phase 2 dinars, *thā* control mark

Gobl 1984: 558, 559, 562

Vasishka (H), main gold mint (G1), second phase (ii) dinars (1d), *c.* 8g.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, wearing peaked crown, diadem, armour, making offering at fire altar with right hand, and holding trident with left hand, trident in left field with ribbons flowing to left, various Brahmi control marks by fire altar, between legs, in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (1.00): ÞAO NANOÞAO BAZHÞKO KOÞANO (King of Kings, Vasishka Kushan).

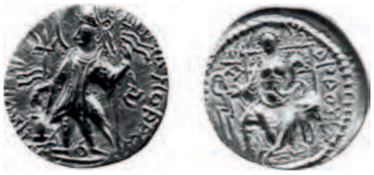
1A Brahmi control mark *ma* by altar, *thā* between legs, si in right field.

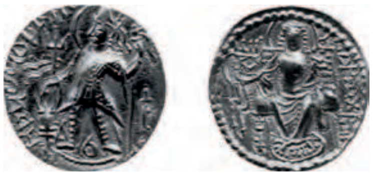
2A Control marks *ma*, *thā*, and *chu*.

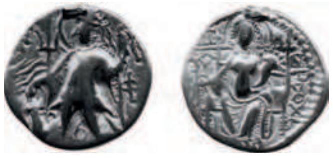
2B Control marks *ga*, *thā* and *chu*.

Reverse: Ardoxsho seated on two legged throne, facing frontally, with halo, wearing long dress, holding diadem in right hand and cornucopia in left hand, tamga in left field. Brahmi control mark *thā* at top right. Bactrian inscription in right field: ΑΡΔΟΧÞΟ.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.
3243*	189180	1890,0604.4	7.86	22	17.11	1A
3244	189184	1893,0506.35	7.84	22	17.06	2A
3245*	189186	1983,0729.39	7.91	22	-	2A
3246	189187	1850,0305.200	7.80	22	17.54	2A
3247*	189192	1867,1218.12	7.42	20	17.08	2B


3243: H.G1-ii 1d (1A)


3245: H.G1-ii 1d (2A)


3247: H.G1-ii 1d (2B)

202 H.G1-ii ¼d Main mint phase 2 quarter dinars

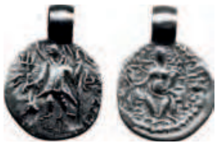
Göbl 1984: 560–1

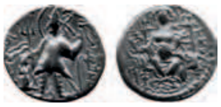
Vasishka (H), main gold mint (G1), second phase (ii) quarter dinars (¼d), *c.* 2g.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, wearing peaked crown, diadem, armour, making offering at fire altar with right hand, and holding trident with left hand, trident in left field with ribbons flowing to left, various Brahmi control marks by altar, between legs, in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (1.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO BAZHÞKO KOÞANO (King of Kings, Vasishka Kushan).

1A as above with *me* by altar, *thā* between legs, and *si* in right field.

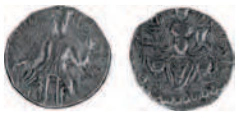
2A as above with *me* by altar, *thā* between legs, and *chu* in right field.

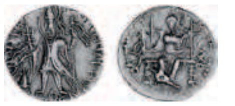

3248: H.G1-ii ¼d (1A)

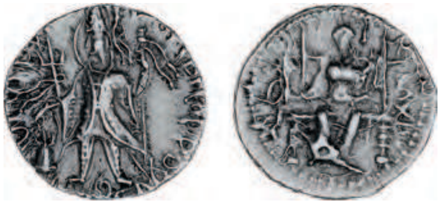

3251: H.G1-ii ¼d (2A)

2B as above with *ga* by altar, *thā* between legs, and *chu* in right field.
3A as above with *ga* between legs and no other marks.
Reverse: Ardoxsho seated on two legged throne, facing frontally, with halo, wearing long dress, holding diadem in right hand and cornucopia in left hand, tamga in left field, Brahmi control mark *thā* at top right. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΑΡΔΟΧÞΟ.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.
3248*	189181	1980,0321.1	2.12	18	-	1A
3249	189190	1894,0506.113	1.97	13	16.37	1A
3250	189188	1892,0202.1	1.93	13	16.32	2A
3251*	189189	1894,0506.114	1.87	13	-	2A
A*	Seen by authors		-	-	17.01	2B
B*	ANS (1944.100.66641)		1.94	13	-	3A


A: H.G2-ii ¼d (2B)


B: H.G1-ii ¼d (3A)


200% enlargement of B

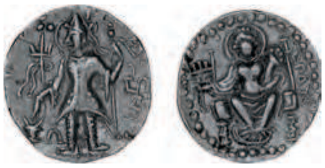
203 H.G1-iii 1d Main gold mint phase 3 dinars, *chu* and *vi* marks

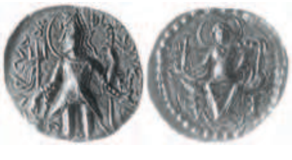
Göbl 1984: 563–8

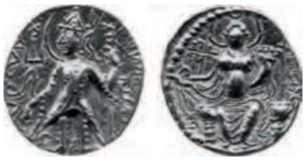
Vasishka (H) main gold mint (G1), third phase (iii), dinars (1d), *c.* 8g.

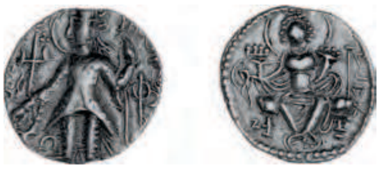
Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, head surrounded by halo, wearing tall conical crown, diadem, decorated overcoat with long elbow length sleeves over tunic and decorated trousers, sword in scabbard, holding sceptre with ribbons in left hand, making offering at altar with right hand, Brahmi, Kharoshthi and Greek control marks in various positions (by fire altar, between legs, between leg and standard, beneath king's arm, in right field), below a ground of line and dots. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00): ÞΑΟΝΑΝΟ ÞΑΟ ΒΑΖΗÞΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ (King of Kings Vasishka Kushan), often blundered.
1A as, above, skirt with curved hem, control marks *ga* by fire altar, *do* between legs, *hivara* in right field, three dots in upper left field.
1B as 1A, but *va* between legs.
2A as 1A, control marks *ga* by fire altar, *va* between legs, *chu* in right field, three dots in upper left field.
2B as 2A, but no dots.
2C as 2B, but *chu* beneath king's arm.
3A as above, skirt with straighter hem, control marks *ga* by fire altar, *va* between legs, *chu* in right field.
3B as 3A with the addition of Kharoshthi *ga* between leg and standard.
4A as 3A, control marks *khara* by fire altar, *va* between legs, *śuchu* in right field.
4B as 4A, but *ba* between legs.
5A as 3A, but control marks *khu* by fire altar, *va* between legs, *chu* in right field, Greek A beneath king's arm.
5B as 5A, but without Greek A.
5C as 5A, but *kha* by fire altar.
Reverse: Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, seated frontally, halo around head, long curly hair, wearing long ankle-length sleeved gown tied at chest and waist, holding cornucopia over left shoulder, diadem in right hand, on throne with two legs and high back, at feet a pile of coins, tamga in upper left field, all surrounded by dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΑΡΔΟΧÞΟ. Often blundered.
1a as above.
1b as above but *da* in the bottom left field.
1c as above but the tamga is depicted at an angle.

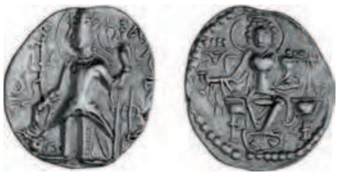
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Private collection P		-	-	-	1A	1a
B*	Bern (66-458); Göbl 1993, 690		7.87	21	-	1B	1a
3252*	189196	1982,0625.5	7.83	21	-	1B	1b
C*	ANS (1944.100.59458)		7.73	21	-	2A	1b
D*	ANS (1986.149.19)		7.88	22	-	2B	1a
3253*	189194	1847,1201.263	7.86	20	18.08	2C	1a

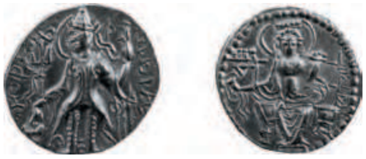

A: H.G1-iii 1d (1A/1a)


B: H.G1-iii 1d (1B/1a)

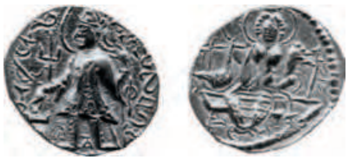

3252: H.G1-iii 1d (1B/1b)

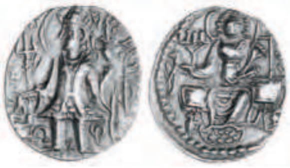

C: H.G1-iii 1d (2A/1b)

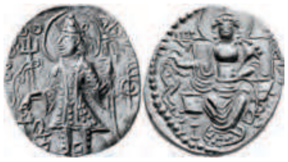

D: H.G1-iii 1d (2B/1b)

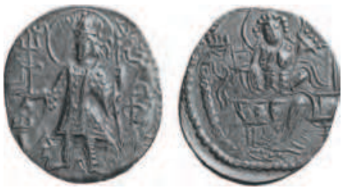

3253: H.G1-iii 1d (2C/1a)

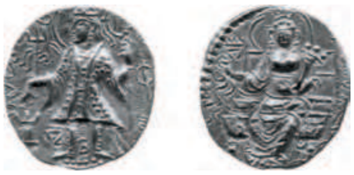
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
3254*	189193	1836,0600.1	7.94	20	17.84	3A	1a
E*	ANS (1944.100.66639)		7.71	22	-	3B	1a
F*	ANS (2012.31.3)		7.87	24	-	4A	1a
G*	Leu Numismatic E13, Aug. 2020, lot 667		7.88	22	-	4B	1a
H*	Steve Album sale, June 2009, lot 673		-	-	-	5A	1a
3255*	189195	1889,0502.1	7.67	21	17.81	5B	1a
J*	Triton Sale, XII, Jan. 2009: 446;		7.81	-	-	5B	1c
I*	Gorny & Mosch, 152, Oct. 2006: 1598; Gorny & Mosch, 126, Oct. 2003: 1572		7.93	-	-	5C	1a

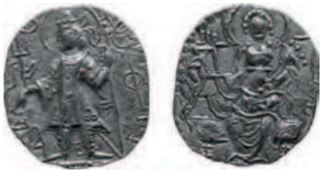

3254: H.G1-iii 1d (3A/1a)

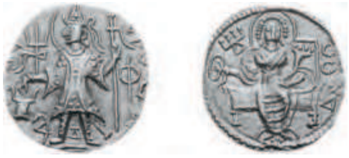

E: H.G1-iii 1d (3B/1a)

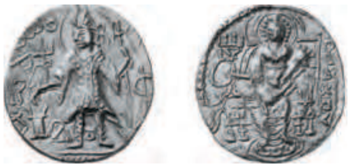

G: H.G1-iii 1d (4B/1a)


F: H.G1-iii 1d (4A/1a)


3255: H.G1-iii 1d (5B/1a)


H: H.G1-iii 1d (5A/1a)


I: H.G1-iii 1d (5B/1c)


J: H.G1-iii 1d (5C/1a)

204 H.G1-iii ¼d Main gold mint phase 3 quarter dinars

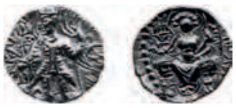
Göbl 1984: 564A

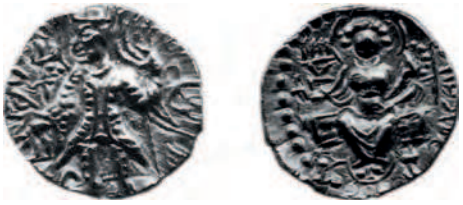
Vasishka (H) main gold mint (G1), third phase (iii), quarter dinars (¼d), *c.* 8g.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, head surrounded by halo, wearing tall conical crown, diadem, decorated overcoat with long elbow length sleeves over tunic and decorated trousers, sword in scabard, holding sceptre with ribbons in left hand, making offering at altar with right hand, Brahmi control marks *ga* by fire altar *vi* between legs and *chu* in right field, below a ground consisting of a line and dots. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO BAZHÞKO KOÞANO (King of Kings Vasishka Kushan), often blundered.

Reverse: Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, seated frontally, halo around head, long curly hair, wearing long ankle-length sleeved gown tied at chest and waist, holding cornucopia over left shoulder, diadem in right hand, on throne with two legs and high back, at feet a pile of coins, tamga in upper left field, all surrounded by dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): APΔOXÞO. Often blundered.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
A*	Private collection W		1.90	14


A: H.G1-iii ¼d


100% enlargement of A

Subsidiary gold mint (H.G2)

The issues of the subsidiary mint continue the small production at the end of the reign of Kanishka II (G.G2). Both dinars, *c.* 8g, and quarters, *c.* 2g, are produced. The issues were produced in two phases:

Phase 1 is a brief production of dinars. The types resemble those of Kanishka II.

Phase 2 includes both dinars and quarter dinars. These are still armoured king and Oesho types but cruder in execution than the first phase.

205 H.G2-i 1d Subsidiary mint phase 1, early Oesho types

Göbl 1984: 554

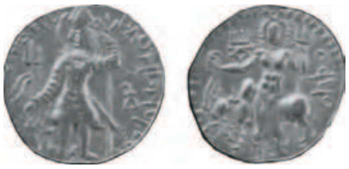
Vasishka (H), subsidiary gold mint (G2), first phase (i) dinars (1d), *c.* 8g.

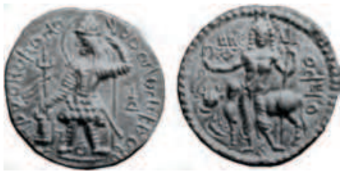
Obverse: King, standing facing frontally head turned to left and surrounded by halo, flames emenating from right shoulder, wearing tall conical crown, diadem, armour shown as bands and plates, holding trident in left hand, making offering at altar with right hand, trident in upper left field, control marks Kharoshthi *pa* by altar, Brahmi *thā* between legs and *vi* in right field. Bactrian inscription (clockwise from 1.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO BAZHÞKO KOÞANO (King of Kings, Vasishka Kushan).

Reverse: Oesho, standing facing frontally, halo around head, wearing dhoti and ascetic thread, holding diadem in right hand and trident in left hand, before bull facing left, in top left field a tamga. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): OHÞO.

1a as above with Brahmi *thā* bottom left field below the head of the bull.

1b as above with Brahmi *thā* between the feet of Oesho.


A: H.G2-i 1d (1a)


B: H.G2-i 1d

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia	Rev
A*	Shanghai Museum (cat. 1310)		7.90	21	1a
B*	Seen by authors		-	-	1b

206 H.G2-ii 1d Subsidairy mint phase 2 dinars, ā control mark

Göbl 1984: 621–2, 624–7

Vasishka (H), subsidiary gold mint (G2), second phase (ii) dinars (1d), *c.* 8g.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, wearing peaked crown, diadem, armour, making offering at fire altar with right hand, and holding trident with left hand, trident in left field with ribbons flowing to left, Brahmi control marks in right field, under king's left arm, by altar, between legs. Inscription in Bactrian (1.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO BAZHÞKO KOÞANO (King of Kings, Vasishka Kushan).

1A as above, *ā* in right field, *ma* by fire altar, *thā* between legs.

1B as above, *ā* in right field, *ha* by fire altar, *thā* between legs.

1C as above, *āda* in right field, *ha* by fire altar, *thā* between legs.

1D as above, *ā* in right field, *da* by fire altar, *thā* between legs.

2A as above, *ā śu* in right field, no mark by altar, *thā* between legs. The designs from here generally cruder in treatment.

2B as above, *ā śu* in right field, no mark by altar, *thā* between legs, Greek A under arm.

3A as above, *ā* in right field, no mark by altar, *thā* between legs, Greek A under arm.

3B as above, *ā* in right field, no mark by altar, no mark between legs, Greek A under arm.

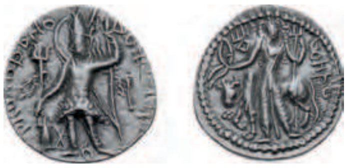
Reverse: Oesho, standing facing frontally, halo around head, wearing dhoti and ascetic thread, holding diadem in right hand and trident in left hand, before bull facing left, top left a tamga, occassional control marks in field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): OHÞO.

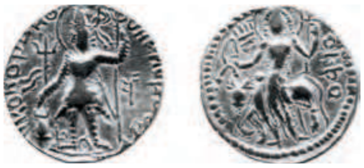
1a Brahmi control mark *thā* by god's left hand and three dots below bull's head.

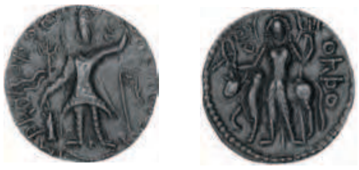
1b as 1a, no *thā* but three dots under bull's head.

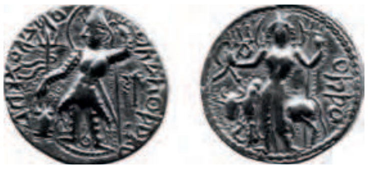
1c as 1b, but no dots.

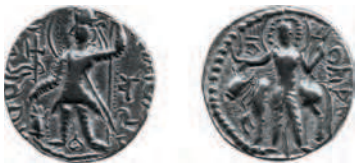
1d as 1b, but no dots, Greek A in right field.

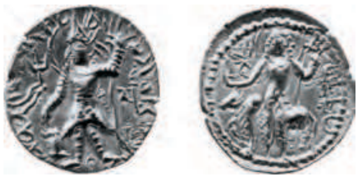

A:E H.G2-ii 1d (1A/1a)


3256: H.G2-ii 1d (1B/1c)

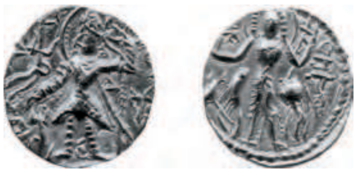

B: H.G2-ii 1d (1C/1c)


3258: H.G2-ii 1d (1D/1b)

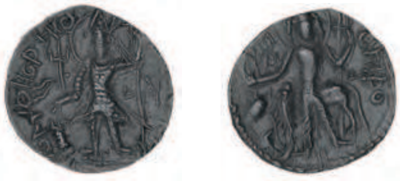

C: H.G2-ii 1d (2A/1c)


3260: H.G2-ii 1d (2B/1c)

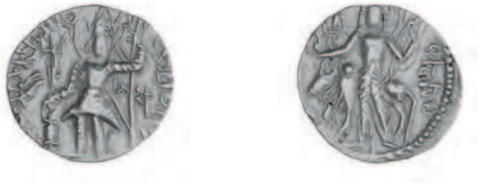
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Classical Numismatic Group Auction, 60, May 2002: 1156		7.97	-	-	1A	1a
3256*	189108	1893,0506.40	7.84	21	17.92	1B	1b
B*	Private collection P		7.90	-	-	1C	1c
3257	189112	1893,0407.2	7.64	21	18.00	1D	1b
3258*	189171	1890.1106.2	7.70	21	14.30	1D	1c
3259	189173	1983.0729.37	7.96	22	-	1D	1c
C*	Private collection W		-	-	-	2A	1c
3260*	189176	1853,0301.1318	7.90	22	18.10	2B	1c
3261	189178	1982,0625.4	7.89	20	-	2B	1c
3262*	189174	1838,EIC.4	7.83	21	17.34	3A	1c
D*	Private collection P		7.95	-	-	3A	1d
E*	ANS 1944.100.59453		7.91	21	-	3B	1c



3262: H.G2-ii 1d (3A/1c)



D: H.G2-ii 1d (3A/1d)



D: H.G2-ii 1d (3B/1c)

207 H.G2-ii ¼d Subsidiary mint phase 2 quarter dinars

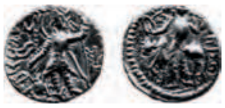
Göbl 1984: 623

Vasishka (H), subsidiary gold mint (G2), second phase (ii) quarter dinars (¼d), *c.* 2g.

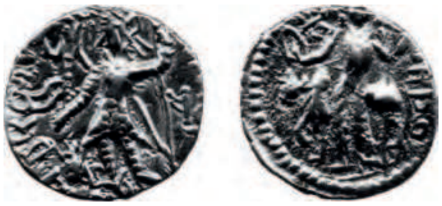
Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, wearing peaked crown, diadem, armour, making offering at fire altar with right hand, and holding trident with left hand, trident in left field with ribbons flowing to left, Brahmi control mark *ā* in right field *ga* by altar and *thā* between legs. Inscription in Bactrian (1.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO BAZHÞKO KOÞANO (King of Kings, Vasishka Kushan).

Reverse: Oesho, standing facing frontally, halo around head, wearing dhoti and ascetic thread, holding diadem in right hand and trident in left hand, before bull facing left. Top left a tamga, and in right field clockwise a Bactrian inscription: OHÞO.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG
3263*	189110	1987,0108.10	1.94	13	-
3264	189111	1979,0215.2	1.92	13	-



3264: H.G2-ii ¼d



200% enlargement of 3264

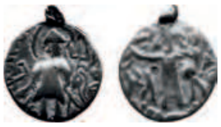
208 H-imit.G1-i ¼d Imitation gold quarter dinar

Imitation of Vasishka (H-imit), unknown production (G1-i), quarter dinar (¼d), *c.* 2g.

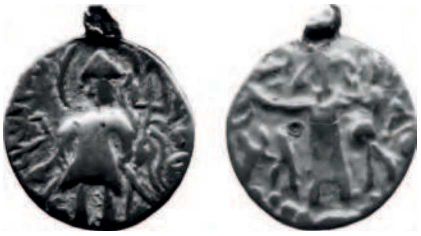
Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally head to left, with halo wearing conical crown and overcoat or armour holding trident in left hand with ribbons, making offering with right hand. A relatively crude copy of the standard design.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, full figure standing frontally, holding trident in left hand and diadem in right, before bull facing right. A relatively crude copy of the standard design.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG
3265*	189142	1894,0506.120	1.29	15	12.61



3266: H-imit.G1-i ¼d



200% enlargement of 3266

Copper coinage (H.C)

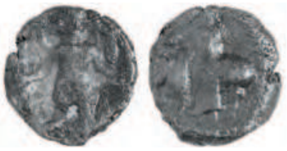
Known copper coins of Vasishka are less common compared to those of Kanishka II. As a result the sample of available coins is very poor and the reconstruction offered here is tentative. For a further discussion of the problems see Chapter 3 (§H.2). Coins from all three mints show traces of a Bactrian inscription around the edges, and in some cases ÞAONANO ÞAO is visible from 1.00 or KOÞANO ending at 11.00, but no currently available example shows the king's name and it is unclear if inscription were consistently well engraved as the Bactrian is off-flan in most cases.

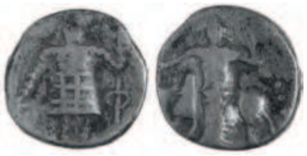
The first mint (H.C1) uses the most distinctive obverse type with the king dressed in armour which gives a blocky appearance to the chest, and the skirt of which consists of a grid of lines. The Brahmi character *chu* sometimes appears to the right.

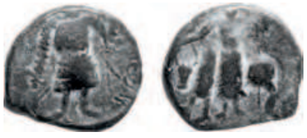
The second mint (H.C2) uses a less distinctive armoured king design, where the lower hem of the armour is curved, so easily confused with those on which the king is wearing an overcoat. All examples probably had a *thā* control mark between the legs but it is only occassionally visible.

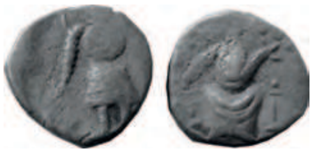
The third mint (H.C3) shows the king wearing an overcoat and an Ardochsho reverse. A *chu* is visible on the right when that part of the coin can be seen and a control mark, perhaps *va* is sometimes visible between the legs.

209 H.C1-i 1u First copper mint units, armoured king with *chu*


3267: H.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)


3268: H.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)


A: H.C1-i 1u (1B/1a)


B: H.C1-i 1u (1?/2a)

Göbl 1984 1011; Khan 2010: H1a

Vasishka (H) main copper mint (C1) first phase (i) units (1u) of *c.* 6g.

Obverse: King standing facing left, wearing conical cap and armour with a skirt depicted as a grid. Making offering with right hand and holding trident with left hand, in left field a trident.

1A in right field Brahmi *chu*.

1B traces of Bactrian inscription in right field clearly visible and no *chu*.

1? right field is not clearly visible.

Reverse: Deity contained within a dotted border.

1a Oesho, standing facing frontally, halo around head, wearing dhoti and ascetic thread, holding diadem in right hand and trident in left hand, before bull facing left, top left a tamga.

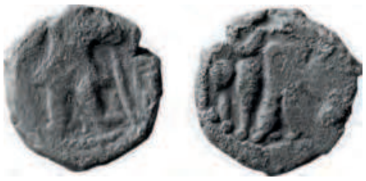
2a Ardochsho, seated on a throne facing to front, wearing long gown, holding diadem in right hand and cornucopia over left shoulder.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
3266*	257929	1981,0325.2	6.02	19	1A	1a
3267*	257930	1889,1203.23	5.62	20	1A	1a
3268	263391	1984,1214.65	5.11	20	1A	1a
3269	257938	1992,0119.623	7.29	21	1A	1a
3270	257936	1984,1214.64	4.33	19	1A	1a
A*	Cribb *et al*, 2012: 45		5.4	17	1B	1a
3271	257934	OR.7002	5.71	19	1?	1a
3272†§	257933	1995,0510.1	4.75	18	1?	1a
B*†§	Nasik Hoard		-	-	1?	2a

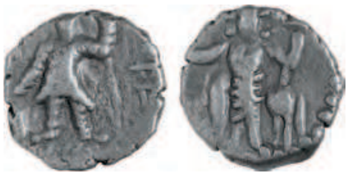
† These might be contemporary imitations.

§ Reportedly found with coins of the Kota dynasty.

210 H.C2-i 1u Second copper mint units, armoured king, visible Bactrian



A: H.C2-i 1u



3275: H.C2-i 1u

Göbl 1984: 1011, 1011A; Khan 2010: H1b

Vasishka (H) second copper mint (C1) first phase (i) units (1u) of *c.* 5.5g.

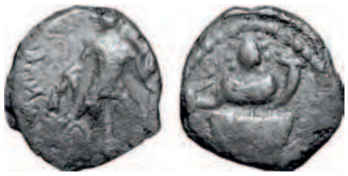
Obverse: King, standing frontally, head turned to left and surrounded by halo wearing armour represented by dots with a curved hem on body and bands on arms and legs, holding trident in left hand, making offering at altar with right hand, trident above altar. Traces of Bactrian inscription sometimes visible at edges. Brahmi *thā* sometimes visible between legs.

Reverse: Oesho, standing facing frontally, hair depicted as dots, halo around head, wearing dhoti and ascetic thread, holding diadem in right hand and trident in left hand, before bull facing left, surrounded by dotted border.

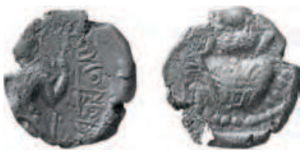
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
3273†	263388	1996,1030.36	7.29	21
A*	Taxila; Khan 2010: H1b.4		6.00	-
3274	257940	OR.7003	5.71	22
3275*	257939	1981,0120.10	5.14	20

† Possibly a contemporary imitation.

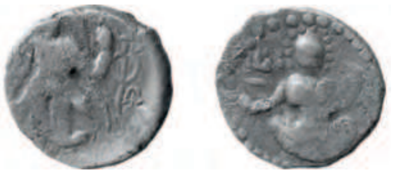
211 H.C3-i 1u Third copper mint units, unarmoured king with *chu*



A: H.C3-i1 1u



B: H.C3-i1 1u



C: H.C3-i 1u

Khan 2010: H2

Vasishka (H) third copper mint (C3) first phase (i) units (1u) of *c.* 6g.

Obverse: King standing facing left, wearing conical cap and decorated overcoat with long flared sleeves, making offering with right hand and holding trident with left hand, in left field a trident. In right field Brahmi *chu*, between legs a Brahmi character, probably *va*, is sometimes visible, and a *ga* is visible on example A to the lower left between the fire altar and king's leg, elements of a Bactrian inscription are sometimes visible at the edges.

Reverse: Goddess Ardochsho seated on a throne, holding diadem in right hand and cornucopia over left shoulder, hair depicted as a halo of dots, crudely drawn tamga in top left field, surrounded by border of dots.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
A*	Private collection AA		6.45	-
B*	Taxila: Khan 2010: H2b.2		5.7g	-
C*	Taxila; Khan 2010: H2a.1		5.0	-

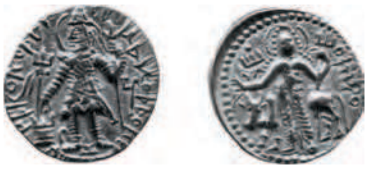
Gold coinage

Main gold mint (I.G1)

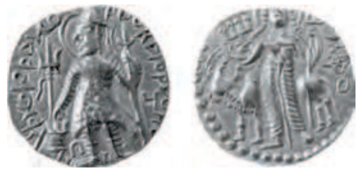
The gold mint made coins in two phases:

Phase 1 production includes both dinars and quarter dinars. This phase is distinguished by a Brahmi *hu* control mark in the right field.

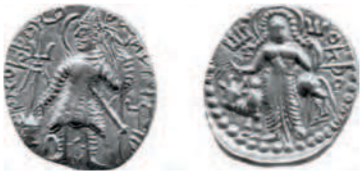
Phase 2 production is of dinars. This phase is distinguished by a Brahmi *phri* control mark in the right field.



3277: I.G1-i 1d (1A)



A: I.G1-i 1d (1B)



3278: I.G1-i 1d (1C)

212 I.G1-i 1d Main gold mint phase 1 dinars, *hu* control mark

Göbl 1984: 634

Kanishka III (I) main gold mint (G1), first phase (i) dinars (1d), *c.* 8g.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, moustache, halo around head, wearing conical cap, diadem, armour, sword in scabbard, holding trident in left hand and making an offering at an altar with right hand, above the altar a trident, Brahmi characters *ga* to right of altar, *gho* between legs and *hu* in the right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO KANHÞKO KOÞANO (King of Kings Kanishka Kushan).

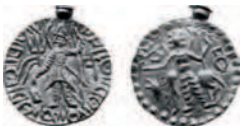
1A as above but the armour is depicted with dots on the chest and a plated skirt and the trident over the altar has a ribbon whose ends flow to the left.

1B as above but the armour is depicted as large triangles, and the trident over the altar has a ribbon whose ends fall symmetrically (compare with F-imit.G1).

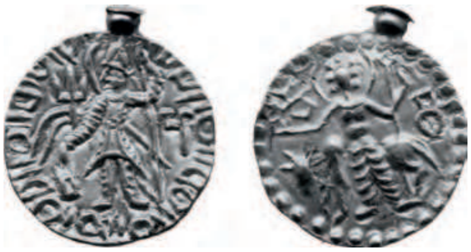
1C as for 1B but the armour now has a laddered design down the centre from neck to hem.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally, halo around head, long hair over shoulders, wearing calf-length dhoti, holding trident in left hand, diadem in right, before bull facing left, in top left field a tamga with dot above. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): OHÞO.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.
3277*	189116	1893,0506.39	7.77	21	17.97	1A
A*	Private Collection V		-	-	-	1B
3278*	189117	IOC.580	7.84	22	17.88	1C



3279: I.G1-i ¼ (1A)



200% enlargement of 3279

213 I.G1-i ¼d Main mint phase 1 quarter dinars

Göbl 1984: 636–8

Kanishka III (I) main gold mint (G1) first phase (i) quarter dinars (¼d) *c.* 2g.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, moustache, halo around head, wearing conical cap, diadem, armour, sword in scabbard, holding trident in left hand and making an offering at an altar with right hand, above the altar a trident, Brahmi character *hu* the right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO KANHÞKO KOÞANO (King of Kings Kanishka Kushan) is intended but actual inscription is too blundered to be readable.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally, halo around head, long matted hair over shoulders, wearing calf-length dhoti, holding trident in left hand, diadem in right, before bull facing left, in top left field a tamga with dot above. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): OHÞO.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG
3279*	189118	1894,0506.119	1.98	16	18.03

214 I.G1-ii 1d Main mint phase 2 dinars, *phri* control mark

Göbl 1984: 635

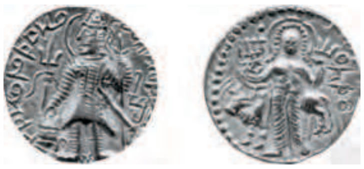
Kanishka III (I) main gold mint (G1), second phase (ii) dinars (1d), c. 8g.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, moustache, halo around head, wearing conical cap, diadem, armour depicted as dots and ladder on body and skirt and bands on limbs, sword in scabbard, holding trident in left hand and making an offering at an altar with right hand, above the altar a trident with ribbon hanging symmetrically, Brahmi characters *ga* to right of altar, *gho* between legs and phri in the right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO KANHÞKO KOÞANO (King of Kings Kanishka Kushan).

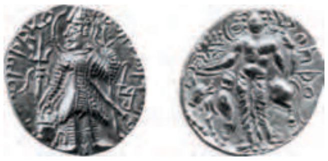
Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally, halo around head, long hair over shoulders, wearing calf-length dhoti, holding trident in left hand, diadem in right, before bull facing left, in top left field a tamga with dot above. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): OHÞO.

1a as above, the depiction is stilted and a dot appears above the tamga.

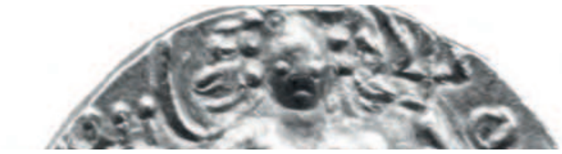
1b as above the depiction is more fluid and two additional faces are depicted (see enlarged detail).



3280: I.G1-ii 1d (1a)



3281: I.G1-ii 1d (1b)



400% enlarged detail of 3281

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Rev.
3280*	189119	1893,0506.41	7.93	21	-	1a
3281*	189120	2000,0406.1	7.89	20	-	1b
3282	189121	1983,0729.38	7.90	21	-	1b

Copper mint (I.C1)

The issues of the copper mint are relatively rare and distinguished from other contemporary types by the style and Brahmi control marks in common with the gold coinage.

215 I.C1-i 1u Copper mint phase 1 units

Göbl 1983: 1019; Khan 2010a: J1a-b

Kanishka III (I) main copper mint (C1) first phase (i) units (1u), *c.* 5.5g. The copper coinage has a system of control marks. In some cases no control marks are visible and sometimes only a few are visible but those are compatible with one of the listed varieties (usually 1A).

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, wearing crown, diadem, armour represented by dots on the body and skirt and bands on arms and legs, sword in scabbard, holding trident in left hand, sacrificing at altar with right, a trident above the altar, Brahmi control marks in various positions (by the altar, between legs and in right field).

1A as above, Brahmi *ga* by altar, between legs *gho* and in right field *hu*.

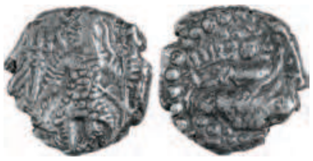
1A? on most coins the control marks are only partially visible but in most cases what is visible is compatible with 1A.

2A as above, Brahmi *phri* in right field. Any other characters are unclear.

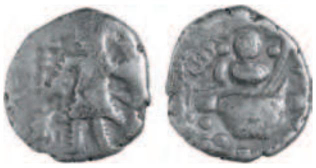
3A as above, Brahmi *pra* by altar, uncertain character between legs. Any other characters are unclear.

Reverse: Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, seated facing frontally, hair and earings depicted as dots, wearing ankle length gown, holding cornucopia over left shoulder, diadem in right hand, tamga in upper left field, coins depicted as semi-circle of dots beneath figure, all surrounded by dotted border.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.
3283*	257895	1956,0409.176	5.83	20	1A
3284	257894	1838,EIC.116	5.40	20	1A
3285*	257893	1847,1201.286	5.28	21	1A?
3286	257901	1894,0506.1545	5.92	18	1A?
3287	257898	1983,0531.62	5.79	20	1A?

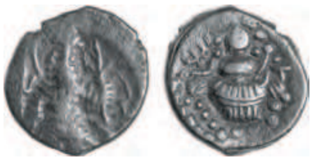


3283: I.C1-i 1u (1A)

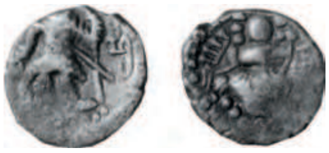


3285: I.C1-i 1u (1A?)

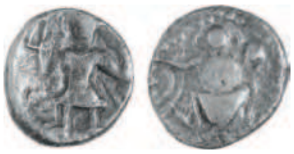
3291: I.C1-i 1u (2A)



A: I.C1-i 1u (2A)

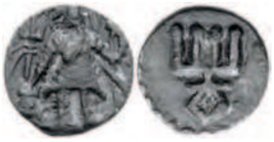


B: I.C1-i 1u (2A)


3292: I.C1-i 1u (3A)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.
3288	257896	1845,0613.140	5.76	18	1A?
3289	257899	OR.357	5.45	19	1A?
3290	257897	1838,EIC.114	5.37	19	1A?
3291*	257892	OR.7124	5.79	20	2A
A*	ANS 1944.100.63712		5.38	20	2A
B*	Seen by Authors		-	-	2A
3292*	257900	1860,1220.300	5.05	19	3A

216 I.C1-ii 1u Copper mint phase 2 units, tamga types


A: I.C2-i 1u

Khan 2010: J2a; Khan and Blackburn 2013: no. 291

Kanishka III (I) copper mint (C1) second phase (i) units (1u). The relationship of the rare tamga designs to the regular production is unclear but an apparently related type is known from the reign of Vasudeva II (compare J.C2-i 1u, see below).

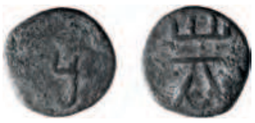
Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, wearing crown, diadem, armour represented by dots on the body and skirt and bands on arms and legs, sword in scabbard, holding trident in left hand, sacrificing at altar with right, a trident above the altar, Brahmi control marks in various positions, *ga* by the altar, *gho* between legs and *hu* in right field.

Reverse: Tamga within a dotted border.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
A*	CNG e-auction 124 (2005): 186		7.85†	-

† The weight reported in the sale is very heavy, another example appearing in CNG electronic 300 lot 123 weighed 3.09g and an example in CNG electronic 220 lot 249 weighed 4.56g, while the example in the Fitzwilliam Museum weighs 4.36g.

J.C1-i 1u-ref (see pp. 682–3, no. 229) Vasudeva II tamga and Brahmi issues


J.C2-ii 1u

There is an example of a coin with a tamga reverse and possibly a Brahmi *pra* on the obverse. The character *phri* on Kanishka III's was initially read *pra* which would have linked it to Kanishka III, but the coins showing Brahmi characters and tamga are all of weights which fit more closely with the coinage of Vasudeva II and so have been catalogued there.

Vasudeva II main gold mint (J.G1)

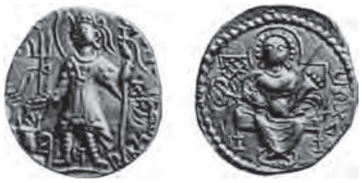
The main mint produced gold dinars (*c.* 8g) and quarter dinars (*c.* 2g) featuring a reverse design of Ardochsho throughout the reign. The Bactrian inscription is usually legible but often blundered and frequently off the edge of the flan. The issues of the mint can be divided into four phases:

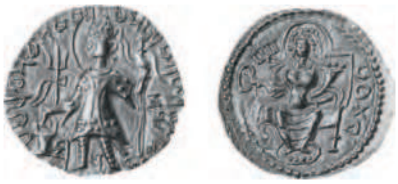
Phase 1 production is known only in dinars. It is distinguished by a Brahmi *khu* by the altar. It is a relatively short production compared to the next two phases.

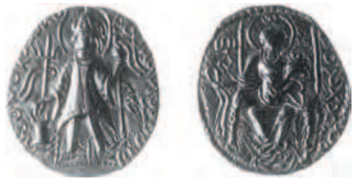
Phase 2 production is of dinars and quarters. It is distinguished by a Brahmi *sa* by the altar. The gold content is reduced in this phase.

Phase 3 production is of dinars only. It is distinguished by a Brahmi *bha* by the altar.

Phase 4 production again shows a marked break in style.


A: J.G1-i 1d (1A/1a)


3293: J.G1-i 1d (1B/1a)


B: J.G1-i 1d (1B/1b)

217 J.G1-i 1d Main gold mint phase 1 dinars, *khu* control mark

Göbl 1984: 569

Vasudeva II (J) main gold mint (G1) first phase (i) dinars (1d) *c.* 8g.

Obverse: King, standing facing left, with halo, wearing conical crown, diadem, jewelled overcoat with wide elbow length sleeves and pointed hem, sword in scabard beneath overcoat, holding sceptre with ribbon in left hand, making an offering at an altar with right, in left field a trident with ribbon ties hanging to left, beneath king a dotted line, by altar Brahmi *khu*, between legs Brahmi *cu*. Inscription in Brahmi (right field vertically): *vasu* (shortened form of Vasudeva). Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO BAZOΔHO KOÞANO (King of Kings Vasudeva Kushan).

1A as above but the inscription in Bactrian is written counter-clockwise.

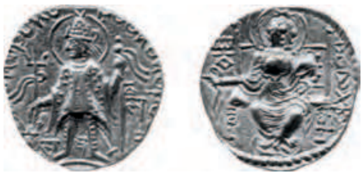
1B as above.

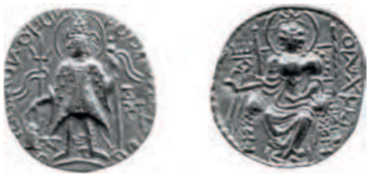
Reverse: Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, seated facing frontally, head surrounded by halo, long hair arranged in curls, two crescents above head, wearing ear-rings, sleeved ankle-length gown with tie below chest and at waist, holding diadem in right hand, cornucopia over left shoulder, on a four legged chair with high back, tamga in upper left field, all surrounded by dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field).

1a as above but a pile of coins at the goddess's feet, tamga is oriented at 11 o'clock and throne combined with halo. Inscription, blundered version of Bactrian APΔOXÞO (clockwise in right field).

1b as above with inscription OΔXÞO.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Göbl 1984: 569/6		-	-	-	1A	1a
3293*	189197	1894,0506.110	7.89	23	18.21	1B	1a
3294	189198	1889,0506.2	7.82	23	18.09	1B	1a
B*	Bern (92.22)		7.81	-	17.98	1B	1b


3295: J.G1-ii 1d (1A/1a)


3296: J.G1-ii 1d (1A/1b)

218 J.G1-ii 1d Main gold mint phase 2 dinars, *sa* control mark

Göbl 1984: 570–1

Vasudeva II (J) main gold mint (G1) second phase (ii) dinars (1d), *c.* 8g.

Obverse: King, standing facing left, with halo, wearing conical crown, diadem, jewelled overcoat with wide elbow length sleeves and pointed hem, sword in scabard beneath overcoat, holding sceptre with ribbon in left hand, making an offering at an altar with right, in left field a trident with ribbon ties hanging to left, beneath king a dotted line, Brahmi control marks by altar and between legs. Insription in Brahmi (right field vertically): *vasu* (shortened from of Vasudeva). Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO BAζOΔHO KOÞANO (King of Kings Vasudeva Kushan).

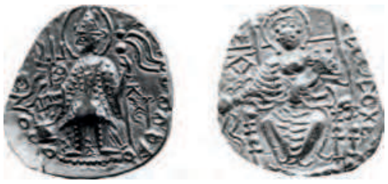
1A as above with *sa* by fire altar and *cu* between legs.

1B as above with *sa* by fire altar and *vi* between legs.

Reverse: Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, seated facing frontally, head surrounded by halo, long hair arranged in curls, two crescents above head, wearing ear-rings, sleeved ankle-length gown with tie below chest and at waist, holding diadem in right hand, cornucopia over left shoulder, on a four legged chair with high back, tamga in upper left field, all surrounded by dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΑΡΔΟΧÞΟ.

1a as above.

1b as above but the the coins at the goddess's feet are rarely visible, an additional line is added to the right of the lower part of the gown, and the inscription is blundered.



3299: J.G1-ii 1d (1B/1b)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
3295*	189199	1889,0506.3	7.81	22	-	1A	1a
3296*	189200	1894,0506.112	7.93	22	18.11	1A	1b
3297	189206	1860,1220.221	7.81	21	17.27	1B	1b
3298	189202	1890,1106.1	7.91	23	17.38	1B	1b
3299*	189204	1889,0506.4	7.85	23	16.83	1B	1b

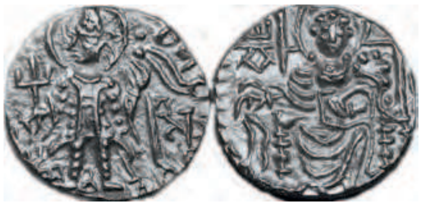
219 J.G1-ii ¼d Main gold mint phase 2 quarter dinars, *sa* control mark

Göbl 1984: 573

Vasudeva II (J) main gold mint (G1) second phase (ii) quarter dinars (1/4d) *c.* 2g.

Obverse: King, standing facing left, with halo, wearing conical crown, diadem, jewelled overcoat with wide elbow length sleeves and pointed hem, sword in scabard beneath overcoat, holding sceptre with ribbon in left hand, making an offering at an altar with right, in left field a trident with ribbon ties hanging to left, beneath king a dotted line, Brahmi control marks *sa* by altar and *vi* between legs. Insription in Brahmi (right field vertically): *vasu* (shortened from of Vasudeva). Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00): ÞΑΟΝΑΝΟ ÞΑΟ ΒΑζΟΔΗΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ (King of Kings Vasudeva Kushan), assumed as it is mostly off-flan on known examples.

A: J.G1-ii ¼d



200% Enlargement of A

Reverse: Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, seated facing frontally, head surrounded by halo, long hair arranged in curls, two crescents above head, wearing ear-rings, sleeved ankle-length gown with tie below chest and at waist, holding diadem in right hand, cornucopia over left shoulder, on a four legged chair with high back, tamga in upper left field, all surrounded by dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field) off-flan on known examples.

No.		Wgt	Dia.
A*	coinindia.com	1.99	13

220 J.G1-iii 1d Main gold mint phase 3 dinars, *bha* and *vi* contol marks

Göbl 1984: 572, 574–5

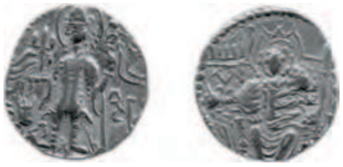
Vasudeva II (J) main gold mint (G1) third phase (iii) dinars (1d) *c.* 8g.

Obverse: King, standing facing left, with halo, wearing conical crown, diadem, jewelled overcoat with wide elbow length sleeves and pointed hem, sword in scabard beneath overcoat, holding sceptre with ribbon in left hand, making an offering at an altar with right, in left field a trident with ribbon ties hanging to left, beneath king a dotted line, Brahmi control marks *bha* by altar and *vi* between legs. Inscription in Brahmi (right field vertically): *vasu* (shortened from of Vasudeva). Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00): ÞΑΟΝΑΝΟ ÞΑΟ ΒΑζΟΔΗΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ (King of Kings Vasudeva Kushan).

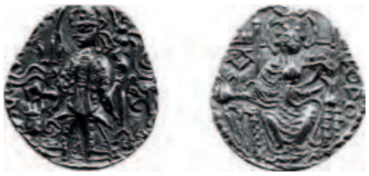
1A as above.

2A as above, beneath the king's sceptre a Brahmi *ga*.

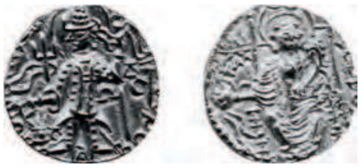
2B as above with a Brahmi *ga* under the king's left arm.



A: J.G1-iii 1d (1A)



3300: J.G1-iii 1d (2A)

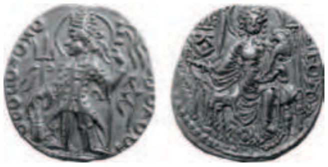


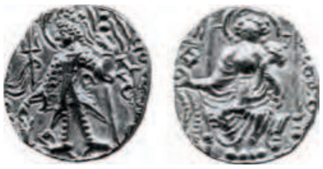
3301: J.G1-iii 1d (2B)

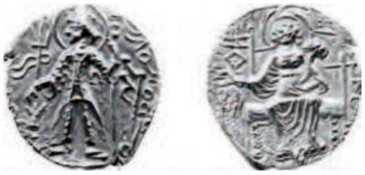
Reverse: Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, seated facing frontally, head surrounded by halo, long hair arranged in curls, two crescents above head, wearing ear-rings, sleeved ankle-length gown with tie below chest and at waist, holding diadem in right hand, cornucopia over left shoulder, on a four legged chair with high back, tamga in upper left field, all surrounded by dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΑΡΔΟΧÞΟ frequently blundered.

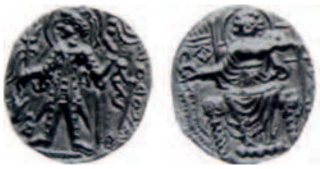
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.
A*	Private collection W		7.81	19	-	1A
3300*	189207	1850,0305.197	7.66	22	16.30	2A
3301*	189208	1923,0121.96	7.89	21	17.61	2B

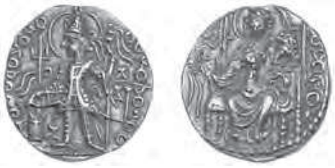
221 J.G1-iv 1d Main gold mint phase 4 dinars, late *ga* types

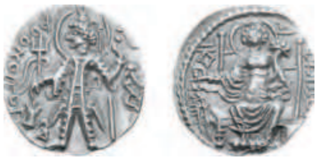

3304: J.G1-iv 1d (1A/1a)

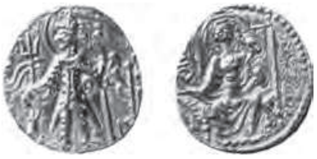

3306: J.G1-iv 1d (1A/1a)

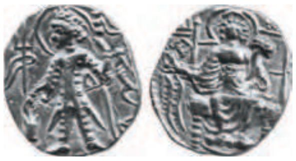

3307: J.G1-iv 1d (1A/1b)


3308: J.G1-iv 1d (1B/1a)


A: J.G1-iv 1d (1A/1a)


B: J.G1-iv 1d (1B/1b)


C: J.G1-iv 1d (1C/1a)


D: J.G1-iv 1d (1C/1b)

Göbl 1984: 576–7

Vasudeva II (J) main gold mint (G1) fourth phase (iv) dinars (1d), *c.* 8g.

Obverse: King, standing facing left, with halo, wearing conical crown, diadem, jewelled coat with wide elbow length sleeves and pointed hem, holding sceptre with ribbon in left hand, making an offering at an altar with right, in left field a trident with ribbon ties hanging to left, beneath king a dotted line. Insription in Brahmi (right field vertically): *vasu* (shortened from of Vasudeva). Inscription in Bactrian (anti-clockwise from 11.00): ÞΑΟΝΑΝΟ ÞΑΟ ΒΑζΟΔΗΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ (King of Kings Vasudeva Kushan).

1A as above with Brahmi control mark *bha* by altar and *ga* beneath king's left arm.

1B as above with Brahmi control mark *vi* by altar and *ga* beneath king's left arm.

1C as above with Brahmi control mark *ga* beneath king's left arm.

Reverse: Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, seated facing frontally, head surrounded by halo, long hair arranged in curls, two crescents above head, wearing ear-rings, sleeved ankle-length gown with tie below chest and at waist, holding diadem with small feather marks in right hand, cornucopia over left shoulder, on a chair depicted with two legs and a high back, tamga in upper left field, all surrounded by dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field) unclear as it is off-flan.

1a as above.

1b as above with 3 dots in the upper right field above throne.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
3302	189213	1893,0506.33	7.50	19	14.43	1A	1a
3303	189211	1845,0613.85	7.78	21	17.22	1A	1a
3304*†	189210	1893,0506.34	7.70	20	16.87	1A	1a
3305	189212	1894,0506.111	7.54	20	17.07	1A	?
3306*	189209	1956,0406.1	7.91	20	17.42	1A	1a
3307*	189214	1983,0524.1	7.79	22	-	1A	1b
A* ‡	Tallant & Belzberg Apr 2008 2175		-	-	-	1A	1a
3308*	189215	OR.354	7.84	21	16.42	1B	1a
B*	Classical Numismatic Group Sale, 67 (Sept 2004) 1051		7.83	-	-	1B	1b
C*	Göbl 1984, 577/31		-	-	-	1C	1a
D*	Private collection W		7.78	20	-	1C	1b

† Stylistically it appears the engraving for this coin was made by the same artist responsible for the seated portraits on the copper coinage (J.C1-ii).

‡ Coins of this type were used as prototypes for the coinage of the Samudragupta in the 4th century AD.

Subsidiary gold mint (J.G2)

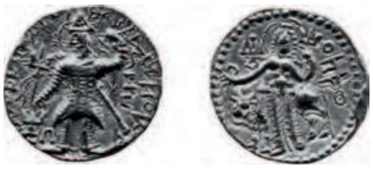
The subsidiary mint issues both dinars (*c.* 8g) and quarter dinars (*c.* 2g). Initially the designs follow those of the mint of Kanishka III with the king in armour on the obverse and a standing Oesho and bull on the reverse but at the end of the reign they adopted the designs of the main mint. The production can be divided into three phases:

Phase 1 continues the production of Kanishka III (H.H2-ii) and introduces the *rada* control mark, it includes both dinars and quarter dinars.

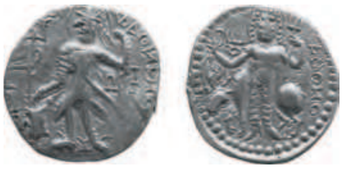
Phase 2 is marked by the addition of a control mark between leg and spear, a Kharoshthi *dra*. This phase represents the bulk of production amd includes both dinars and quarter dinars.

Phase 3 production is of dinars. The designs of the first two phases are replaced with designs based on the main mint.

222 J.G2-i 1d Subsidiary gold mint phase 1 dinars, *rada* control mark



3309: J.G2-i 1d (1A/1a)



A: J.G2-i 1d (1B/2a)

Göbl 1984: 628, 633

Vasudeva II (J) subsidiary gold mint (G2) first phase (i) dinars (1d) *c.* 8g.

Obverse: King, standing facing left, with halo, flames emenating from right shoulder, long hair, wearing conical crown, diadem, armour with pointed hem, marked with dots, laddered design on front, and bands on arms, sword in scabard, holding trident in left hand, making an offering at an altar with right, in left field a trident with ribbon ties hanging to left, beneath king a dotted line, various Brahmi control marks by altar, between legs, in right field, by trident. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO BAζOΔHO KOÞANO (King of Kings Vasudeva Kushan).

1A as above with Brahmi *ga* by altar, *gho* between legs, and *rada* in right field.

1B as above with Brahmi *gho* between legs, *ga* under left arm, and *rada* in right field. Inscription as 1A but blundered, the name of the king is truncated and Kushan is repeated: ÞAONANO ÞAO BAζO KOÞANO KOÞAO.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally, halo around head, long hair over shoulders, wearing calf-length dhoti, holding trident in left hand, diadem in right, before bull facing left, in top left field a tamga with dot above. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): OHÞO.

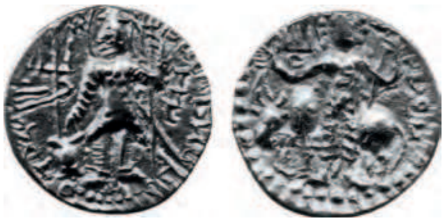
1a as above with a dot above tamga.

2a as above but the inscription reads: ÞAONO.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
3309*	189127	1893,0407.1	7.79	21	18.44	1A	1a
3310	189131	1847,1201.261	7.74	21	18.17	1A	1a
A*	Göbl 1984, 628/6; zeno.ru, 28122		7.91	-	-	1B	2a

223 J.G2-i ¼d Subsidiary gold mint phase 1 quarter dinars, *rada* control mark

3312: J.G2-i ¼d (1A)



200% enlargement of 3312

Göbl 1984: 629

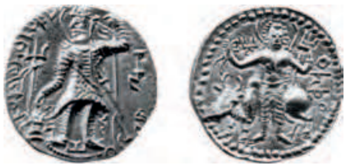
Vasudeva (J) subsidiary gold mint (G2) first phase (i) quarter dinars (¼d), *c.* 2g.

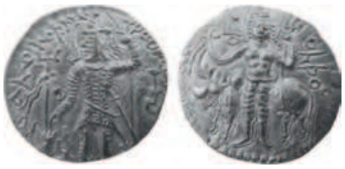
Obverse: King, standing facing left, with halo, flames emenating from right shoulder, long hair, wearing conical crown, diadem, armour with pointed hem, marked with dots, laddered design on front, and bands on arms,, sword in scabard, holding trident in left hand, making an offering at an altar with right, in left field a trident with ribbon ties hanging to left, beneath king a dotted line, various Brahmi control marks by altar, between legs, in right field, by trident. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO BAζOΔHO KOÞANO (King of Kings Vasudeva Kushan).

1A as above with Brahmi *gho* between legs, *ga* under left arm, and *rada* in right field

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally, halo around head, long matted hair over shoulders, wearing calf-length dhoti, holding trident in left hand, diadem in right, before bull facing left, in top left field a tamga with dot above. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field) reads ÞAON.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.
3311	189114	1956,0205.1	1.87	13	17.62	1A
3312*	189115	1894,0506.117	1.99	14	17.63	1A


3313: J.G2-ii 1d (1A/1a)


3318: J.G2-ii 1d (1A/1b)

224 J.G2-ii 1d Subsidiary gold mint phase 2 dinars, *rada* and *dra* control marks

Göbl 1984: 630–1

Vasudeva II (J) subsidiary gold mint (G2) second phase (ii) dinars (1d) *c.* 8g.

Obverse: King, standing facing left, with halo, flames emenating from right shoulder, long hair, wearing conical crown, diadem, armour with pointed hem, marked with dots, laddered design on front, and bands on arms, sword in scabard, holding trident in left hand, making an offering at an altar with right, in left field a trident with ribbon ties hanging to left, beneath king a dotted line, various Brahmi and Kharoshthi control marks by altar, between legs, in right field, by trident. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO BAζOΔHO KOÞANO (King of Kings Vasudeva Kushan).

1A as above with Brahmi *raju* by altar, *gho* between legs, *rada* in right field, and Kharoshthi *dra* between leg and spear.

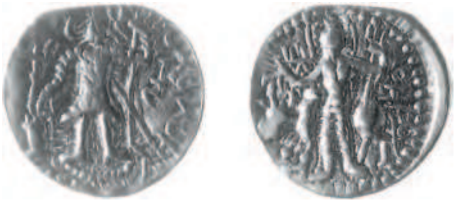
Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally, halo around head, long matted hair over shoulders, wearing calf-length dhoti, holding trident in left hand, diadem in right, before bull facing left, in top left field a tamga with dot above. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): OHÞO.

1a as above.

1b as above with a dot above tamga.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
3313*	189140	IOC.581	7.95	21	18.43	1A	1a
3314	189141	IOC.582	7.87	23	18.38	1A	1a
3315	189132	1946,1004.715	7.84	22	18.48	1A	1a
3316	189136	1944,1102.1	7.82	22	18.57	1A	1a
3317	189138	1853,0301.1317	7.85	21	18.31	1A	1?
3318*	189139	1853,0301.1316	7.86	21	18.54	1A	1b
3319	189137	1981,0322.20	7.86	22	-	1A	1b

A: J.G2-ii ¼d (1A/1a)


200% enlargement of A

225 J.G2-ii ¼d Subsidiary gold mint phase 2 quarter dinars, *rada* control mark

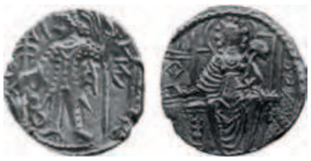
Göbl 1984: 632

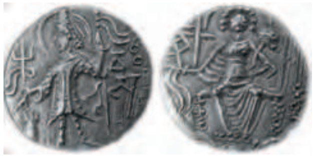
Vasudeva (J) subsidiary gold mint (G2) second phase (ii) quarter dinars (¼d), *c.* 2g.

Obverse: King, standing facing left, with halo, flames emenating from right shoulder, long hair, wearing conical crown, diadem, armour with pointed hem, marked with dots, laddered design on front, and bands on arms, sword in scabard, holding trident in left hand, making an offering at an altar with right, in left field a trident with ribbon ties hanging to left, beneath king a dotted line, Brahmi character by altar (possibly *pri*), *gho* between legs, and *rada* in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO BAζOΔHO KOÞANO (King of Kings Vasudeva Kushan).

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally, halo around head, long matted hair over shoulders, wearing calf-length dhoti, holding trident in left hand, diadem in right, before bull facing left, in top left field a tamga with dot above. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): OHÞO.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Bern (92_15)		1.88	13	18.60	1A	1a


A: J.G2-iii 1d (1A)


3320: J.G2-iii 1d (1B)

226 J.G2-iii 1d Subsidiary gold mint phase 3 dinars, with Ardochsho

Gobl 1984: 590

Vasudeva II (J) subsidiary gold mint (G2) third phase (iii) dinars (1d) *c.* 8g.

Obverse: King, standing facing left, with halo, wearing conical crown, diadem, jewelled overcoat with wide elbow length sleeves and pointed hem, sword in scabard beneath overcoat, holding sceptre with ribbon in left hand, making an offering at an altar with right, in left field a trident with ribbon ties hanging to left, beneath king a dotted line. Inscription in Brahmi (right field vertically): *vasu* (shortened from of Vasudeva). Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO BAζOΔHO KOÞANO (King of Kings Vasudeva Kushan).

1A as above with Brahmi control mark *su* under left arm and rounded *vi* by altar.

1B as above with Brahmi control mark *bhri* under left arm.

Reverse: Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, seated facing frontally, head surrounded by halo, long hair arranged in curls, two crescents above head, wearing ear-rings, sleeved ankle-length gown with tie below chest and at waist, holding diadem in right hand, cornucopia over left shoulder, on a four legged chair with high back, tamga in upper left field, all surrounded by dotted border.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.
A*	Baldwin Sale, Hong Kong 42, 887		7.66	-	-	1A
3320*	267567	1890,1104.3	7.62	19	15.7	1B

Copper coinage (J.C)

There are three distinct groups of Vasudeva II copper coins presented here as three distinct production centres, the largest being the first mint and the others probably representing regional centres.

The first mint (J.C1) consists of two phases, phase 1 features a standing king and Ardochsho, is a continution of the production seen under Vasishka, and phase 2 features a seated king.

The second mint (J.C2) continues the production of one of Kanishka III's mints and features a tamga on the reverse often combined with Brahmi characters on the obverse.

The third mint (J.C3) features a standing king and the god Oesho on the reverse.

227 J.C1-i 1u First copper mint phase 1 units, standing king

Göbl 1984: 1021

Vasudeva II (J) first copper mint (C1) first phase (i) units (1u), *c.* 4.5g.

Obverse: King standing facing left, wearing conical crown, diadem, jewelled overcoat over tunic and leggings, holding sceptre in left hand, making offering at altar with right, trident in left field. Inscription in Brahmi written as a monogram (right field): *vasu*.

1A as above.

1B as above but the altar is missing and no inscription is visible.

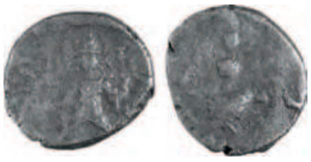
1C as 1A but a smaller figure in a distinct style.

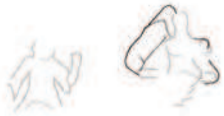
Reverse: Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, seated on a throne, with halo, wearing long dress, holding cornucopia over left shoulder, holding diadem in right hand.

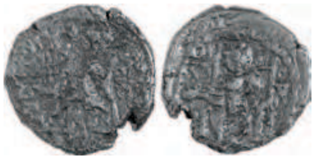
1a as above with a high backed throne and traces of a blundered Bactrian inscription in right field.

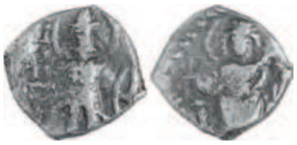
1b as 1a but with a trident in the left field, the figure of Ardochsho is usually larger and there are no traces of a Bactrian inscription visible.

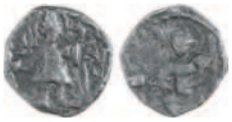
1c as 1a but without the back of throne depicted and with a smaller figure in a distinct style.

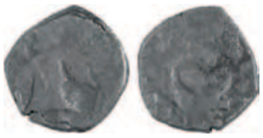

3322: J.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)

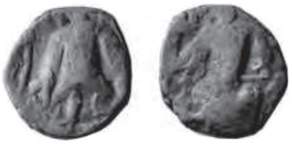

Undertype of 3322

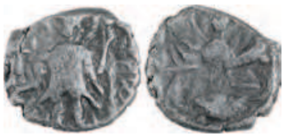

3323: J.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)


3330: J.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)


3331: J.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)


3333: J.C1-i 1u (1B/1b)


3337: J.C1-i 1u (1B/1b)


3355: J.C1-i 1u (1C/1c)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
3321	258430	1992,0119.360	4.86	17	1A	1a
3322*†	258424	1992,0119.6	4.52	20	1A	1a
3323*†	258425	1981,0735.1	4.42	19	1A	1a
3324	258418	1981,1213.1	4.24	15	1A	1a
3325	258432	1983,0531.58	4.15	19	1A	1a
3326	258416	1981,0324.9	4.06	17	1A	1a
3327	258428	1992,0119.351	3.63	18	1A	1a
3328	258086	1983,1014.29	3.50	17	1A	1a
3329	258538	1992,0119.371	3.47	18	1A	1a
3330*	258417	1992,0119.5	3.46	18	1A	1a
3331*	258419	1992,0119.7	3.01	15	1A	1a
3332	258423	1992,0119.8	2.68	17	1A	1a
3333*	258426	1992,0119.349	4.86	17	1B	1b
3334	258439	1983,0531.364	4.57	17	1B	1b
3335	258436	1983,0531.358	4.52	18	1B	1b
3336	258440	1983,0531.365	4.50	18	1B	1b
3337*	258442	1983,0531.367	4.49	17	1B	1b
3338	258441	1983,0531.366	4.40	16	1B	1b
3339	258536	1992,0119.376	4.39	17	1B	1b
3340	258539	1992,0119.374	4.31	17	1B	1b
3341	258544	1992,0119.372	4.28	16	1B	1b
3342	258438	1983,0531.362	4.27	17	1B	1b
3343	258431	1992,0119.369	4.25	16	1B	1b
3344	258437	1983,0531.361	4.22	17	1B	1b
3345	258427	1992,0119.350	4.12	17	1B	1b
3346	258543	1992,0119.352	3.98	17	1B	1b
3347	258540	1992,0119.373	3.83	18	1B	1b
3348	258443	1983,0531.368	3.64	17	1B	1b
3349	258421	1983,0531.331	2.98	15	1B?	1b
3350	258433	1983,0531.354	4.64	16	1C	1c
3351	258444	1983,0531.370	4.23	18	1C	1c
3352	258541	1992,0119.356	4.15	18	1C	1c
3353	258429	1992,0119.359	4.13	17	1C	1c
3354	258434	1983,0531.355	4.12	17	1C	1c
3355*	258420	1992,0119.9	3.72	17	1C	1c
3356	258422	1983,0531.327	3.16	15	1C?	1c

† Overstruck on a coin of the Kushanshah Piruz I.

228 J.C1-ii 1u First copper mint phase 1 units, seated king types

Göbl 1984: 1022–4

Vasudeva II (J) first copper mint (C1) second phase (ii) units (1u), *c.* 3.5g. Many of these coins are overstruck on coins of the Kushano-sasanian ruler Hormizd I.

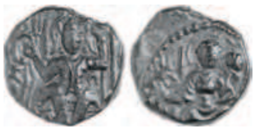
Obverse: King seated on a throne facing to front with halo, wearing conical crown, jewelled clothes, holding sceptre in left hand and diadem in right. In right field Brahmi legend *vasu*, in left field (usually off-flan) a Brahmi *bha*, and *ga* under the arm.

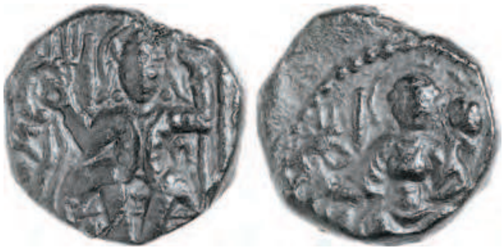
1A as above.

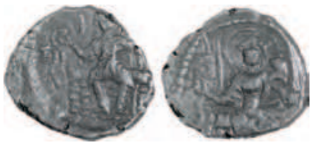
1B as above but the design is more stylised and the control mark below the arm is *pa*.

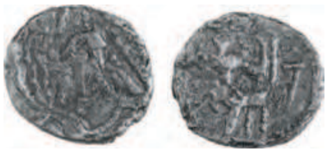
Reverse: Goddess Ardochsho seated on a throne, with halo, wearing long dress, holding cornucopia over left shoulder, holding diadem in right hand, in right field a blundered Bactrian legend.

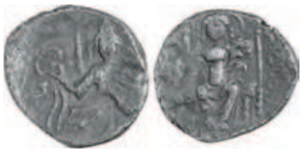
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.
3357*	258446	1981,0324.10	4.74	16	1A
3358	258465	1992,0119.59	4.61	20	1A
3359	258449	1992,0119.76	4.60	18	1A
3360	258460	1922,0213.75	4.54	17	1A
3361	258445	1922,0424.3688	4.50	18	1A
3362	258459	1992,0119.54	4.32	19	1A
3363	258462	1981,0324.11	4.31	20	1A
3364	258466	1992,0119.49	4.29	18	1A
3365	258461	1981,0120.18	4.24	18	1A
3366	258458	1992,0119.20	4.08	17	1A
3367	258450	1992,0119.15	3.95	16	1A
3368	258476	1992,0119.21	3.94	19	1A
3369	258470	1992,0119.17	3.93	19	1A
3370	258488	1992,0119.50	3.93	17	1A
3371*	258498	1992,0119.43	3.92	18	1A
3372	258501	1992,0119.64	3.90	18	1A
3373	258502	1992,0119.72	3.90	18	1A
3374	258485	1987,0921.18	3.87	19	1A
3375	258447	1889,0105.1170	3.86	17	1A
3376	258472	1992,0119.71	3.85	20	1A
3377	258479	1992,0119.75	3.82	19	1A
3378	258499	1992,0119.40	3.82	21	1A
3379	258468	1987,0921.14	3.81	18	1A
3380	258484	1987,0921.16	3.81	18	1A
3381	258480	1992,0119.62	3.81	18	1A
3382	258477	1992,0119.33	3.80	19	1A
3383	258490	1992,0119.36	3.79	18	1A
3384	258464	1992,0119.58	3.79	18	1A
3385	258500	1992,0119.39	3.78	19	1A
3386	258478	1992,0119.56	3.78	19	1A
3387	258492	1992,0119.32	3.77	19	1A
3388	258494	1992,0119.38	3.76	18	1A
3389	258481	1992,0119.42	3.75	17	1A
3390	258503	1981,0120.21	3.74	18	1A
3391	258486	1987,0921.17	3.72	18	1A
3392	258491	1992,0119.28	3.72	20	1A
3393	258448	1922,0424.3689	3.70	19	1A
3394	258471	1992,0119.53	3.70	18	1A
3395	258489	1992,0119.66	3.70	19	1A
3396	258493	1992,0119.34	3.65	18	1A
3397	258487	1987,0921.15	3.62	18	1A
3398	258497	1992,0119.46	3.61	19	1A
3399	258451	1922,0424.4506	3.60	17	1A
3400	258474	1981,0120.20	3.60	18	1A
3401*	258469	1981,0120.22	3.60	19	1A
3402	258475	1992,0119.44	3.59	19	1A
3403	258483	OR.7125	3.58	18	1A
3404	258495	1992,0119.55	3.58	19	1A
3405*	258505	1992,0119.74	3.57	19	1A
3406	258506	1992,0119.18	3.55	18	1A

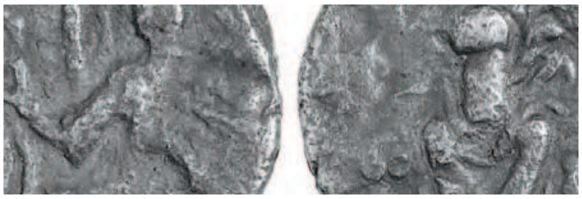

3357: J.C1-ii 1u (1A)

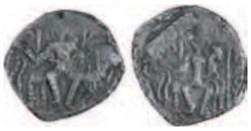

200% enlargement of 3357


3371: J.C1-ii 1u (1A)

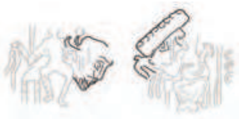

3401: J.C1-ii 1u (1A)


3405: J.C1-ii 1u (1A)

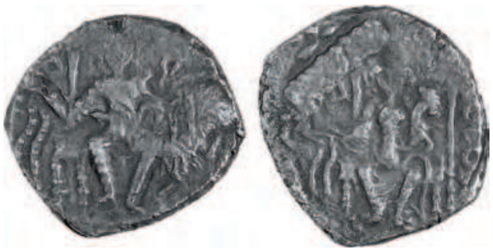

300% enlargement of detail of 3405



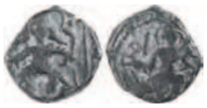
3440: J.C1-ii 1u (1A)



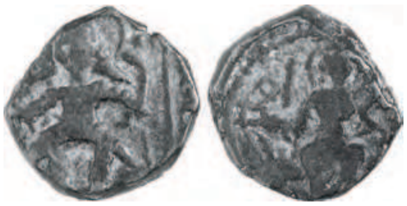
Position of undertype on 3440



200% enlargement of 3440

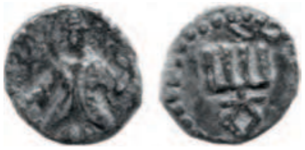


3443: J.C1-ii 1u (1B)

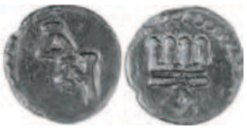


200% enlargement of 3443

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.
3407	258496	1992,0119.26	3.53	18	1A
3408	258482	1992,0119.61	3.51	18	1A
3409	258507	1992,0119.25	3.50	17	1A
3410	258509	1992,0119.45	3.50	19	1A
3411	258452	1992,0119.67	3.50	15	1A
3412	258463	1992,0119.52	3.49	17	1A
3413	258512	1992,0119.27	3.48	18	1A
3414	258510	1992,0119.37	3.48	18	1A
3415	258508	1992,0119.48	3.48	18	1A
3416	258504	1992,0119.35	3.46	18	1A
3417	258511	1992,0119.47	3.46	18	1A
3418	258467	1922,0213.104	3.43	18	1A
3419	258453	1990,0921.107	3.43	15	1A
3420	258513	1992,0119.30	3.43	17	1A
3421	258515	1992,0119.69	3.35	19	1A
3422	258514	1992,0119.73	3.34	18	1A
3423	258516	1992,0119.19	3.31	19	1A
3424	258517	1992,0119.68	3.29	18	1A
3425	258520	1992,0119.16	3.28	17	1A
3426	258518	1992,0119.29	3.28	18	1A
3427	258521	1992,0119.51	3.28	17	1A
3428	258522	1992,0119.57	3.27	18	1A
3429	258519	1992,0119.60	3.21	17	1A
3430	258473	1981,0120.19	3.18	18	1A
3431	258524	1992,0119.41	3.18	18	1A
3432	258523	1992,0119.63	3.17	18	1A
3433	258454	1992,0119.13	3.08	16	1A
3434	258525	1992,0119.31	3.06	17	1A
3435	258455	1992,0119.11	3.02	14	1A
3436	258456	1992,0119.14	2.99	15	1A
3437	258526	1992,0119.70	2.98	17	1A
3438	258457	1992,0119.12	2.86	12.	1A
3439	258528	1992,0119.22	2.80	18	1A
3440*	258527	1992,0119.23	2.80	16	1A
3441	258529	1992,0119.24	2.80	18	1A
3442	258530	1992,0119.65	2.67	18	1A
3443*	258531	1983,1014.30	2.67	13	1B
3444	258532	1981,0324.12	2.64	13	1B



A: J.C2-i 1u (1A)



3445: J.C2-i 1u (2A)

229 J.C2-i 1u Second copper mint units, monogram types

Göbl 1984: 1020

Vasudeva II (J) second copper mint (C2) first phase (i) units (1u), *c.* 3.5g. This rare group features Brahmi monograms on the obverse and a tamga on the reverse on both round and square flans†. It has no clear connection with any of Vasudeva's other issues and is linked to him only by the use of a *vasu* monogram on two types. die axis vary between 12:00 and 6:00.

Obverse: Brahmi character in a dotted border.

1A Standing king, wearing Overcoat, resembling other issues of Vasudeva (cf. J.C1-i).

2A Brahmi monogram *vasu*.

2B as for 1A but on a square flan.

3A Brahmi monogram *ṇaṇa*.

3B as for 2A but on a square flan.

3C crude rendering of type 3B, possibly an unofficial imitation.

4A Brahmi character *bi*.

5A Brahmi character *pra*. Some examples of this type do not have a curved tail and may represent *pu*.

5B as for 5A but on square flan.

6B symbol representing a branch or trident, on a square flan, possibly an unofficial imitation.

7A symbol appearing to resemble a fish but possibly a clumsy rendering or *pu* or *bu*.

7B as for 7A but on a square flan.

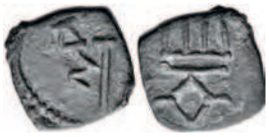
8A symbol with a triangle point down surmounted by two arcs, perhaps a rendering of a Brahmi vowel or the character *cho*.

Reverse: Tamga enclosed in a dotted border. The details of the tamgas vary but it is unclear if they represent distinct types or variation in engraving.

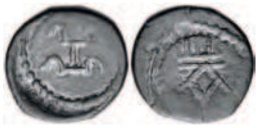
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Axis	Obv.
A*	Private collection E		4.10	-	-	1A
3445*	258533	1893,0506.27	3.56‡	16	6:00	2A
B*	CNG electronic 215 (2009): 369		2.65	-	1:00	2B
C*	CNG electronic 257 (2011): 180		2.52	-	6:00	3A
D*	CNG electronic 268 (2011): 172		3.27	15	6:00	3B
E*	CNG electronic 268 (2011): 173		3.23	13	12:00	3C
F*	CNG electronic 296 (2013): 128		3.15	15	6:00	4A
G*	Bern (92.25), Göbl 1993a: 728		2.92	-	3:00	5A
H*	Ebay, June 2015		3.95	12	12:00	5B
I*	CNG electronic 300 (2013): 122		3.84	15	12:00	6B
J*	Private collection E		3.50	-	-	7A
K*	Private collection E		2.80	-	-	7B
L*	Private collection E		3.20	-	-	8A

† With the exception of the *vasu* and *pra* type the number of examples known is small and all have to come to wider attention only recently with possibly a common origin. It is possible that the *vasu* coins precede the others, and that square coins are cut to reduce their weight, but there are too few examples to be sure. Compare with Kanishka III (I.C2-i) and Maśra (N.C1). Most show signs of aggressive cleaning which may have altered or distorted designs.

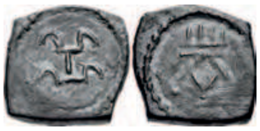
‡ An example in Bern (88,499) weighs 4.26g, and recent examples offered in auctions 4.44 and 3.08 for type 2A and 2.65 and 2.15 for type 2B.



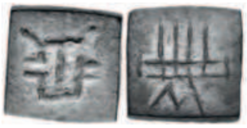
B: J.C2-i 1u (2B)



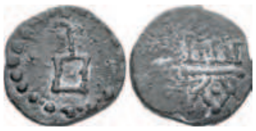
C: J.C2-i 1u (3A)



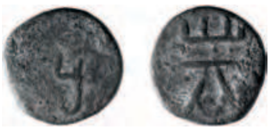
D: J.C2-i 1u (3B)



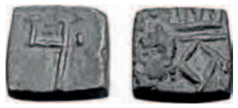
E: J.C2-i 1u (3C)



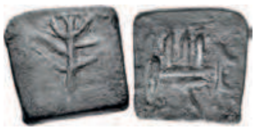
F: J.C2-i 1u (4A)



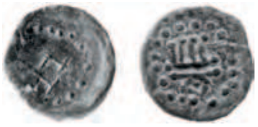
G: J.C2-i 1u (5A)



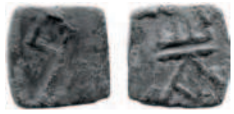
H: J.C2-i 1u (5B)



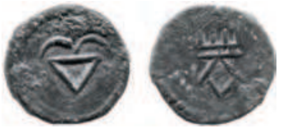
I: J.C2-i 1u (6B)



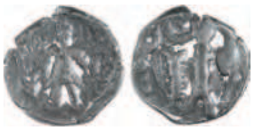
J: J.C2-i 1u (7A)

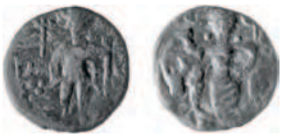


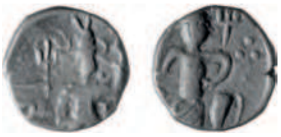
K: J.C2-i 1u (7B)



L: J.C2-i 1u (8A)


3446: J.C1-ii 1u (1A/1a)


A: J.C1-ii 1u (1B/1a)


B: J.C1-ii1u (1B/1b)

230 J.C3-i 1u Third copper mint phase 1 units, standing king/ Oesho

Göbl 1984: 1025

Vasudeva II (J) third copper mint (C1) first phase (i) units (1u), *c.* 3.5g.

Obverse: King, full figure frontally with head to left, wearing conical crown with crescent at top and badge on front, diadem, decorated overcoat with wide elbow length sleeves, making offering at altar with right hand, holding sceptre with left. Inscription in Brahmi (in right field): *vasu*.

1A as above.

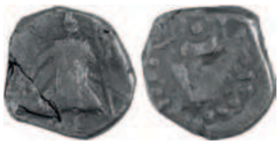
1B as above with three dots above the altar and Brahmi *ku* under kings arm.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing facing frontally, wearing dhoti, before a bull facing left, holding trident in left hand and diadem in right, tamga in upper left field.

1a as above.

1b as above with three dots in the right field.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
3446*	258534	1990,0921.112	3.52	16	1A	1a
3447	263577	1992.0119.615	3.47	17	1A	1a
A*	Bern (88.517)		2.89	-	1B	1a
B*	Bern (88.518)		3.26	-	1B	1b


3448: J-imit.C1-i (1A)

231 J-imit.C1-i 1u Local imitations of Vasudeva II copper units

Imitation of Vasudeva (J-imit) unknown production centre (C1-i) units (1u) from *c.* 5.5g to *c.* 3.5g. These are imitations of the standing king types (J. C1-i). Some monogram types may in fact be imitations (cf. J.C2). Imitation of copper coinage was widespread in this period and remains only poorly understood.

Obverse: Depiction of king crudely copied from official Vasudeva issues depicting a standing king.

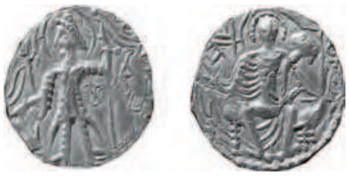
Reverse: Crude depiction of the goddess Ardoxsho seated upon a throne based upon official Vasudeva issues.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
3448*	258545	1992,0119.348	5.43	18
3449	258435	1992,0119.357	4.60	18
3450	258537	1992,0119.375	3.84	17
3451	258542	1992,0119.353	3.84	17
3452	258535	1992,0119.377	3.24	16

Gold coinage

Main gold mint, location unknown (K.G1)

Only a single die combination is known representing this mint. One possibe explanation is that the mint operated only for a brief time, perhaps at the end of Mahi's reign, and that it may have been taken over at the end of Vasudeva II's reign by Meśra (N.G1).


A: K.G1-i 1d

232 K.G1-i 1d Main gold mint phase 1 dinars, *mi* control mark

Göbl 1984: 582

Mahi (K) main gold mint (G1) first phase (i) dinars (1d) *c.* 8g.

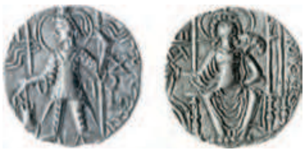
Obverse: King standing facing left, with halo, wearing conical crown, diadem, jewelled overcoat, and sword holding sceptre in left hand making offering at altar with right, in left field a trident, Brahmi control mark *mi* under left arm. Brahmi inscription (right field): *mahi*. Bactrian inscription (around edge from 7:00): ÞAONANO ÞAO [...] KOÞANO ÞAO (King of Kings ... Kushan King).

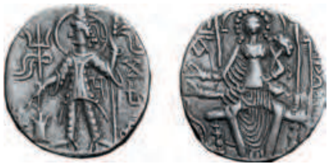
Reverse: Goddess Ardochsho seated on a throne, with halo, wearing gown, holding cornucopia over left shoulder and diadem in right hand. Tamga in left field. Corrupt Bactrian legend in right field.

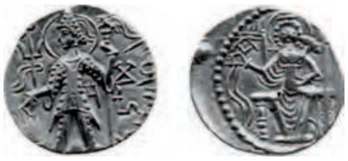
No.		Wgt	Dia.
A*	BKB (8715)	7.79	22

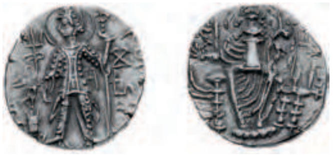
Subsidiary gold mint, location unknown (K.G2)

The subsidiary gold mint began operations at the end of Vasudeva II's reign and judging by surviving examples acted as the Mahi's main producer of gold coins (the term 'subsidiary' simply indicates its connection with the productions of Vasudeva II and Shaka). Though there are slight differences in design there is no evidence for multiple phases of production.


3453: K.G2-i 1d (1A/1a)


A: K.G2-i 1d (1A/1b)


3454: K.G2-i 1d (1B/1a)


B: K.G2-i 1d (1B/1b)

233 K.G2-i 1d Subsidiary gold mint phase 1 dinars, *pu* control mark

Göbl 1984: 588

Mahi (K) subsidiary gold mint (G2) first phase (i) dinars (1d) *c.* 8g.

Obverse: King standing facing left, with halo, wearing conical crown, diadem, jewelled overcoat, and sword holding sceptre in left hand making offering at altar with right, in left field a trident Brahmi control mark *pu* under left arm. Brahmi inscription (right field): *mahi*. Bactrian inscription (around edge from 7:00): ÞAONANO ÞAO [...] KOÞANO ÞAO (King of kings ... Kushan king).

1A as above.

1B as above but the kings sceptre is topped with a lion walking to left.

Reverse: Goddess Ardochsho seated on a throne, with halo, wearing gown, holding cornucopia over left shoulder and diadem in right hand. Tamga in left field. Corrupt Bactrian legend in right field.

1a as above.

1b as above but the diadem ties turn towards the leg of the chair and a line can usually be seen linking between the end of the ties and the folds of the dress.

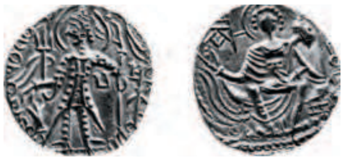
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
3453*	25329	1847,1201.262	7.74	19	15.94	1A	1a
A*	Private collection B; Spink, 6003, Mar. 2006: 1176; Baldwins, London 39, 2562		7.70	-	-	1A	1b
3454*	189695	1894,0506.116	7.67	20	16.12	1B	1a
B*	Classical Numismatic Group, 63, May 2003: 976		7.73	-	-	1B	1b

Main gold mint, location unknown (L.G1)

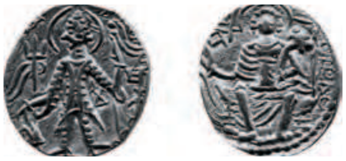
The main gold mint cannot be precisely located. By the time of Shaka its production had reduced so it was now the lesser of the two mints productions, making both dinars and quarter dinars.

Phase 1 production consists of dinars, these coins have a Brahmi *pa* or *mi* under the king's left arm. The king's name, *ṣaka*, is depicted with a short *a* in a form that looks more angular and less ornate.

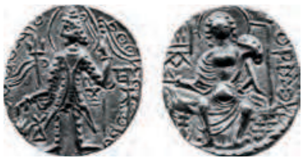
Phase 2 is distinguished from the subsidiary mint by the use of Brahmi *bha* and *vi* (both mints use *sya*) and from phase 1 by a form of *ṣāka* with a long *ā*, and a marked reduction in gold content.



3456: L.G1-i 1d (1A)



3457: L.G1-i 1d (2A)



3460: L.G1-i 1d (2B)

234 L.G1-i 1d Main gold mint phase 1 dinars

Göbl 1984: 579–81

Shaka (L) main gold mint (G1) first phase (i) dinars (1d), *c.* 8g.

Obverse: King, standing facing to the left, with halo, wearing tall conical crown, diadem, long decorated overcoat, holding a sceptre with ribbons in left hand, making offering at altar with right hand, above the altar a trident with ribbon hanging to the left, below king a line of dots, various Brahmi control marks (by altar or beneath arm). Inscription in Brahmi (in right field): *ṣaka*. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00 to 6.00 then anticlockwise from 11.00 to 6.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO KOÞANO ÞAKO (King of Kings Kushan Shaka).

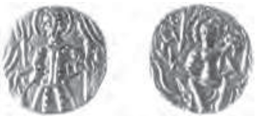
1A as above with *pa* beneath arm.

2A as above with *mi* beneath arm.

2B as above with *mi* beneath arm and *kho* by altar.

Reverse: Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, seated facing frontally, long hair arranged in curls, head surrounded by halo, wearing sleeved ankle-length gown with belt at chest but no tie and a series of vertical folds at bottom of dress, holding diadem in right hand, cornucopia over left shoulder, tamga in left field, all surrounded by dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΑΡΔΟΧÞΟ, usually blundered.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.
3455	189227	1857,0813.74	7.79	21	16.07	1A
3456*	189228	1988,0808.10	7.67	20	16.00	1A
3457*	189225	1894,0506.185	7.79	20	16.03	2A
3458	189226	1983,0729.40	7.78	20	16.16	2A
3459	189224	IOC.551	7.78	21	16.11	2A
3460*	189222	1894,0506.177	7.85	20	16.31	2B
3461	189223	1893,0506.42	7.78	21	16.32	2B



A: L.G1-i ¼d (1A)

235 L.G1-i ¼d Main gold mint phase 1 quarter dinars

Shaka (L) main gold mint (G2) first phase (i) quarter dinars (¼d), *c.* 2g.

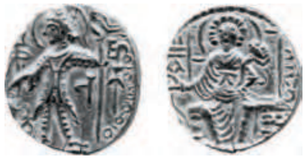
Obverse: King, standing facing to the left, with halo, wearing tall conical crown, diadem, long decorated overcoat, holding sceptre with ribbons in left hand, making offering at altar with right hand, above the altar a trident with ribbon hanging to the left, below king a line of dots, various Brahmi control marks (by altar or beneath arm). Inscription in Brahmi (in right field): *ṣaka*. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00 to 6.00 then anticlockwise from 11.00 to 6.00): ÞAONANO ÞAO KOÞANO ÞAKO (King of Kings Kushan Shaka).

1A as above with *pa* beneath arm.

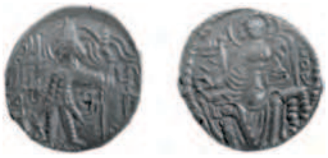
Reverse: Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, seated facing frontally, long hair arranged in curls, head surrounded by halo, wearing sleeved ankle-length gown with belt at chest but no tie and a series of verticale folds at bottom of dress, holding diadem in right hand, cornucopia over left shoulder, tamga in left field, all surrounded by dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΑΡΔΟΧÞΟ, usually blundered.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.
A	Bern (88.535)		1.64	-	15.34	1A

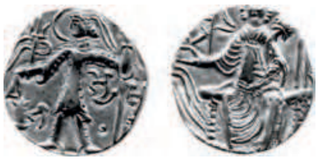
236 L.G1-ii 1d Main gold mint phase 2 dinars



3462: L.G1-ii 1d (1A)



3464: L.G1-ii 1d (1B)



3468: L.G1-ii 1d (2A)

Göbl 1984: 583–6

Shaka (L) main gold mint (G1) second phase (ii) dinars (1d), *c.* 8g.

Obverse: King, standing facing to the left, with halo, wearing tall conical crown, diadem, long decorated overcoat, holding sceptre with ribbons in left hand, making offering at altar with right hand, above the altar a trident with ribbon hanging to the left, below king a line of dots, Brahmi control marks by altar and beneath arm. Brahmi inscription (in right field): *ṣāka*. Bactrian inscription (around edge) blundered.

1A as above with rounded *vi* by altar and *bha* beneath arm.

1B as above with rounded *vi* by altar and *sya* beneath arm.

2A as above with *bha* by altar and *sya* with a dot underneath beneath arm.

Reverse: Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, seated facing frontally, long hair arranged in curls, head surrounded by halo, wearing sleeved ankle-length gown with tie below chest, holding diadem in right hand, cornucopia over left shoulder, tamga in left field, all surrounded by dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΑΡΔΟΧÞΟ, usually blundered.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.
3462*	189233	IOC.552	7.80	20	14.83	1A
3463	258682	1894,0506.186	7.82	19	14.41	1B
3464*	189240	1895,0704.42	7.84	20	14.32	1B
3465	189246	1893,0506.44	7.82	21	14.80	2A
3466	189244	1893,0506.45	7.83	22	14.47	2A
3467	189243	1894,0506.187	7.73	20	14.18	2A
3468*	189245	1912,0206.1	7.73	20	14.05	2A

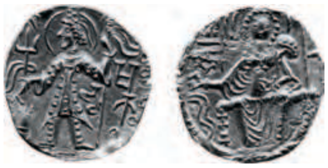
Subsidiary gold mint, location unknown (L.G2)

The subsidiary gold mint, probably the more northerly of the two mints, cannot be located precisely.

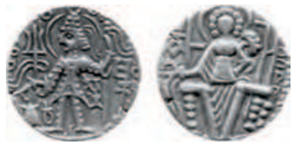
Phase 1 production consists of dinars and quarters, with Brahmi *bhra* and *sita*, these have various Brahmi characters below the arm.

Phase 2 production consists of dinars with *jā* or *bha* by the altar. It is distinguished by the monogram of the king's name which has a projection indicating it should read *ṣāka*.

237 L.G2-i 1d Subsidiary gold mint phase 1dinars



3471: L.G2-i 1d (1A)



3472: L.G2-i 1d (1B)

Göbl 1984: 589, 591

Shaka (L) subsidiary mint (G2) first phase (i) dinars (1d), *c.* 8g.

Obverse: King, standing facing to the left, with halo, wearing tall conical crown, diadem, long decorated overcoat, holding sceptre with ribbons in left hand, making offering at altar with right hand, above the altar a trident with ribbon hanging to the left, below king a line of dots, Brahmi control marks. Brahmi inscription (in right field): *ṣāka*. Bactrian inscription (around edge) blundered.

1A as above with *bhra* under arm.

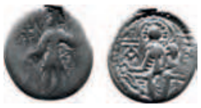
1B as above with rounded *vi* by altar and *sita* beneath arm.

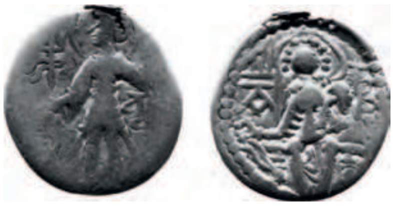
Reverse: Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, seated facing frontally, long hair arranged in curls, head surrounded by halo, wearing sleeved ankle-length gown with tie below chest, holding diadem in right hand, cornucopia over left shoulder, tamga in left field, all surrounded by dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΑΡΔΟΧÞΟ, usually blundered.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.
3469	189229	1857,0813.75	7.61	21	16.06	1A
3470	189230	1890,0604.3	7.79	22	16.04	1A
3471*	189231	1894,0506.121	7.93	21	15.95	1A
3472*	189235	1907,0702.30	7.72	18	13.46	1B

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.
3473	189242	IOC.553	7.79	18	13.99	1B

238 L.G2-i ¼d Subsidiary gold mint phase 2 quarter dinars


3474: L.G2-i ¼d


200% enlargement of 3474

Göbl 1984: 590A

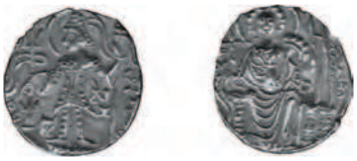
Shaka (L) subsidiary gold mint (G2) first phase (i) quarter dinars (¼d), *c.* 2g.

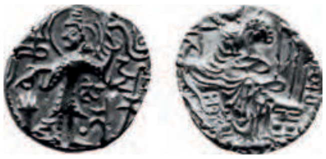
Obverse: King standing, facing to the left, wearing long decorated coat, high decorated cap, and diadem, holding sceptre with ribbons in left hand, making offering at an altar with right hand, Brahmi *bhra* beneath arm. Brahmi inscription (in right field): *ṣaka*. Bactrian inscription (around edge) blundered.

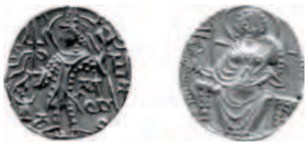
Reverse: Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, seated facing frontally, long hair arranged in curls, head surrounded by halo, wearing sleeved ankle-length gown with tie below chest, holding diadem in right hand, cornucopia over left shoulder, tamga in left field, all surrounded by dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΑΡΔΟΧÞΟ, usually blundered.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG
3474*	189232	1893,0506.36	1.52	13	16.17

239 L.G2-ii 1d Subsidiary gold mint phase 2 dinars


A: L.G2-ii 1d (1A)


3478: L.G2-ii 1d (2A)


3483: L.G2-ii 1d (2B)

Göbl 1984: 592–4

Shaka (L) Subsidiary gold mint (G2) second phase (ii) dinars (1d), *c.* 8g.

Obverse: King, standing facing to the left, with halo, wearing tall conical crown, diadem, long decorated overcoat, holding a sceptre with ribbons in left hand, making offering at an altar with right hand, above the altar a trident with ribbon hanging to the left, below king a line of dots, various Brahmi control marks (by altar or beneath arm). Inscription in Brahmi (in right field): *ṣāka*. Traces of blundered Bactrian inscription around edges.

1A as above with *jā* by altar and *sita* beneath left arm.

2A as above with *bha* by altar and *sita* with a dot beneath left arm.

2B as above with *bha* by altar and tripartite *sya* beneath left arm.

Reverse: Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, seated facing frontally, long hair arranged in curls, head surrounded by halo, wearing sleeved ankle-length gown with belt at chest but no tie and a series of vertical folds at bottom of dress, holding diadem with laddered ties in right hand, cornucopia with wide fanned head, over left shoulder, tamga in left field, all surrounded by dotted border. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΑΡΔΟΧÞΟ, usually blundered.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.
A*	Private collection M		-	-	-	1A
3475	189259	1853,0301.1354	7.62	20	13.42	2A
3476	189248	1860,1220.222	7.67	20	13.78	2A
3477	189254	1890,1104.2	7.80	20	13.70	2A
3478*	189250	1893,0506.43	7.61	20	13.42	2A
3479	189251	1894,0506.188	7.67	19	14.25	2A
3480	189258	1894,0506.189	7.69	20	13.84	2A
3481	189256	1895,0704.40	7.72	19	14.07	2A
3482	189252	1907,0702.29	7.85	20	13.66	2A
3483*	189263	1890,0604.6	7.69	18	13.49	2B
3484	189267	1894,0506.190	7.75	20	13.50	2B

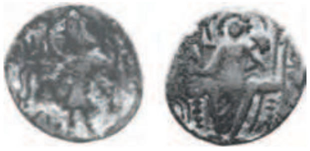
240 L-imit.G1/2 1d Base metal imitations of phase 2 dinars

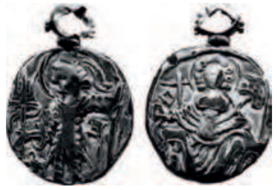
Göbl 1984: 583, 591

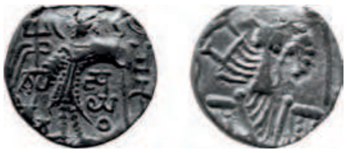
Shaka (L) imitations (imit) of dinars (1d), *c.* 8g.

There are three base metal imitations in the British Museum. One has a mounting and another originally had one. They imitate different types from Phase 2 at both mints, for descriptions of the obverse and reverse see those entries.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.
3485*	258821	1922,0213.107	4.05	19	-	L.G1-ii (A3)
3486*	189234	1922,0423.29	3.55	24	-	L.G1-ii (A1)
3487*	189265	1860,1220.228	5.09	19	8.66	L.G2-ii (2B)


3485: L-imit.G1 1d


3486: L-imit.G1 1d


3487: L-imit.G1 1d

Copper coinage (L.C)

The evidence for Shaka's copper coinage is limited, some examples were published in the Govindnagar hoard (Srivastava 1989: Pl.13.I.6-11) but Khan (2010) was the first typology. This is therefore a tentative sketch, the division into two mints being on the use of an armoured king with Ardochsho reverse (C1) or a king wearing overcoat with Oesho reverse (C2). Both mints are divided into two phases:

Phase 1 coins from both mints feature large Brahmi characters on the obverse.

Phase 2 coins lack the Brahmi characters.

241 L.C1-i 1u Copper mint phase 1 units, Brahmi control marks

Khan 2010: K1-2; Göbl 1984: 1024.17

Shaka (L) first copper mint (C1) first phase (i) units (1u), *c.* 3g.

Obverse: King standing, facing left, wearing armour with wide skirt and banded arms, left hand raised as if to hold a spear but none present with arm extended at right angles, right hand over a fire altar, trident with two ribbons above the altar, various Brahmi characters appear below arm.

1A as above with *de*.

1B as above with *ra*.

1C as above with *pra*.

1D as above with *vi*.

1E as above with *śa*, Khan (2010) identifies a *ga* type but the one example could be a *śa*.

1F as above with *ma*.

1G as above with *ṣa*.

1H as above with *jha*.

1I as above with *dha*.

1J as above with *ga*.

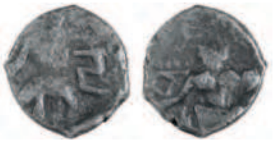
1K as above with *bha*.

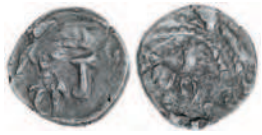
1? as above but the character is uncertain, though different to identified types.

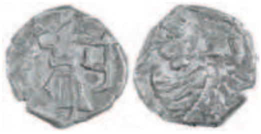
2A as above with *ṣa* and *pa* below right arm. Most types are known from only a single coin, as in this case, and an alternative interpretation of the example is that it is an overstrike of 1G on 1H.

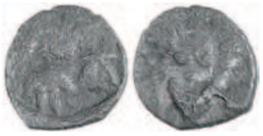
Reverse: Goddess Ardoxsho seated on throne facing to front, holding cornucopia over left shoulder and diadem in right hand, tamga in top left, all surrounded by a dotted border.

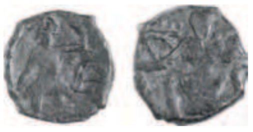
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.
3488	258061	1992,0119.4	3.63	18	1A
3489*	258062	1992,0119.3	2.77	17	1A
3490*	258063	1992,0119.2	3.77	17	1B
3491*	258064	1990,0513.6	3.42	17	1C
3492*	258066	1985,0427.1	2.14	17	1D
3493	258068	1992,0119.1	2.99	16	1E
3494*	258069	1995,1016.1	2.37	16	1E
3495*	258070	OR.7434	2.77	19	1F
A*	Srinivasan 1989: 9		-	-	1G

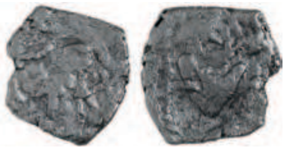

3489: L.C1-i 1u (1A)

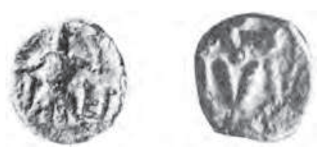

3490: L.C1-i 1u (1B)


3491: L.C1-i 1u (1C)


3492: L.C1-i 1u (1D)


3494: L.C1-i 1u (1E)


3495: L.C1-i 1u (1F)


A: L.C1-i 1u (1G)

243 L.C2-i 1u Second copper mint phase 1 units

Shaka (L) second copper mint (C2) first phase (i) units (1u) *c.* 3.5g. The engraving of the reverses is very similar in style to the coins of Vasudeva II (J.C1-ii 1u).

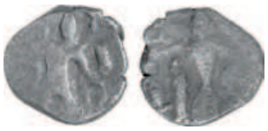
Obverse: King, standing frontally, head surrounded by cresecent, wearing tall crown, overcoat with wide elbow length sleeves, holding sceptre in left hand, right hand extended as it to make offering, trident in left field, traces of Brahmi character in bottom right field.

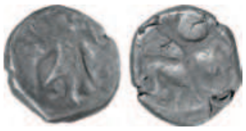
1A as above with Brahmi *śa*.

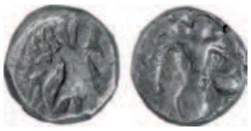
1? as above with unclear Brahmi character.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing facing frontally, wearing dhoti, before a bull facing left, holding trident in left hand and diadem in right, tamga in upper left field.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.
3511*	263556	1992,0119.568	3.23	16	1A
3512*	263546	1992,0119.573	3.58	16	1?
3513*	263576	1992,0119.621	3.58	16	1?


3511: L.C2-i 1u (1A)


3512: L.C2-i 1u (1?)


3513: L.C2-i 1u (1?)

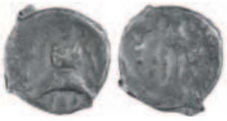
244 L.C2-ii 1u Second copper mint phase 2 units

Shaka (L) second copper mint (C2) second phase (ii) units (1u) *c.* 3g.

Obverse: King, standing facing left, wearing wide skirt.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing facing frontally left arm raised as if to hold a trident, before a bull facing left, in top left field a tamga, all surrounded by dotted border.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
3514*	258087	1983,531.304	2.95	15
3515	258088	1983,531.305	2.83	15

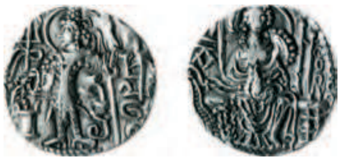

3514: L.C2-ii 1u

Gold mint (M.G1)

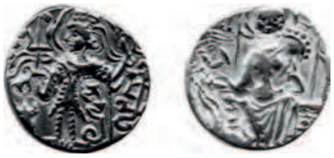
This mint is a continuation of Shaka's subsidiary gold mint. The exact location of this mint is uncertain. It produces coins in two phases which are distinguished by a change in control marks:

Phase 1 coins have control mark *bhadra*.

Phase 2 coins have control mark *basata*.



3517: M.G1-i 1d



3521: M.G1-i 1d

245 M.G1-i 1d Gold mint phase 1 gold dinars, *bhadra*

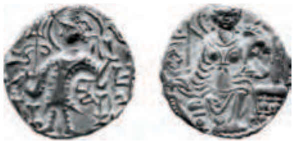
Göbl 1984: 595

Kipunadha (M) gold mint (G1) first phase (i) dinars (1d), *c.* 8g.

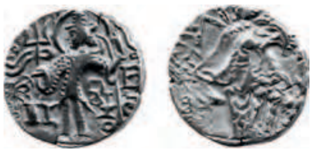
Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, wearing tall conical head-dress, diadem tied behind head with large loop, jewelled overcoat with pointed hem and trousers, holding a sceptre in left hand and making offering at altar with right, above altar a trident with ribbons flowing to left, beneath the king's arm a Brahmi control mark *bhadra*. Inscription in Bactrian (around edge) reduced to a series of decorative circles. Inscription in Brahmi (in right field): *kipuṇaḍha*.

Reverse: Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, seated facing frontally, long hair arranged in curls, head surrounded by halo, wearing sleeved ankle-length gown with tie below chest , holding diadem in right hand with dashes between ties, cornucopia over left shoulder with wide fanned head, on a chair with high back, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΑΡΔΟΧÞΟ usually reduced to decorative circles.

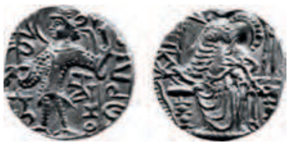
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG
3516	189273	IOC.563	7.72	17	13.52
3517*	25328	1860,1220.233	7.71	20	13.59
3518	189270	1860,1220.226	7.70	21	13.46
3519	189272	1895,0704.41	7.60	18	13.47
3520	189271	1893,0506.49	7.40	19	13.38
3521*	189269	1894,0506.191	7.37	20	11.23



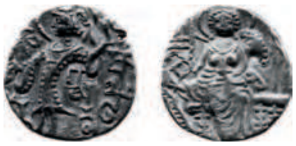
3522: M.G1-ii 1d



3524: M.G1-ii1d



3530: M.G1-ii 1d



3535: M.G1-ii 1d

246 M.G1-ii 1d Gold mint phase 2 dinars, *basata*

Göbl 1984: 596

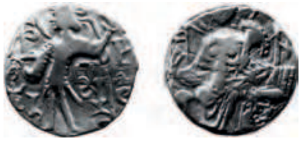
Kipunadha (M) gold mint (G1) second phase (i) dinar (1d), *c.* 8g. The second phase coins are distinguished by the use of new control marks. Within the phase there are small stylistic shifts, including the development of a noticeable kink in the ribbon on the trident which accompany the reducting in specific gravity.

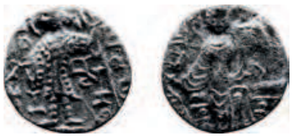
Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, wearing tall conical head-dress, diadem tied behind head with large loop, jewelled overcoat with pointed hem and trousers, holding a sceptre in left hand and making offering at altar with right, above altar a trident with ribbons flowing to left, by the altar a Brahmi *na* and beneath the king's arm a Brahmi control mark *basata*. Inscription in Bactrian (around edge) reduced to a series of decorative circles. Inscription in Brahmi (in right field): *kipuṇaḍha*.

Reverse: Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, seated facing frontally, long hair arranged in curls, head surrounded by halo, wearing sleeved ankle-length gown with tie below chest , holding diadem in right hand with dashes between ties, cornucopia over left shoulder with wide fanned head, on a chair with high back, tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise in right field): ΑΡΔΟΧÞΟ usually reduced to decorative circles.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG
3522*		1894,0506.179	7.75	18	13.41
3523	189277	1853,0301.1355	7.66	19	13.34
3524*	189283	IOC.564	7.59	19	13.05

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG
3525	189278	1894,0506.178	7.52	18	12.29
3526	189297	1894,0506.183	7.49	20	10.42
3527	189295	IOC.566	7.49	19	10.73
3528	189287	1845,0613.132	7.44	18	10.74
3529	189296	1894,0506.182	7.39	19	10.02
3530*	189274	1860,1220.225	7.33	18	12.19
3531	189284	IOC.565	7.31	17	11.16
3532	189293	1890,1104.1	7.22	18	10.27
3533	189299	IOC.567	7.19	18	10.54
3534	189294	1860,1220.224	7.18	20	10.91
3535*	189275	1894,0506.180	7.15	18	10.60
3536	189298	1845,0613.130	7.07	18	9.45
3537	189279	1894,0506.181	7.06	18	9.67
3538†*	189285	IOC.569	5.97	17	8.44
3539	189300	1922,0423.28	5.86	18	8.88
3540†	189281	IOC.568	5.20	19	8.44
3541*§	189280	1894,0506.1414	3.69	17	8.51


3538: M.G1-ii 1d


3541: M.G1-ii 1d

† These two coins have features similar to early coins from this phase but unusually low specific gravities and weights, they may be contemporary imitations.

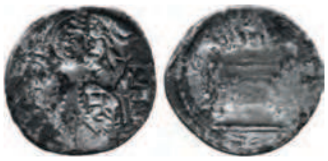
§ May be a contemporary imitation.

247 M.G1-ii-imit 1d contemporary imitations

Göbl 1984: 597
Kipunadha (M) imitations (imit) of the gold mint's second phase (M.G1-ii) dinars (1d), *c.* 4g.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, wearing tall conical head-dress, diadem tied behind head with large eliptical loop, jewelled overcoat with pointed hem and trousers, holding a sceptre in left hand and making offering at altar with right, above altar a trident with ribbons flowing to left with marked kink, by the altar a Brahmi *na* and beneath the king's arm a Brahmi control mark *basata*. Inscription in Bactrian (around edge) reduced to a series of decorative circles. Inscription in Brahmi (in right field): *kipuṇaḍha*.

Reverse: Fire altar consisting of stepped base and top with flames emenating, ribbons tied at the corners of the top surface, surrounded by a dotted border.


3542: M.G1-ii-imit 1d

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG
3542*	189286	1922,0213.74	4.42	20	8.59

Copper coinage

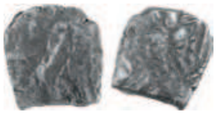
The evidence for Kipunadha's copper coinage is limited. Attributed here are copper coins too light to be attributed to Shaka but where the engraving and process are too good to be imitations and the types do not not correspond to known series of the Kidarites or Kushano-Sasanians.

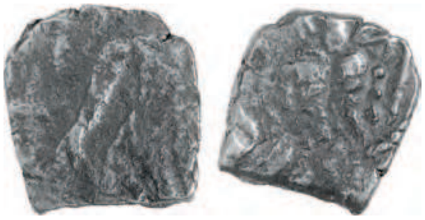
248 M.C1-i 1u Main copper mint

Kipunadha (M) copper mint (C1) first phase (i) copper units (1u), *c.* 2.5g.

Obverse: King, standing facing frontally, head surrounded by halo, wearing overcoat with curved hem, holding sceptre with ribbons from top in left hand, right hand outstretched but not altar or other elements near it.

Reverse: Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, seated facing frontally on throne with high back, halo around head, wearing long gown, holding cornucopia over left shoulder and holding diadem in right hand.


3544: M.C1-i 1u


200% enlargement of 3544

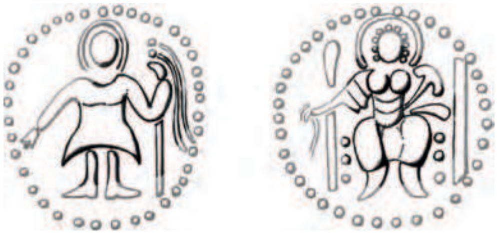


illustration of design

3550: M.C1-i 1u

3561: M.C1-i 1u

3566: M.C1-i 1u

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
3543	257902	1994,0707.13	2.76	15
3544*	257903	1994,0707.2	2.74	14
3545	257905	1994,0707.16	2.69	15
3546	257906	1994,0707.4	2.65	15
3547	257907	1994,0707.18	2.47	15
3548	257908	1994,0707.10	2.46	14
3549	257912	1994,0707.3	2.34	17
3550*	257924	1994,0707.7	2.32	17
3551	257914	1994,0707.1	2.25	11
3552†	257904	1994,0707.5	2.25	15
3553	257922	1994,0707.12	2.23	15
3554	257920	1994,0707.26	2.15	14
3555	257913	1994,0707.8	2.10	16
3556	257915	1994,0707.23	2.04	16
3557	257925	1994,0707.9	2.02	14
3558†	257927	1983,0531.314	2.01	14
3559	257918	1994,0707.17	1.99	15
3560	257916	1994,0707.6	1.96	16
3561*	257919	1994,0707.11	1.91	12
3562	257928	1994,0707.19	1.85	14
3563	257917	1994,0707.22	1.83	16
3564	257911	1994,0707.27	1.77	14
3565	257926	1981,0736.6	1.69	14
3566*	257909	1994,0707.25	1.69	13
3567	257910	1994,0707.24	1.67	16
3568	257923	1994,0707.15	1.65	14

† Possibly an imitation.

Post-Kipunadha imitations (M-imit)

Coins which exhibit good engraving on the dies (see M.C1-i 1u) are very rarely below 1.6g in weight. So groups with weights below that level are assumed here to be post-Kipunadha imitations.

The typology is tentative as there is the same lack of data as for the issues attributed to Kipunadha himself. A hoard from Bhuj (Rajgor 1991), some coins from Kashmir Smast (Khan 2008: 91–5, 98–113) are the only coins with provenance. That some types are present in the Bhuj hoard but not amongst the Kashmir Smast and vice versa allows their attribution as Kidarite or unofficial (or at least not attributable to an official production) issues.

The first production centre (C1) contains coins which freely mix designs from late Kushan, Kushano-Sasanian, and Kidarite coppers. A heterogenous group that might represent more than one mint.

The second production centre (C2) contains designs with a wheel on one side, from an unknown centre but possibly related to the Achyutas.

The third production centre (C3) is represented by a parcel of coins at the British Museum of thin fabric and low weight, probably distinct from C1.

The fourth production centre (C4) contains two coins of unusual style which may be modern rather than ancient.

249 M-imit.C1-i 1u Imitations first group, various designs

Kipunadha imitation (M-imit) first production centre (C1) units (1u) of 1 to 2g. These coins are of similar weight to Kipunadha coins and imitate official Kipunadha and Kidarite coins, and the various imitations of Vasudeva . They freely mix designs from the prototypes, often without regard for whether they were obverse or reverse on the original.

Obverse and Reverse: Various designs, attribution of obverse or reverse being arbitrary.

1A Crude standing figure holding spear or sceptre in left hand based upon Kushan or Kushanshah prototypes.

1B Standing figure with halo holding spear or sceptre in left hand sacrificing at altar with standard above the altar, based upon Kidarite prototypes.

2A Pair of standing figures.

3A Figure of Oesho or Siva standing before a bull.

3B Parallel lines deriving from Kushanshah imitations of Oesho types.

4A Seated goddess holding cornucopia over left shoulder based on Shaka and Kipunadha types.

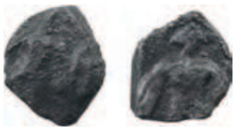
4B Pronounced dots probably based upon Ardochsho designs.

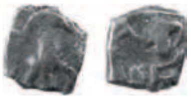
5A Crude fire altar.

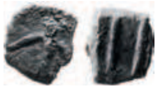
6A Star with twelve rays, probably derived from wheel designs of M-imit. C2.

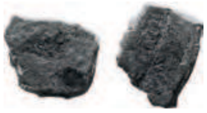
? Unclear or completely effaced designs

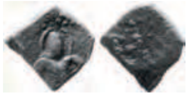
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
3569	258097	1981,0736.8	1.93	12	1A	?
3570*	258093	1981,0736.7	1.99	16	1A	1a
3571	258095	1994,0707.35	1.43	12	1A	1a
3572	258091	1994,0707.21	2.29	15	1A	3a
3573	258092	1981,0736.5	2.21	12	1A	3a
3574	258098	1994,0707.14	2.17	15	1A	3a
3575*	258090	1994,0707.34	1.94	12	1A	3a
3576	258094	1994,0707.20	1.51	14	1A	3a
3577*	258103	1981,0736.10	2.27	11	1A	3b
3578*	257968	1980,1004.98	2.16	14	1A	3b
3579*	258105	1981,0736.9	2.43	11	1A	4a
3580	258125	1981,0326.16	1.97	11	1A	4b
3581	258126	1981,0326.20	1.68	11	1A	4b
3582*	258128	1981,0326.17	1.68	11	1A	4b
3583	258129	1981,0326.18	1.37	15	1A	4b
3584*	258131	1981,0326.19	1.34	14	1A	4b
A*	Rajgor, 1991: 10		2.50	12	1A	5a
B*	Khan, 2008: 113		0.62	12	1A	6a
3585	258120	1981,0120.25	1.97	13	?	6a
3586	258101	1994,0707.33	1.41	13	1B	3b
3587*	258100	1994,0707.31	1.35	12	1B	3b
C*	Rajgor, 1991: 1		1.20	9	2A	?
D*	ANS (1997.66.7070)		2.08	12	4A	3a
3588*	258107	1994,0707.29	2.22	13	4A	3b
3589*	258108	1994,0707.32	1.90	12	4A	4a

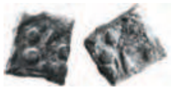

3570: M-imit.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)

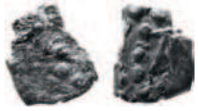

3575: M-imit.C1-i 1u (1A/3a)

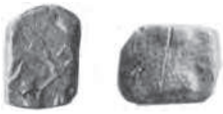

3577: M-imit.C1-i 1u (1A/3b)

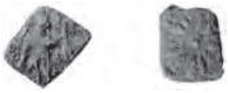

3578: M-imit.C1-i 1u(1A/3b)

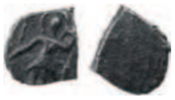

3579: M-imit.C1-i 1u (1A/4a)

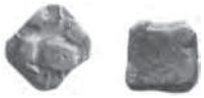

3582: M-imit.C1-i 1u (1A/4b)

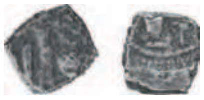

3584: Mimit.C1-i 1u (1A/4b)

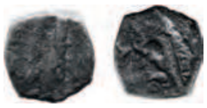

A: Mimit.C1-i 1u (1A/5a)

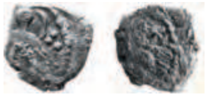

B: Mimit.C1-i 1u (1A/6a)


3587: M-imit.C1-i 1u (1B/3b)

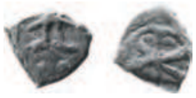

C: Mimit.C1-i 1u (2A/?)

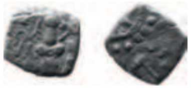

D: Mimit.C1-i 1u (4A/3a)

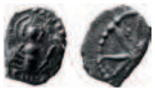

3588: M-imit.C1 1u (4A/3b)

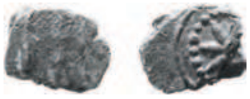

3589: Mimit.C1 (4A/4a)

250 M-imit.C2-i 1u Achyuta and Naga imitations


3590: M-imit.C2-i 1u (1a)


3594: M-imit.C2-1 1u (2a)


3595: M-imit.C2 1u (2a)


3596: M-imit.C2 1u (3a)

Kipunadha imitation (M-imit) second production centre (C2) units (1u) 1.5 to 2.5g. These all have a wheel depicted on one side, while the other side imitates Kushan, Kushanshah, or Kidarite types. Neither the Bhuj hoard nor Kashmir Smast have yielded any examples so they are probably from a different production centre. The wheel is reminiscent of that depicted on coins with the legend *achyu* and the early Naga's *Vyaghra* and *Deva* (Mitchiner 1978: 593). The weight and that these are imitated by group C1 suggests they are earlier, possibly contemporary with Kipunadha.

Obverse: A wheel with between six and eight spokes surrounded by a dotted border.

Reverse: Various designs.

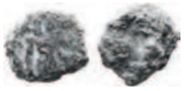
1a Standing figure based on kushan prototypes.

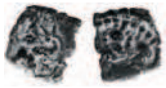
2a Seated goddess with halo holding cornucopia over left shoulder and diadem in right hand.

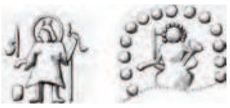
3a Parallel lines, based on Kushano-Sasanian imitations.

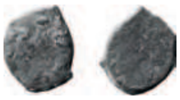
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Rev.
3590*	258110	1994,0707.37	1.34	12	1a
3591	258121	1994,0707.41	1.29	11	1a
3592	258111	1981,0120.24	2.63	15	2a
3593*	258113	1994,0707.30	2.19	11	2a
3594	258114	1994,0707.36	2.09	9	2a
3595*	258115	1994,0707.38	1.21	11	2a
3596*	258118	1994,0707.39	1.49	12	3a
3597	258116	1994,0707.40	1.39	11	3a

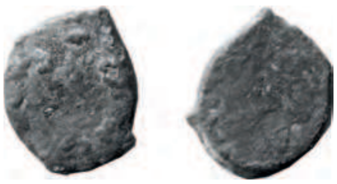
251 M-imit.C3-i 1u Imitations third group, crude and irregular

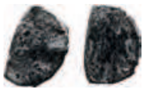

3619: M-imit.C3 1u


3627: M-imit.C3 1u


Sketch of Kidarite type


3629: M-imit.C3 1u


200% enlargement of 3629


3630: M-imit.C3 1u

Kipunadha imitations (M-imit) unknown production centre (C3) units, *c.* 1g. These were acquired by the Museum as a single group, said by the donor to have found near Hund (Swabi District, north of Attock) with copper coins of Shapur II (X.C1-ii). They are crude imitations of the Kipunadha types on particularly thin flans. Most have no discernable design, but of those that do all weigh between 0.5 and 1.1g which makes them substantially lighter than the Bhuj examples and of a similar weight range to Kidarite types from Kashmir Smast. One slightly heavier example acquired with the group (1980,1004.98 no.3557) is an M-imit.C1 type (see above), and another (1980,1004.83) may be an actual Kidarite issue. However the bulk of the group are too light to be M-imit.C1 coins and too crude to be official issues of the Kidarites.

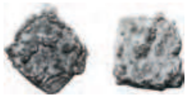
Obverse: Crude standing figure based on late Kushan and Kushanshah types.

Reverse: Crude depiction of seated goddess.

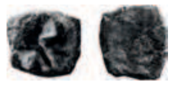
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
3598	257969	1980,1004.99	1.40	13
3599	257970	1980,1004.100	1.36	13
3600	257971	1980,1004.101	1.33	13
3601	257972	1980,1004.102	1.31	13
3602	257973	1980,1004.103	1.24	15
3603	257974	1980,1004.104	1.24	10
3604	257975	1980,1004.105	1.22	13
3605	257976	1980,1004.106	1.19	14
3606	257977	1980,1004.107	1.18	11
3607	257978	1980,1004.108	1.18	12
3608	257979	1980,1004.109	1.16	14
3609	257980	1980,1004.110	1.15	13
3610	257981	1980,1004.111	1.10	11
3611	257958	1980,1004.79	1.09	12
3612	257982	1980,1004.112	1.04	13
3613	257983	1980,1004.113	1.04	13
3614	257984	1980,1004.114	1.03	13

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
3615	257985	1980,1004.115	1.00	15
3616	257986	1980,1004.116	1.00	15
3617	257987	1980,1004.117	0.95	13
3618	257949	1980,1004.80	0.93	12
3619*	257950	1980,1004.81	0.93	11
3620	257988	1980,1004.118	0.93	13
3621	257989	1980,1004.119	0.90	11
3622	257990	1980,1004.120	0.90	12
3623	257952	1980,1004.82	0.89	13
3624	257991	1980,1004.121	0.88	14
3625	257992	1980,1004.122	0.86	11
3626	257993	1980,1004.123	0.85	13
3627*†	257947	1980,1004.83	0.84	11
3628	257953	1980,1004.84	0.84	12
3629*	257955	1980,1004.85	0.82	11
3630*	257956	1980,1004.86	0.82	13
3631	257994	1980,1004.124	0.82	11
3632	257995	1980,1004.125	0.82	13
3633*	257957	1980,1004.87	0.81	10
3634*	257945	1980,1004.78	0.79	10
3635	257948	1980,1004.88	0.78	12
3636	257959	1980,1004.89	0.78	15
3637	257996	1980,1004.126	0.78	11
3638	257997	1980,1004.127	0.75	13
3639	257998	1980,1004.128	0.72	14
3640	257960	1980,1004.90	0.71	12
3641	257999	1980,1004.129	0.70	14
3642	258000	1980,1004.130	0.70	11
3643	258001	1980,1004.131	0.70	12
3644	258002	1980,1004.132	0.68	11
3645	258003	1980,1004.133	0.68	12
3646	257961	1980,1004.91	0.67	11
3647	257962	1980,1004.92	0.67	13
3648	258004	1980,1004.134	0.65	10
3649	257963	1980,1004.93	0.62	11
3650	258005	1980,1004.135	0.62	10
3651	258006	1980,1004.136	0.61	12
3652	258007	1980,1004.137	0.59	10
3653	257964	1980,1004.94	0.58	13
3654	257965	1980,1004.95	0.57	14
3655	257966	1980,1004.96	0.57	9
3656	258008	1980,1004.138	0.55	11
3657	258009	1980,1004.139	0.55	10
3658	258010	1980,1004.140	0.55	10
3659	257967	1980,1004.97	0.54	10
3660	258011	1980,1004.141	0.50	13
3661	258012	1980,1004.142	0.45	11
3662	258013	1980,1004.143	0.45	9
3663	258014	1980,1004.144	0.40	10
3664	258015	1980,1004.145	0.37	13
3665	258016	1980,1004.146	0.36	10

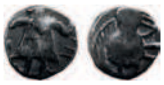
† Possibly a genuine Kidarite issue (see O.C1), rather than an imitation, clipped to size. It is contrasted with a drawing based upon the Kashmir Smast examples of Kidarite types.



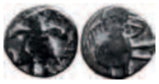
3633: M-imit.C3 1u



3634: M-imit.C3 1u



3666: M-imit.C4-i 1u



3667: M-imit.C4-i 1u

252 M-imit.C4-i 1u dumpy fabric

Kipunadha imitations (M-imit) unknown production centre (C4) units (1u), *c.* 2g.

The fabric and style of imitation of these coins are quite unlike any of the other imitations. Only the weight and design link them to the period of Kipunadha. It is possible that they are modern forgeries rather than ancient imitations.

Obverse: King, standing, facing left, wearing overcoat.

Reverse: Stylised image of seated goddess Ardochsho.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
3666*	304756	1860,1220.590	1.88	10
3667*	304755	1860,1220.571	1.74	10

Series N

Meśra
Usurper of Kushan territory *c.* AD 237–300
Gold and Copper Coins

Meśra's coinage

Under Meśra's coins were issued in gold and copper. All of the coins have a representation of the king on the obverse. Meśra's gold coins copied those of Vasudeva II, but with changes in design which marked them as different and separate from the main Kushan series. They seem to have been issued at Vasudeva II's main mint in between that king's issues and those of his successor Mahi. The changes in design and the interruption of regular Kushan issues suggest Meśra may have been a usurper taking over control of one of the Kushan mints for a brief period. There is no significant link between these coins and those of the Kushano-Sasanians, Kidarites, or Guptas. His copper coins had a portrait bust like the Kushano-Sasanian coinage, but retained the Kushan reverse design. His coins are the only evidence of his reign, so Meśra's relationship to the dynasty remains unclear.

Meśra's coins are part of the same monetary system as the Kushan Empire with gold dinars and copper units. Both gold and copper had a reverse design of the goddess Ardochsho identical to that on the later coins of Vasudeva II. All known Meśra coins were issued from a single mint, its location is unknown.

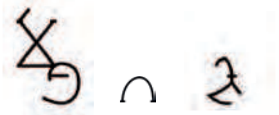
Gold issues

Meśra gold coins featured a standing figure making an offering at an altar like those on Kushan coins but with a very different costume, but on one type the king is holding a flower and there is no altar. The coins featured a correct Bactrian legend but it contained only titles and not the king's name.

Copper issues

Only a handful of example of copper coins, all with the same design, the king's bust, have been seen by the authors. The examples were reported to have been found in the Punjab together with Kushano-Sasanian and late Kushan coins.

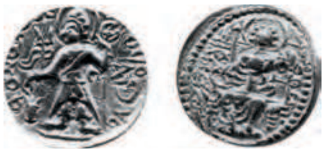
Brahmi characters

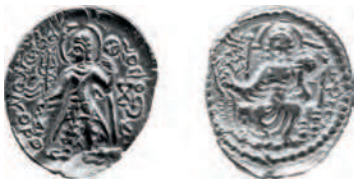


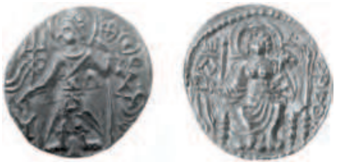
meśra **ga** **bhi**

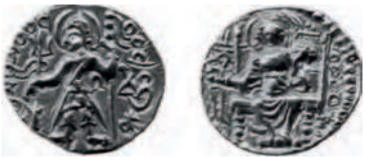
Gold coinage

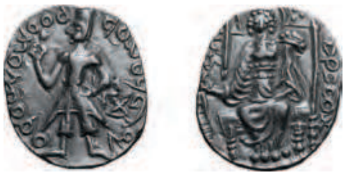
253 N.G1-i 1d Gold mint dinars


3668: N.G1-i 1d (1A/1a)


3669: N.G1-i 1d (1A/1a)


A: N.G1-i 1d (1A/1b)


B: N.G1-i 1d (1B/1b)


C: N.G1-i 1d (2A/1b)

Göbl 1984: 578

Meśra (N) gold mint (G1) phase 1 (i) dinars (1d), *c.* 8g.

Obverse: King standing facing left wearing tight fitting decorated cap, undecorated tunic, dagger and sword, holding chakra standard in left hand, making offering at fire altar with right hand, trident in left field, under the arm brahmi *ga* in the right field Brahmi *meśra*. Bactrian legend around edge (frequently blundered) ÞAONONO ÞAO KOÞONO ÞAO (King of Kings Kushan King).

1A as above.

1B as above but the standard has three dots instead of a wheel.

1C as above but the king holds a flower in his right hand and his left hand is on his hip, there is no standard, no control mark under the arm.

Reverse: Ardoxsho, goddess of good fortune, seated on throne facing frontally, with halo, wearing long dress tied with a belt, holding a cornucopia over her left shoulder, in right hand a laddered diadem, in the left field a tamga, in the right remnants of a Bactrian legend.

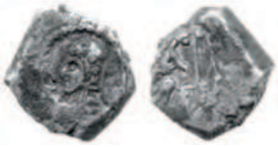
1a as above.

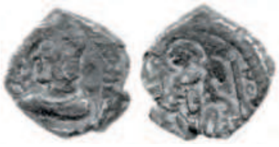
1b as above with three dots in the top right.

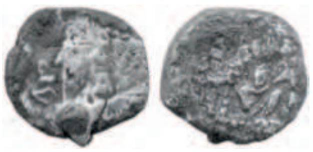
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Seen by authors		-	-	-	1A	1b
3668*	189220	1920,1016.12	6.84	19	17.01	1A	1a
3669*	189216	1984,0110.1	7.81	23	-	1A	1a
B*	zeno.ru: 40559		-	-	-	1B	1b
C*	Private collection W		-	-	-	2A	1b

Copper coinage

254 N.C1-i 1u Copper mint units


A: N.C1-i 1u


B: N.C1-i 1u


C: N.C1-i 1u

Meśra (N) copper mint (C1) phase 1 (i) unit (1u). The existence of a copper coinage is known only from only from three examples shown to the authors in digital photographs, which lack provenance or dimensions.

They are associated with the Kushans by general type and with Meśra by the head-dress of the obverse bust. The control mark is similar to that on coins of Vasudeva II (J.C2-i 1u).

Obverse: Bust of king facing left wearing tight fitting decorated cap and tunic with decorated neck-line, Brahmi character *bhi* to left, all contained in dotted border.

Reverse: Goddess Ardochsho seated on a throne, wtih halo, wearing long dress, holding cornucopia over left shoulder, holding diadem in right hand, in righ field a blundered Bactrian legend.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
A*	Seen by authors		-	-
B*	Seen by authors		-	-
C*	Seen by authors		-	-

Gold Coinage

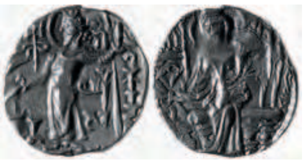
First Kushan style gold mint, unknown location in Gandhara (O.G1)

At some point in the reign of Kipunadha the Kidarites seized control of a Kushan mint and began production of their own coins. The coins all copy the Kushan design of a standing king and seated goddess with Brahmi inscriptions. There are two phases before the coins of Peroz (see P.G1).

Phase 1 is known from a single example and has the inscription *yosa* beneath the king's arm and the name Kirada to the right in the position used for the names of Kushan kings.

Phase 2 is distinguished as the king's name is moved to under the arm and *gadahara,* possibly meaning Gandhara is written on the right.

255 O.G1-i 1d First gold mint phase 1 dinars, 'Kirada-Yosa'



A: O.G1-i 1d

Göbl 599; Cribb A1

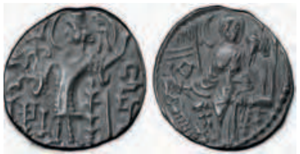
Kirada (O) main gold mint (G1) first phase (i) dinars (1d) aprox. 7.7g.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, with halo, wearing tiara with crescent, diadem ties behind head, tunic with curved hem over leggings, holding a sceptre in left hand, and making offering at altar with right, in left field a trident with ribbons flowing to left. Inscriptions in Brahmi, by the altar *na*, under the arm *yosa*, to right *kirada*.

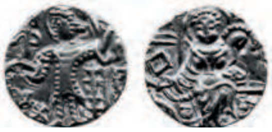
Reverse: Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, seated facing frontally, long hair arranged in curls, head surrounded by halo, wearing sleeved ankle-length gown with tie below chest, holding a diadem in right hand with dashes between ties, cornucopia over left shoulder with wide fanned head, on a chair with high back, tamga in left field. Remnants of inscription in Bactrian: ΑΡΔΟΧÞΟ.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG
A*	Bern; Göbl 1993a: 793; Cribb 2010: fig. 25		7.83	19	13.33

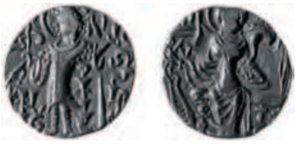
256 O.G1-ii 1d First gold mint phase 2 dinars 'Kirada-Gadahara'



3670: O.G1-ii 1d (1A)



3671: O.G1-ii (1B)



A: O.G1-ii (1C)

Göbl 1984: 603, 605, 607; Cribb 2010: A2-A4

Kirada (O) main gold mint (G1) first phase (i) dinars (1d) aprox. 7.7g.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, with halo, wearing tall conical head-dress, diadem behind head, jewelled overcoat, holding a sceptre in left hand and making offering at altar with right, in left field a trident with ribbons flowing to left. Inscriptions in Brahmi, by the altar *kapana* and *na*, under the arm *kirada*, to right *gadahara*.

1A as above.

1B as for 1A but *ma* replaces *na*.

1C as for 1A but *tho* replaces *na*.

Reverse: Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, seated facing frontally, long hair arranged in curls, head surrounded by halo, wearing sleeved ankle-length gown with tie below chest, holding a diadem in right hand with dashes between ties, cornucopia over left shoulder with wide fanned head, on a chair with high back, tamga in left field. Remenants of inscription in Bactrian: ΑΡΔΟΧÞΟ.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.
3670*	189314	IOC.561	7.68	19	13.97	1A
3671*	189313	IOC.570	7.76	17	11.98	1B
A*	Bern; Göbl 1993a: 798; Cribb 2010: fig. 31		7.78	18	14.30	1C

Second Kushan style gold mint, unknown location in Gandhara (O.G2)

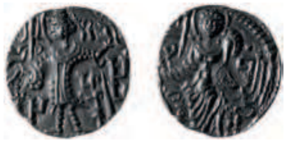
Though only one Kushan mint ceased operating the Kidarites seem to have established two mints to replace it. The coins of O.G2 were issued simultaneously with the those of O.G1.

Phase 1 is distinguished by the inscription *haṇaka* under the arm.

Phase 2 is distinguished by the inscription *yasada* under the arm.

Phase 3 is distinguished by the inscription *kirada* under the arm and from the coins of O.G1-ii by the lack of an additional character next to the altar.

257 O.G2-i 1d Second gold mint phase 1 dinars ,‘Shahi-*Haṇaka*’



A: O.G2-i 1d

Göbl 1984: 598; Cribb 2010: B1

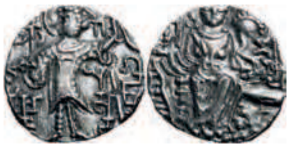
Kirada (O) second gold mint (G2) first phase (i) dinars (1d) aprox. 7.7g.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally with head to left, with halo, wearing tall conical head-dress, diadem behind head, jewelled overcoat, holding a sceptre in left hand and making offering at altar with right, in left field a trident with ribbons flowing to left. Inscription in Brahmi by the altar *kapana*, under the arm *haṇaka*, to right *shahi*.

Reverse: Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, seated facing frontally, long hair arranged in curls, head surrounded by halo, wearing sleeved ankle-length gown with tie below chest, holding a diadem in right hand with dashes between ties, cornucopia over left shoulder with wide fanned head, on a chair with high back, tamga in left field. Inscription in Brahmi in the right field *bandya*.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG
A*	Bern; Göbl, 1993: 792; Cribb 2010: fig.26		7.78g	18	14.48

258 O.G2-ii 1d Second gold mint phase 2 dinars, ‘Gadahara-Yasada’



A: O.G2-ii 1d

Göbl 1984: 600–1; Cribb 2010: B2

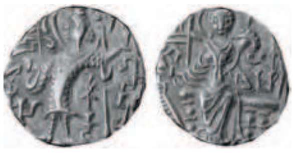
Kirada (O) second gold mint (G2) second phase (ii) dinars (1d) aprox. 7.7g.

Obverse: King standing to left, wearing conical head-dress, diadem, jewelled overcoat and leggings. Holding a sceptre in left hand and making offering at altar with right. In left field a trident with ribbons flowing to left. Brahmi legends, by the altar *kapana*, under the arm *yasada*, to right *gadahara*.

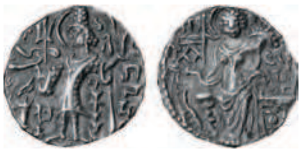
Reverse: Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, seated facing frontally, long hair arranged in curls, head surrounded by halo, wearing sleeved ankle-length gown with tie below chest, holding a diadem in right hand with dashes between ties, cornucopia over left shoulder with wide fanned head, on a chair with high back, tamga in left field. Inscription in Brahmi in right field *nanda*.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG
A*	Private collection B; Cribb 2010: fig. 27		7.80g	18	-

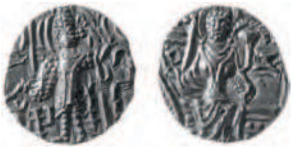
259 O.G2-iii 1d Second gold mint phase 3 dinar, ‘Kirada-Gadahara’



3672: O.G2-iii 1d (1a)



3677: O.G2-iii 1d (1a)



A: O.G2-iii 1d (1b)

Göbl 1984: 609, 610A; Cribb 2010: B3-B4

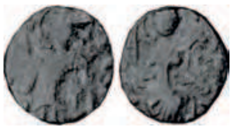
Obverse: King standing to left, wearing conical head-dress, diadem, jewelled overcoat and leggings. Holding a sceptre in left hand and making offering at altar with right. In left field a trident with ribbons flowing to left. Brahmi legends, by the altar *kapana*, under the arm *kirada*, to right *gadahara*.

Reverse: Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, seated facing frontally, long hair arranged in curls, head surrounded by halo, wearing sleeved ankle-length gown with tie below chest, holding a diadem in right hand with dashes between ties, cornucopia over left shoulder with wide fanned head, on a chair with high back, tamga in left field. Inscription in Brahmi in right field *yaṣa*.

1a as above.

1b as above but inscription *nan*.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Rev.
3672	189316	1894,0506.193	7.60	19	14.31	1a
3673*	189317	1893,0506.47	7.60	19	13.97	1a
3674	269230	1890,0604.5	7.77	18	13.87	1a
3675	189322	1935,0613.1	7.76	19	14.31	1a
3676	189334	IOC.562	7.69	19	14.25	1a
3677*	189335	1857,1202.1	7.81	19	13.50	1a
3678	189315	1894,0506.192	7.76	18	14.30	1a
A*	Bern; Göbl 1993a: 812; Cribb 2010: fig. 32		7.79	19	14.41	1b


3679: O.G2-imit

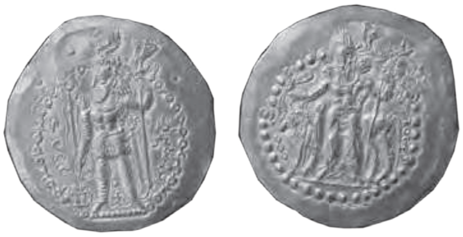
260 O.G2-imit Base metal imitations

This seems to be part of the same activity as the base metal imitations of preceding Kushan coins (E.G-imit, I-imit.G-misc, M.G2-imit) and could be the core of an ancient forgery or a decorative/ritual piece.

Obverse: As for G2-ii.

Reverse: As for G2-ii (1a).

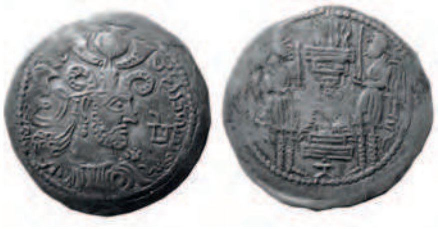
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
3679*	267710	IOC.574	3.64	16


4700: Y-O.G1-i 1d

Y-O-ref (see pp. 430–6, nos 346–9) Kushano-Sasanian style gold coins in the name of Varahran

Göbl 1984: 713, 718–23, 754; Cribb 2010: 4–5, 9–10

The coins in the name of Varahran but with Kidarite tamgha were issued in the same period as the coins in this section, and probably by the same authority. A full listing will be found under series Y-O.

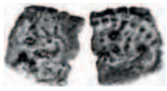

3683: P.S1 1dr (Cribb A1/ IrH 5)

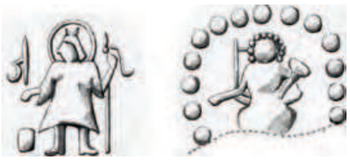
P.S-ref and Q.S-ref (see pp. 711–12, nos 266–70, pp. 720–2, nos 278–85) Kidarite silver coins in Sasanian style

The Kidarites issued a large series of silver coins from five different mints, probably in the Gandhara region. These coins likely begin under Peroz and so are covered in sections P and Q.

Copper coinage

The extent of Kidarite copper coinage is unclear. While a great deal of low weight copper coinage is known from Gandhara and many designs elements show Kidarite elements it is currently impossible to attribute most of it, see Khan *et al.* (2008) and Vondrovec (2014). The one example in the British Museum which is probably an official Kidarite issue continuing Kushan types is listed here and also with the imitations (M-imit.C3 1u) it was associated with when it was acquired.


3627: O.C1 1u


Sketch of O.C1 1u type

261 O.C1 1u Kushan style copper

Khan *et al.* 2008: figs 98–110

Kirada (O), copper coinage (C1), units (1u).

Obverse: King standing facing to left, wearing overcoat, holding spear in left hand, making sacrifice over altar with right, above altar a spear with single ribbon.

Reverse: Goddess seated on throne, facing to front holding cornucopia over left shoulder and diadem in right.

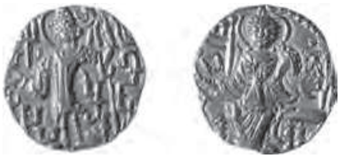
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
3627*†	257947	1980,1004.83	0.84	11

† See also M-imit.C3, this coin was part of a parcel of non-Kidarite imitations but is probably an official Kidarite issue.

Gold coinage (P.G)

Kushan style gold mints, unknown location Gandhara (P.G1 & P.G2)

The Kushan style gold coins continue those of the early Kidarites. The first mint is distinguished from the second by an additional Brahmi character by the fire altar, *pa* or *nan*. The earlier coins of phase 1 have small flans like those of the preceding types (see O.G1 and O.G2) but the flans become wider during phase 2.



A: P.G1-i 1d

262 P.G1-i 1d First gold mint phase 1 dinars, small flans with 'pa'

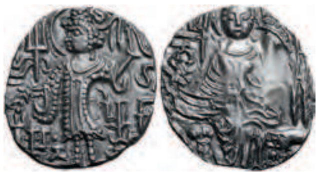
Göbl 1984: 604; Cribb 2010: A5

Peroz (P), first Kushan-style gold mint (G1), first phase (i), gold dinars (1d).

Obverse: King standing to left, wearing conical head-dress, diadem, jewelled overcoat and leggings. Holding a sceptre in left hand and making offering at altar with right. In left field a trident with ribbons flowing to left. Brahmi legends, by the altar *kapana* and *pa*, under the arm *peroysa*, to right *gadahara*.

Reverse: Goddess Ardoxsho seated on throne wearing sleeved ankle length gown tied with a belt. A cornucopia over her left shoulder, in her right hand she holds a laddered diadem. In the left field a tamga. In right field Brahmi *nanda*.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG
A*	Bern (88.592); Göbl 1993a: 799; Cribb 2010: fig. 33		7.76	-	13.97



A: P.G1-ii 1d

263 P.G1-ii 1d First gold mint phase 2 dinars, large flans with 'nan'

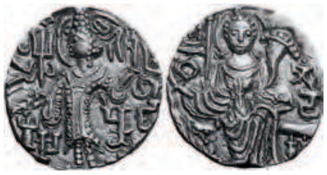
Göbl 1984: 606; Cribb 2010: A6

Peroz (P), first Kushan-style gold mint (G1), second phase (ii), gold dinars (1d).

Obverse: King standing to left, wearing conical head-dress, diadem, jewelled overcoat and leggings. Holding a sceptre in left hand and making offering at altar with right. In left field a trident with ribbons flowing to left. Brahmi legends, by the altar *kapana* and *nan*, under the arm *peroysa*, to right *gadahara*.

Reverse: Goddess Ardoxsho seated on throne wearing sleeved ankle-length gown tied with a belt. A cornucopia over her left shoulder, in her right hand she holds a laddered diadem. In the left field a tamga.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG
A*	Private collection B; Cribb 2010, fig. 35		7.78	-	-



A: P.G2-i 1d

264 P.G2-i 1d Second gold mint phase 1 dinars, small flans

Göbl 1984: 602; Cribb 2010: B5

Peroz (P), second Kushan-style gold mint (G1), first phase (i), gold dinars (1d).

Obverse: King standing to left, wearing conical head-dress, diadem, jewelled overcoat and leggings. Holding a sceptre in left hand and making offering at altar with right. In left field a trident with ribbons flowing to left. Brahmi legends, by the altar *kapana*, under the arm *peroysa*, to right *gadahara*.

Reverse: Goddess Ardoxsho seated on throne wearing sleeved ankle-length gown tied with a belt. A cornucopia over her left shoulder, in her right hand she holds a laddered diadem. In the left field a tamga in the right field a Brahmi legend *nanda*.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia	SG
A*	Private collection B; Cribb 2010: fig. 34		7.77	-	-

265 P.G2-ii 1d Second gold mint phase 2 dinars, large flans

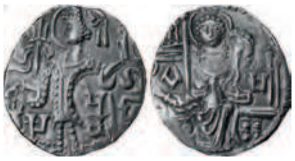
Göbl 1984: 608, 610; Cribb 2010: B2

Peroz (P), second Kushan-style gold mint (G1), second phase (ii), gold dinars (1d).

Obverse: King standing to left, wearing conical head-dress, diadem, jewelled overcoat and leggings. Holding a sceptre in left hand and making offering at altar with right. In left field a trident with ribbons flowing to left. Brahmi legends, by the altar *kapana*, under the arm *peroysa*, to right *gadahara*.

Reverse: Goddess Ardochsho seated on a throne, with halo, wearing sleeved ankle-length gown, holding cornucopia over left shoulder and diadem in right hand. Tamgha in left field. Brahmi legend in right field *ṣa*.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG
3680*	189336	1893,0506.46	7.77	20	14.27
3681	189337	1917,1001.1	7.66	21	14.25

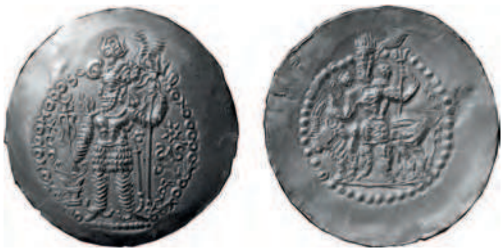


3680: P.G2-ii 1d

Y-P-ref (see pp. 813–17, nos 350–2) Gold in the name of Varahran

Göbl 1984: 714–17, 756–8; Cribb 2010: 3A-4B

Of the coins issued in the name of Varahran but with Kidarite tamga some were issued during the same period as the coins in this section, though they do not include the name of Peroz. Full details can be found at Y-P, the illustrated example here is no. 4705.



4705 Y-P.G1-i 1d

Silver coinage (P.S)

In the reconstruction of Cribb (2010) the Sasanian style silver of the Kidarites is issued in five parallel series starting in the reign of Peroz. These parallel series are treated as mints here. This is not a complete account of types, for that readers should consult Cribb 2010 and the various publications listing Iranian Hun (Ir H) numbers. The Cribb and Iranian Hun numbers are retained here rather than duplicating types and descriptions of obverse and reverse are curtailed.

The mints are distinguised by the following characteristics:

Mint A: Right facing busts with ram's horn crown. Pahlavi and Brahmi inscriptions.

Mint B: Right facing busts with single horn crown and cloak. Pahlavi and Brahmi inscriptions.

Mint C: Three-quarter bust with ram's horn crown. Brahmi inscriptions.

Mint D: As mint C but bust is clean-shaven. Only traces of the inscription.

Mint E: Right facing busts with flat crown. Bactrian inscriptions.

266 P.S1 1dr Silver mint A drachms, ram's horn crown

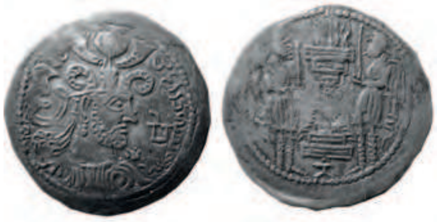
Cribb 2010: A1; Iranian Huns: 5

Peroz (P) first silver mint (S1) drachms (1dr).

Obverse: Bust of Kidara facing right, bearded, wearing ram's horn crown with globe above, diadems behind head. Pahlavi inscription, and on some types Brahmi character *pe* before face.

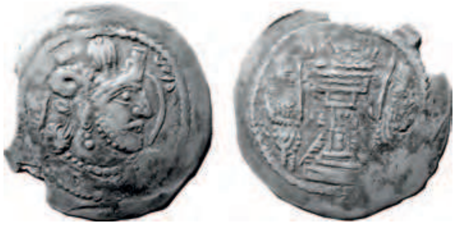
Reverse: Fire altar with two attendants and Brahmi inscription *naṃ* below.

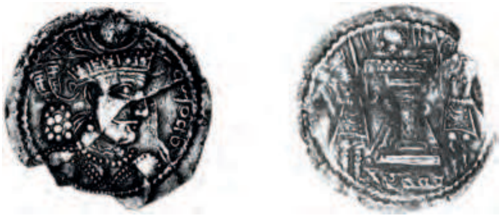
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Cribb	Ir-H
3682*	304822	1860,1220.245	3.94	30	A1	5



3682 : P.S1 1dr (Cribb A1/Ir-H 5)

267 P.S2 1dr Silver mint B, single horn crown


3683 : P.S2 1dr (Cribb B1a/Ir-H 1A)


3684 : P.S2 1dr (Cribb B2/Ir-H 19A)

Cribb 2010: B1, B2; Iranian Huns: 1, 1A, 1B, 19A

Peroz (P), second silver mint (S2) drachms (1dr).

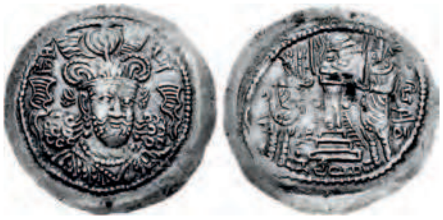
The early coins of this group uses a similar ram's horn as a mint A but with a single horn and Cribb reads the inscription as a Pahlavi rendering of Peroz .

Obverse: Bust of Peroz facing right, wearing crown and diadem behind. The earlier types B1 (1-1B) are bearded, have a ram's horn at the back of the crown and a halo visible before the face, while the later types (B2, 19A) are beardless with a flat-topped crown and a Bactrian rendering of 'Kushan King'.

Reverse: A fire altar with diadems on either side, a bust emerging from the flames, flanked by two attendants.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Cribb	Ir-H
3683*	304823	1985,0223.143	3.55	29	B1a	1A
3684*	343645	1985,0750.1	3.54	28	B2	19A

268 P.S3 1dr Silver mint C, three-quarter bearded bust


A: P.S3 1dr (Cribb C1c/Ir-H 3)

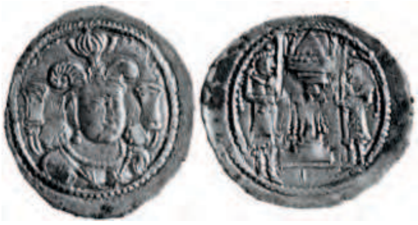
Cribb 2010: C1a-c; Iranian Huns: 3, 4

Peroz (P), third silver mint (S3) drachms (1dr).

There are no examples of this group in the BM. Brahmi inscription *peroysaṣa* on obverse, and *nandaya* below fire altar on reverse.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Cribb	Ir-H
A*	CNG Triton Sale XI (2008) Lot 407; Cribb 2010: fig. 47		3.85	28	C1c	3

269 P.S4 1dr Silver mint D


A: P.S4 1dr (Cribb D1/Ir-H 3A)

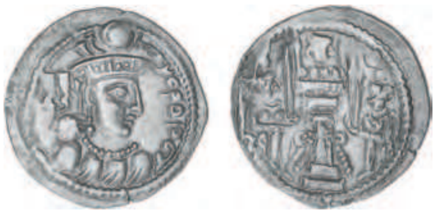
Cribb 2010: D1-D3; Iranian Huns: 11A,

Peroz (P), third silver mint (S4) drachms (1dr).

There are no examples of this group in the BM. Only traces of an inscription.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Cribb	Ir-H
A*	Private collection P; Cribb 2010: fig. 51		-	-	D1	3A

270 P.S5 1dr Silver mint E


3686: P.S5 1dr (Cribb E1/Ir-H 19)

Cribb 2010: E1; Iranian Huns: 19

Peroz (5) Silver Mint E (S5) drachms (1dr).

Obverse: Bust facing right with flat topped crown, ribbons and globe above. Bactrian inscription ΠΙΟΡΟΖΟ ÞΑΟ.

Reverse: Fire altar with a bust and two attendants.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Ax	Cribb	Ir-H
3685	343796	1991,0638.1	4.02	26	3	E1	19
3686*	343797	1982,1110.1	3.75	26	3	E1	19

Copper coinage (P.C)

The copper coinage of the Kidarites remains understudied. There are probably multiple centres, and it is hard to distinguish unofficial highly localized types such as those found at Kashmir Smast from official Kidarite issues (see Errington 2011). It is notable that the only type featuring a ram's horn crown (see below) has a median weight of 1.65g noticably heavier than any other types and comparable to the last Kushan issues. The weight is taken as a guide and the proliferation of types with median weights from 0.5–1g are taken to be issued under Kidara (see next section).

271 P.C1 1u Copper units of Peroz

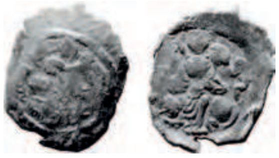
Errington 2010; Cribb 2010; Iranian Huns: 2A

The BM has only a single example of this type, which is illustrated here:

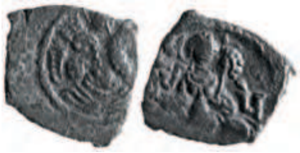
Obverse: Bust facing right wearing crown with ram's horns and globe, in a border.

Reverse: Goddess seated on lion, holding cornucopia over left shoulder. Three varieties are known, distinguished by the reverse inscription: 3688 is inscribed *gada-hara*; A is inscribed *pero-ysa*; Vondrovec 2014, 2A-10, is inscribed *ṣa*.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg.no.	Wgt	Dia.	Ir-H
3687*	304824	1991,0640.12	1.62	20	2A
A*	Private collection P; Cribb 2010: fig. 66		-	-	2A



3687: P.C1 1u (Ir-H 2A)



A: P.C1 1u (Ir-H 2A)

Kushan style gold mints, unknown locations in Gandhara

The gold mint used by Kidara seems to be the second gold mint used under his predecessor Peroz (P.G2). The later debased issues might have been made at other unidentified mints.

Phase 1 coins are distinguished by the absence of a rosette by the king's foot, present on later phases.

Phase 2 coins are distinguished by the presence of the rosette.

Phase 3 coins are distinguished by the increasingly crude design and visually apparent debasement.

Phase 4 coins are sufficiently debased they often appear to be copper.

272 Q.G1-i 1d First gold mint phase 1 dinars, no rosette

Göbl 1984: 612, 613, 614; Cribb 2010: A7, B7

Kidara (Q), first Kushan-style gold mint (G1), first phase (i), gold dinars (1d)

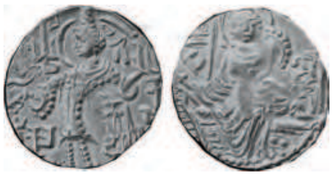
Obverse: King standing to left, wearing conical head-dress, diadem, jewelled overcoat over leggings. Holding a sceptre in left hand and making offering at altar with right. In left field a trident with ribbons flowing to left. Brahmi legends, by the altar *kapana*, under the arm *kidara*, to right *kuṣaṇa*.

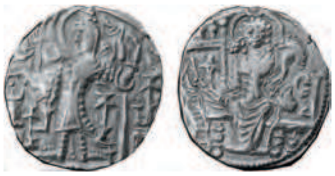
Reverse: Goddess Ardoxsho seated on throne wearing sleeved ankle-length gown. A cornucopia over her left shoulder, in her right hand she holds a laddered diadem. In the left field a tamga.

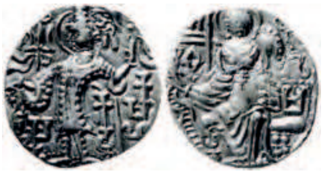
1a In right field Brahmi *ala*.

1b As for a1 but a rosette appears to the left of the goddess' head.

1c In right field Brahmi *ṣa*.


3688: Q.G1-i 1d (1a)


3690: Q.G1-i 1d (1b)


A: Q.G1-i 1d (1c)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Rev.
3688*	189338	IOC.554	7.45	22	14.02	1a
3689	189339	1860,1220.227	7.82	22	13.91	1b
3690*	189340	1894,0506.194	7.76	22	13.90	1b
A*	Cribb 2010: fig. 38		-	22	-	1c

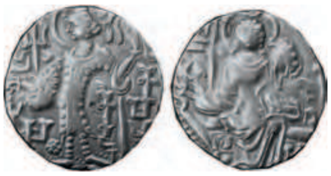
273 Q.G1-ii 1d First gold mint phase 2 dinars, rosette

Göbl 1984: 615, Cribb 2010: A8

Kidara (Q), first Kushan-style gold mint (G1), second phase (ii), gold dinars (1d).

Obverse: King standing to left, wearing conical head-dress, diadem, jewelled overcoat over leggings. Holding a scepter in left hand and making offering at altar with right. In left field a trident with ribbons flowing to left. Brahmi legends, by the altar *kapana* and a rosette, under the arm *kidara*, to right *kuṣaṇa*.

Reverse: Goddess Ardoxsho seated on throne wearing sleeved ankle-length gown tied with a belt. A cornucopia over her left shoulder, in her right hand she holds a laddered diadem. In the left field a tamga. In right field Brahmi *ala*.


3693: Q.G1-ii 1d

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG
3691	189345	OR.360	7.84	21	13.70
3692	189341	1894,0506.196	7.76	21	14.03
3693*	189342	1845,0613.119	7.76	22	13.96
3694	189343	1857,0813.76	7.74	22	13.97
3695	189344	1894,0507.2035	7.48	23	9.98

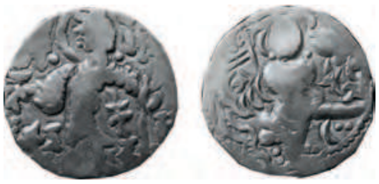
274 Q.G1-iii 1d First gold mint phase 3 dinars, debased coins

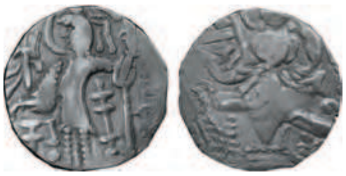
Göbl 1984: 616–18, Cribb 2010: A9
Kidara (Q), first Kushan-style gold mint (G1), third phase (iii), gold dinars (1d).

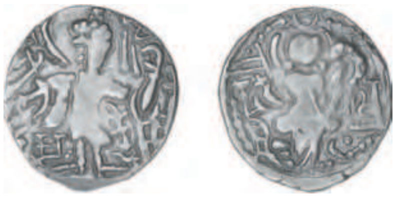
These coins are all crude copies of the Kidara type with a rosette. The king's body curves more, the legend *kapana* is often broken so it resembles *kana na* and the coin is visiby adulterated with silver. Whether these are late issues of Kidara or those of his successors is unclear.

Obverse: King standing to left, wearing conical head-dress, diadem, jewelled overcoat over leggings. Holding a sceptre in left hand and making offering at altar with right. In left field a trident with ribbons flowing to left. Brahmi legends, by the altar *kapana* and a rosette, under the arm *kidara*, to right *kuṣaṇa*.

Reverse: Goddess Ardoxsho seated on throne wearing sleeved ankle-length gown. A cornucopia over her left shoulder, in her right hand she holds a laddered diadem. In the left field a tamga. In right field Brahmi *ala*.


3696: Q.G1-iii 1d


3704: Q.G1-iii 1d


3714: Q.G1-iii 1d

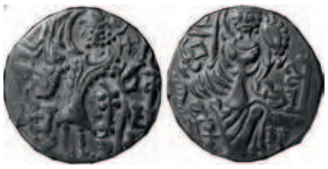
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG
3696*	189368	1891,0305.14	8.03	23	12.47
3697	189365	1890,0409.3	8.00	23	12.47
3698	189366	1890,0409.5	8.00	23	12.67
3699	189367	1890,0409.2	8.00	24	12.56
3700	189355	1891,0305.13	7.99	23	12.60
3701	189380	1895,0704.35	7.98	22	12.46
3702	189510	1894,0506.195	7.96	23	12.41
3703	189513	1895,0704.39	7.96	23	12.44
3704*	189371	1890,0409.6	7.95	22	12.39
3705	189353	IOC.558	7.95	25	12.45
3706	22365	1890,0409.4	7.95	21	12.46
3707	189696	IOC.572	7.94	22	12.40
3708	189372	1850,0305.202	7.94	23	12.37
3709	189381	1895,0704.36	7.94	24	12.15
3710	189512	1895,0704.38	7.93	23	12.54
3711	189379	1850,0305.203	7.90	21	12.32
3712	189364	1890,0409.1	7.89	23	12.15
3713	189354	1853,0301.369	7.85	23	12.31
3714*	189511	1895,0704.37	7.85	24	12.19
3715	189374	IOC.557	7.83	23	12.49
3716	189352	1983,0120.3	7.82	23	-
3717	189370	1853,0301.379	7.81	23	12.46
3718	189377	IOC.556	7.74	23	11.19
3719	189514	IOC.559	7.73	22	10.92
3720	189378	IOC.571	7.57	21	11.98
3721	189375	1850,0305.201	6.68	21	12.28
3722	189356	1845,0613.120	5.29	20	8.74

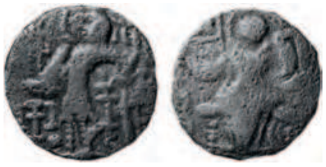
275 Q.G1-iv 1d Crude designs

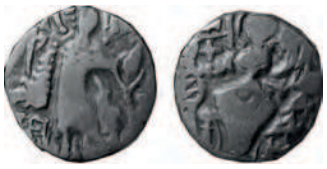
Göbl 1984: 619–20, Cribb 2010: A9
Kidara (Q), first Kushan-style gold mint (G1), fourth phase (iv), gold dinars (1d).

These coins differ from phase 3 in that they are so debased as to resemble copper coins.

Obverse: King standing to left, wearing conical head-dress, diadem, jewelled overcoat over leggings. Holding a scepter in left hand and making offering at altar with right. In left field a trident with ribbons flowing to left. Brahmi legends, by the altar *kapana* and a rosette, under the arm *kidara*, to right *kuṣaṇa*.


3724: Q.G1-iv 1d


3730: Q.G1-iv 1d

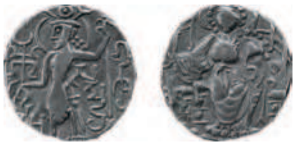

3731: Q.G1-iv 1d

Reverse: Goddess Ardoxsho seated on throne wearing sleeved ankle-length gown. A cornucopia over her left shoulder, in her right hand she holds a laddered diadem. In the left field a tamga. In right field Brahmi *ala*.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG
3723	189515	1922,0424.3682	6.77	24	-
3724*‡	189518	1890,1104.4	6.14	21	-
3725	189525	IOC.560	5.80	22	-
3726	189517	1990,0910.1	5.52	23	-
3727	189526	OR.9454	5.50	23	-
3728	189520	1847,1201.280	5.08	21	-
3729	189521	1922,0424.3632	4.94	22	-
3730*†	189522	1885,0403.342	4.83	21	-
3731*	189523	1894,0507.2036	4.77	21	-

† This appears to be a cast copy of a gold coin, either an ancient core for a plated coin or a modern forgery.

‡ The design of this coin is very unusual, a poorly understood copy of a gold coin, it may be a 19th-century forgery.


3732: Q.G2-i 1d

276 Q.G2-i 1d Second gold mint, phase 1, in the name of Samudra

Göbl 1984: 611; Cribb 2010: B7

Kidara (Q), second Kushan-style gold mint (G2), first phase (i), gold dinars (1d).

Obverse: King standing to left, with halo, wearing ribboned crown with globe and jewelled gown with sword at waist, holding sceptre in left hand and making offering with right over fire altar. In left field a trident with symmetrical ribbons topped by a crescent. Brahmi legends by altar *pu*, under arm *samudra*, and in right field *gadagara* or *gadakhara*.

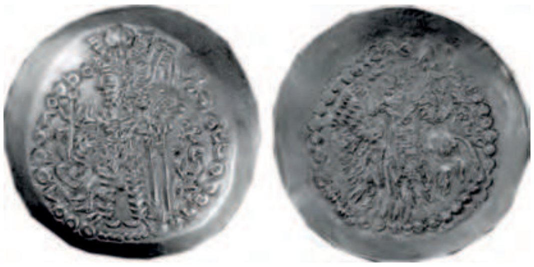
Reverse: Goddess Ardoxsho seated on throne wearing sleeved ankle-length gown tied with belt. A cornucopia over her left shoulder, in her right hand she holds a laddered diadem. In the left field a tamga. In right field Brahmi *ala*.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG
3732*	189311	1893,0506.48	7.52	18	12.45
3733	189312	1894,0506.184	7.51	17	11.88

Z-ref (see pp. 818–28, nos 353–7) Bactrian gold dinars in the name of Varahran

Göbl 1984: 724–30; Cribb 2010: 5A-5B

Kidara, like his predecessors, issued gold coins in Bactria in the name of Varahran (see Y-Q). These were replaced during his reign by coins in the same style but naming Kidara himself (see Z).


4735: Z.G1-ii 1d

277 Q.G3-ref Successors of Kidara gold dinars

Cribb 2016b

Post-Kidara (Q) gold mint possibly in the Punjab (G5) dinars (1d) included for reference.

Coins continued to be issued with the name of Kidara on the obverse but with his successors' names on the reverse. This coinage is probably contemporary with the crude production of Kushan style coins (Q.G1-iii and G1-iv) after Kidara's reign. and provided the prototype for later coinages both in Kashmir and North India. These coinages have recently been subject to a major re-appraisal (Cribb 2016b; Deyell 2017). Only the British Museum examples of Kupama, Kritavirya, Salonavirya and Visvama, are listed here.

Obverse: Standing king facing left, halo, wearing jewelled overcoat, holding sceptre in left hand, making offering over fire altar with right, in left field a trident with ribbons flowing to the left. Brahmi legend beside altar, under arm *kidara*, and in right field (this last is usually illegible but stands where *kuṣaṇa* did on earlier coins).

1A Issues of Kupama, as above with Brahmi *ba śu* by altar.

2A Issues of Kritavirya, as above with Brahmi *rvva* by altar.

3A Issues of Salonavirya, as above with Brahmi *a vam* by altar.

3B Issues of Salonavirya, as for 3A but character *bha* is added in left field.

4A Issues of Visvama, as above with Brahmi i *śa* by altar.

Reverse: Stylized goddess seated on throne holding cornucopia over left shoulder. Brahmi inscription in right field.

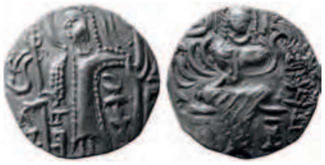
1a Inscription *śrī kupuma*.

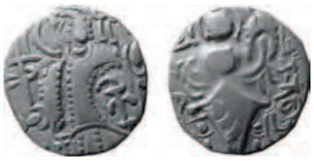
1b Inscription *śrī kritavirya*.

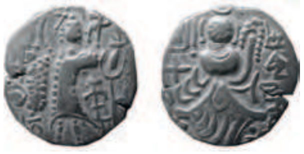
1c Inscription *śrī salonavirya*.

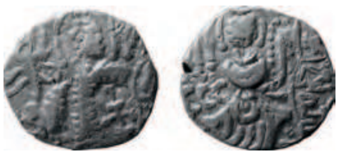
1d Inscription *śrī visvama*.

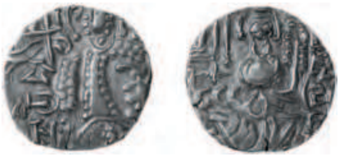
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	SG
3734*	189674	1921,0308.1	7.99	21	1A	1a	10.09
3735	189657	1894,0506.142	7.85	22	2A	1b	11.89
3736	189658	1892,1003.11	7.86	18	2A	1b	12.10
3737	189659	1893,0407.3	7.90	17	2A	1b	11.65
3738*	189660	1946,1004.2349	7.77	20	2A	1b	11.77
3739	189666	1920,0201.2	7.95	19	2A	1b	11.91
3740	189661	OR.361	7.88	21	2A	1b	11.31
3741	189662	1893,0508.1	7.95	20	2A	1b	11.72
3742	189663	1891,0413.1	7.90	20	2A	1b	11.89
3743	189664	1894,0507.2038	5.21	21	2A	1b	-
3744*	189665	1894,0506.143	7.73	20	3A	1c	11.89
3745	189667	1920,0722.10	7.94	21	3A	1c	11.84
3746	189668	1894,0506.197	7.85	18	3A	1c	11.70
3747*	189669	1893,0407.4	7.58	19	3A	1c	8.36
3748	2898	1949,0803.101	7.78	19	3A	1c	-
3749*	189670	OR.362	7.57	20	3B	1c	11.65
3750	189671	1894,0506.144	7.34	20	3B	1c	-
3751*	189672	1847,1201.264	7.73	21	4A	1d	12.10
3752	189673	IOC.555	7.62	22	4A	1d	11.95
3753	189524	1894,0507.2037	6.15	18	4A	1d	-

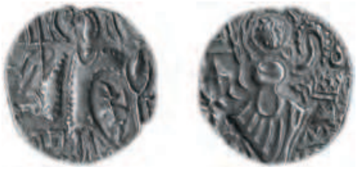

3734: Q.G5-ref (1A/1a)


3738: Q.G5-ref (2A/1b)


3744: Q.G5-ref (3A/1c)


3747: Q.G5-ref (3A/1c)


3749: Q.G5-ref (3B/1c)


3751: Q.G5-ref (4A/1d)

Silver coinage

The silver issues of Kidara continue those of the period of Peroz and are in Sasanian style with flat wide flans and Pahlavi or Brahmi inscriptions. Those listed here are the examples in the British Museum collection, for a more complete account see Cribb 2010, Pfisterer 2013, Vondrovec 2014.

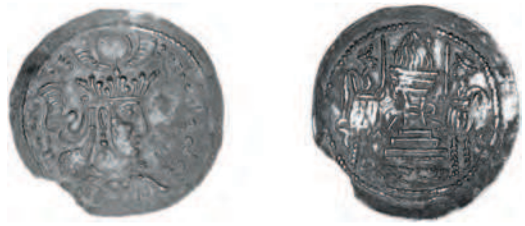
Mint A: Bearded right facing busts, still with imitations of Varahran inscriptions.

Mint B: Three-quarter busts.

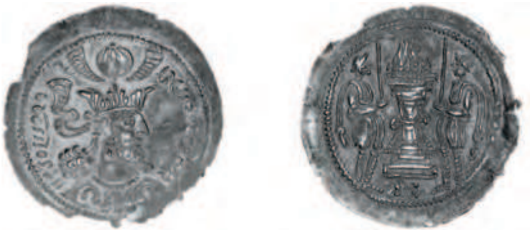
Mint C: Three-quarter busts, with inscriptions *alakha* and *buddhami*.

Mint D: Three-quarter busts, with variations of *vara* inscribed.

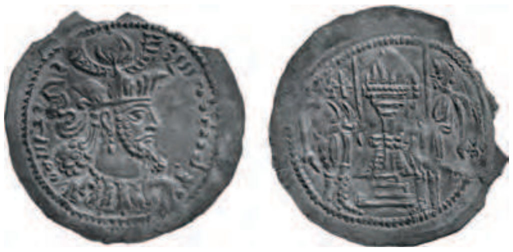
Mint E: Right facing clean shaven busts.



3761: Q.S1 1dr (Cribb A2c/Ir-H 8)



3764: Q.S1 1dr (Cribb A2d/Ir-H 9)



3768: Q.S1 1d (Cribb A2e/Ir-H 10)

278 Q.S1 1dr Kidara silver mint A drachms

Cribb 2010: A2a-e; Iranian Huns: 6-10A

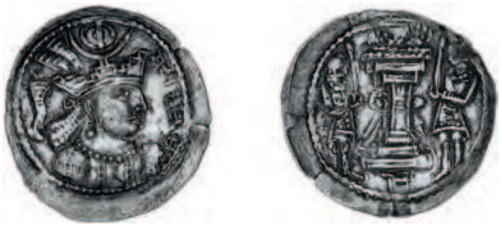
Kidara (Q), silver mint A (S1), silver drachms (1dr).

The types vary principally on the Brahmi inscription which appears on the reverse (see Cribb 2010).

Obverse: Bust of Kidara facing right, bearded, wearing triple floret crown with globe and diadems above, diadem tie behind and hair tied in a ball, necklace of dots, surrounded by border of dots. Inscriptions in Pahlavi, often abreviated and blundered: *kdy wrhr ʾn kwš ʾn MLKA* (King Varahran Kushanshah).

Reverse: Fire altar with two attendants. Some types have inscriptions in Brahmi (all except A2e): *nan*, *nandaka*, *nandaya* or *nanda*.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Ax	Cribb	Ir- H
3754	343428	1923, 0303.2	3.88	31	3	A2c	8
3755	343429	1923,0303.1	3.49	31	9	A2c	8
3756	343430	1919,0710.1	3.97	30	3	A2c	8
3757	343432	1860,1220.244	3.84	30	9	A2c	8
3758	343434	1860,1220.243	3.22	-	3	A2c	8
3759	343435	1983,1014.35	3.96	30	3	A2c	8
3760	343436	1983,1014.36	4.09	31	2	A2c	8
3761*	343437	1983,1014.37	3.84	29	9	A2c	8
3762	343438	IOC.2359	4.03	31	3	A2d	9
3763	343439	1860,1220.242	4.23	31	3	A2d	9
3764*	343441	1983,1014.34	4.14	30	3	A2d	9
3765	343442	1983,1014.33	4.03	31	9	A2d	9
3766	343443	1919,0710.2	3.84	-	9	A2e	10
3767	343444	1983,1014.31	3.93	31	3	A2e	10
3768*	343445	1983,1014.32	3.98	-	9	A2e	10



3770: Q.S2-i 1dr (Cribb B3/Ir-H 14)

279 Q.S2-i 1dr Kidara silver mint B drachms, profile bust

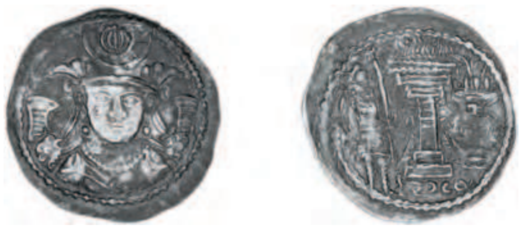
Cribb 2010: B3; Iranian Huns: 14

Kidara (Q), silver mint B (S2), silver drachms (1dr).

Obverse: A profile bust with crenellated crown. Brahmi inscription *kidara kuṣana ṣaha* (Kidara Kushanshah).

Reverse: Fire altar with figures either side. A Brahmi inscription *ṣa*.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Ax	Cribb	Ir-H
3769	343780	1939,0108.1	3.65	30	3	B3	14
3770*	343781	1948,0407.1	3.89	29	3	B3	14



3771: Q.S2-i 1dr (Cribb B4b/Ir-H 15)

280 Q.S2-ii 1dr Kidara silver mint B drachms, frontal portrait

Cribb 2010: B4; Iranian Huns: 15

Kidara (Q), silver mint B (S2), silver drachms (1dr).

Obverse: A facing bust with two (B4b) or three floret crown (B4a).

Reverse: Fire altar with figure on left and a vase of plenty on the other. An illegible Pahlavi inscription.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia	Ax	Cribb	Ir-H
3771*	343783	1939,0108.2	3.86	29	3	B4b	15
3772	343784	1894,0506.137	3.65	29	3	B4b	15

281 Q.S3-i 1dr Kidara silver mint C drachms, early phase, Kidara

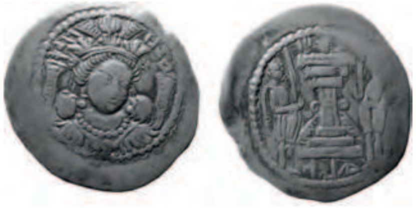
Cribb 2010: C2; Iranian Huns: 11

Kidara (Q), silver mint C (S3), silver drachms (1dr).

Obverse: Three-quarter bust of Kidara, wearing crown with florets, some types (C2b) have a Brahmi inscription *kidara kuṣanā ṣa*.

Reverse: Fire altar with two attendants, inscription below which reads *alakha*.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Ax	Cribb	Ir-H
3773	279139	1894,0506.1402	3.52	27	3	C2b	11
3774	343788	1894,0506.135	3.67	27	3	C2b	11
3775*	304826	1894,0506.134	3.64	27	3	C2b	11


3775: Q.S3-ii 1dr (Cribb C2b/Ir-H 11)

282 Q.S3-ii 1dr Kidara silver mint C drachms, later phase, Buddhamitra

Cribb 2010: C3; Iranian Huns: 18

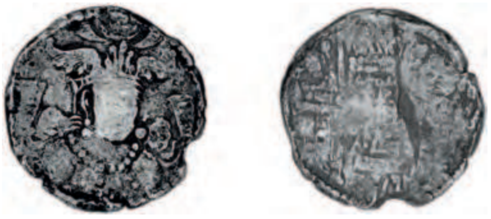
Kidara (Q), silver mint C (S3), silver drachms (1dr).

Buddhamitra is likely to be a successor of Kidara though the details of the Kidarite state are unclear.

Obverse: Three-quarter bust, wearing crown with wings.

Reverse: Fire altar with two attendants, inscription below which reads *buddhami*.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Ax	Cribb	Ir-H
3776*	343789	IOC.544	3.58	27	3	C3	18


3776: Q.S4-i 1dr (C3/Ir-H 18)

283 Q.S4 -i 1dr Kidara silver mint D drachms, early phase, Kidara

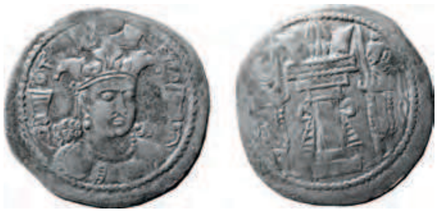
Cribb 2010: D4; Iranian Huns: 16,17

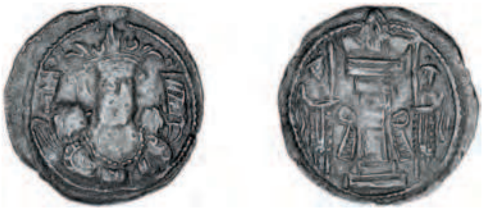
Kidara (Q), silver mint C (S3), silver drachms (1dr).

Obverse: Three-quarter bust, wearing crown with triple florets. Brahmi inscription reads *varaṣaha* (D4a), *varaṣa* (D4b) or *vara* (D4c), possibly with a long vowel or *i* on the second character.

Reverse: Fire altar with two attendants.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Ax	Cribb	Ir-H
3777*	COC304827	1922,0424.3738	3.74	27	2	D4a	16
3778	COC343790	1894,0506.139	3.53	28	3	D4c	16
3779	COC343792	1894,0506.1403	3.74	26	2	D4b	17
3780*	COC343793	1859,0301.108	3.82	27	3	D4b	17


3777: Q.S4-i 1dr (Cribb D4a/Ir-H 16)


3780: Q.S4-i 1dr (Cribb D4b/Ir-H 17)

284 Q.S4-ii 1d Kidara silver mint D late phase, Śri Varma

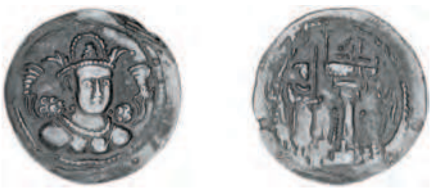
Cribb 2010: D5-D7; Iranian Huns: 13, 13A, 18B, 21

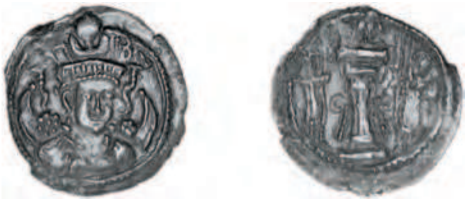
Kidara (Q), silver mint D(S4), later phase (ii), silver drachms (1d).

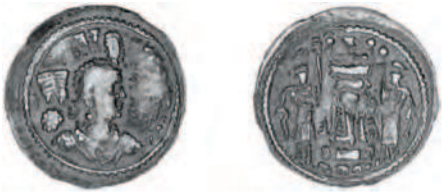
Obverse: There are three different crowns in this group, one, an arch and double floret, is associated with the inscription *śrī varma*, one of the others employs a winged design like that of Q.S3-ii so might be associated with Buddhamitra.

Reverse: Fire altar with two attendants.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Ax	Cribb	Ir-H
3781*	343794	1922,0424.3820	3.86	24	3	D5a	13
3782*	343795	1894,0506.138	3.47	26	3	D7	21


3781: Q.S4-ii 1d (Cribb D5a/Ir-H 13)


3782: Q.S4-ii 1d (Cribb D7/Ir-H 21)


3783: Q.S5 1dr (Cribb E3/Ir-H 24)

285 Q.S5 1dr Kidara silver mint E drachms

Cribb 2010: E2-E3; Iranian Huns: 24

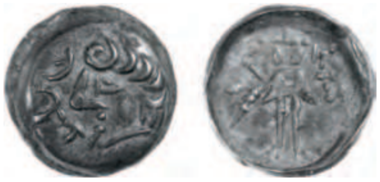
Kidara (Q), silver mint E(S5), silver drachms (1dr).

Obverse: Right facing bust wearing diadem and either triple floret crown (E2) or pearl cap (E3)

Reverse: Fire altar with two attendants. Below fire altar Brahmi *kanala*.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Ax	Cribb	Ir-H
3783*	343798	1922,0424.3821	3.67	25	3	E3	24

3785: Q.S6 1u


200% enlargement of 3785

3789: Q.S6 1u

286 Q.S6 1u Samarkand silver mint units

Kidara (Q), silver mint in Samarkand, Sogdia (S5), silver units on local standard (1u).

It is not clear that this group are issues of the Kidarites, they fall entirely within the normal pattern of Sogdian coinage, but they are roughly contempoary and inscribed with a Sogdian inscription that reads *kydr* (possibly Kidara).

Obverse: Left facing bust, bearded, with curly hair. Inscription in Sogdian in left field reading *kydr*.

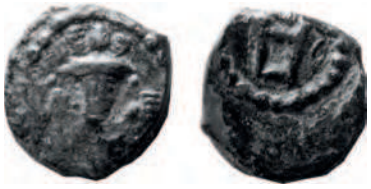
Reverse: Standing figure holding a bow in left hand.

No.	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Ax
3784	1894,0506.1290	0.41	10	12
3785*	1946,1103.5	0.38	12	11
3786	1928,0415.2	0.37	11	12
3787	1946,1103.3	0.36	11	11
3788	1928,0415.1	0.35	12	11
3789*	1946,1103.4	0.32	12	11
3790	1946,1103.2	0.30	11	1

Copper coinage

Copper coinages attributable to the period of Kidara and his successors are extremely varied in design, generally weighing less than 1g. The fullest current account of the types is that provided by Vondrovec 2015. It is reasonable to postulate that variations in weight and design indicate different mints and phases of production.

3791: Q.C-ref


200% enlargement of 3791

287 Q.C-ref Kidarite copper coinage

Errington 2010; Cribb 2010: fig. 69

The coin illustrated here is the only example of a copper coin attributable to the period of Kidara in the British Museum.

Obverse: Bust of king facing to front wearing crown with ribbons.

Reverse: Brahmi letter *ṣa*.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
3791*	304825	1921,0331.50	0.84	12

Part R

Ardashir I
1st Sasanian Kushanshah *c.* AD 230–235
Copper Coins

Ardashir I's coinage

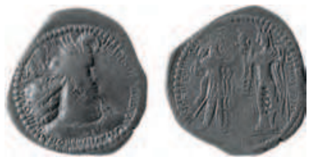
The Sasanian conquest of Kushan territory seems to have begun with the capture of western Bactria, including the capital Balkh. The coins which appear to be the first issues in the name of a Sasanian Kushanshah depict on their reverse an investiture scene which represents the goddess Anahita presenting the Kushan crown to the issuing king. The name of this king is badly written but appears to read *mzdysn byg ʾrtštr y ʾrtštr kwsʾn MLKA mrwy MLKA* (the divine Mazda worshipper, Ardashir son of Ardashir, Kushan king Merv king). It gives his name as Ardashir, son of Ardashir and identifies him as Kushanshah Mervshah, i.e. ruler under the Sasanian emperor of Bactria and Margiana. He is distinguished by his crown, which is composed of the upper half of a winged griffin that appears to have a curved fishlike body. Only one coin type is associated with this ruler. The treatment of the royal bust most closely parallels the issues of the Sasanian emperor Shapur I so this might suggest they were issued at about the same time or shortly after Shapur I reign. The Kushano-Sasanian issues in imitation of Kushan coins (F-imit) seem to start during this period.

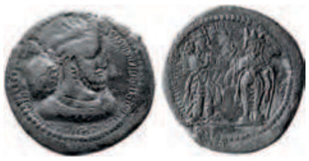
Copper issues

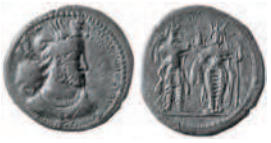
Of the recorded examples weights are available for 19 and the mean is 3.1g (range 2 to 4g), with the distribution indicating a single denomination, struck to a standard of *c.* 3.3g. This denomination appears to be similar to that current at Merv during the reigns of Ardashir and Shapur I (Loginov and Nikitin 1993; Shindel 2010). Only a single type and a single phase are known. They are attributed to the mint of Balkh as they prefigure later types at that mint.

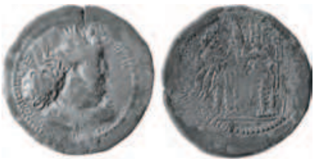
Copper mint, Balkh

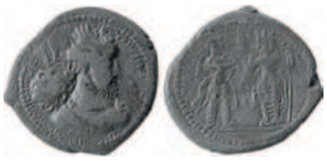
The location of the only mint operating under Ardashir I Kushanshah is identified as Balkh on the basis of the attribution of later Kushanshah issues.

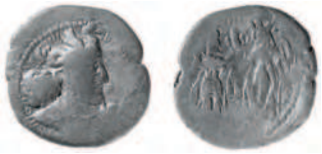

A: R.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)

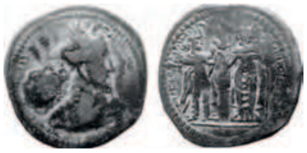

B: R.C1-i 1u (1A/1b)


C: R.C1-i 1u (1A/1?)


D: R.C1-i 1u (1B/1b)


E: R.C1-i 1u (1B/1b)


3795: R.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)


F: R.C1-i 1u (1?/1b)

288 R.C1-i 1u Balkh copper mint units

Göbl 1984: 1029; Cribb 1990: 17

Ardashir I (R), Balkh copper mint (C1), first and only phase (i), units (1u), *c.* 3.3g, royal bust/ king and Anahita investiture type.

Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed in bun at back, bearded (beard tied below with three jewels), wearing crown decorated with winged griffin with fish body and bird's head, holding (diademed) jewel in beak, diadem with two raised ribbons, earring (?), necklace and tunic with buttons on chest. Inscription in Pahlavi (anti-clockwise from 7.00) *mzdysn byg ʾrtštr y ʾrtštr kwsʾn MLKA mrwy MLKA* (Divine Mazda Worshipper Ardashir Son of Ardashir Kushan king Merv King).

1A laddered diadem ribbon below jewel in bird's beak.

1B no diadem below jewel.

Reverse: Anahita, Iranian goddess on right, standing frontally, head to left, facing king on left, standing facing frontally, head to right. Goddess wearing three-part crown, ankle-length dress, with scarf draped over shoulders, holding sceptre with knob on top in raised left hand, and offering Kushan royal crown, with long diadem ribbons hanging below, to king. King, hair dressed in bun behind, wearing crown decorated with winged griffin (as on obverse, but with diadem ribbons hanging behind shoulders), Sasanian dress, thigh-length sleeved tunic over leggings, with scarf over shoulders hanging down back, holding sword, suspended from belt on left hip, with left hand, raising right hand to receive Kushan royal crown from goddess. Kushan royal crown has a small ball at its top and projections from sides of brim. Goddess and king standing on linear ground line. Inscription in Pahlavi (anticlockwise 4.00–2.00): *ʾnhty MROTA* (Lady Anahita) (10.00 or 11.00–7.00) *kwsʾn MLKA mrwy MLKA* (Kushan King, Merv King).

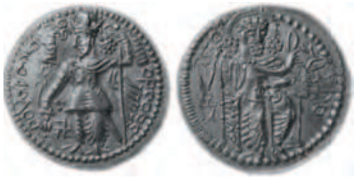
1a second part of inscription begins behind king's head (10.00-7.00).

1b second part of inscription begins before king's head (11.00-7.00): *kwsʾn/MLKA mrwy MLKA*.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Ax	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Private collection P		-	-	9	1A	1a
B*	Zeno.ru #151355		2.68	19	-	1A	1b
C*	Pieper 2013: 1315		3.43	17	-	1A	1?
D*	Private collection P		-	-	9	1B	1b
E*	Private collection P		-	-	9	1B	1b
3792	1288	1995,0507.4	3.21	18	9	1?	1?
3793	1287	1990,0520.2	3.70	22	3	1?	1b
3794*	1289	1995,0507.3	2.65	19	12	1?	1b
3795	1800	1933,0315.4	2.52	19	3	1?	1b
F*	Ashmolean		3.32	18	3	1?	1b

Gold coins

Only a single gold coin is known of this ruler, it has the same design as one of his copper issues (S.C2-i). The weight of the coin indicates that the denomination was that of the Kushan standard dinar coinage (*c.* 8.0g). The fabric of the coin suggests it was made to resemble contemporary Kushan issues, rather than the scyphate 'imitation Vasudeva' gold coins (F-imit.G) being issued by the Kushanshah at Balkh, so it seems likely that it was struck at a mint further south.



3797: S.C1-i 1d (1A/1a)

289 S.G1-i 1d Gold mint dinars

Cribb 1990: 14

Ardashir II (S) Southern gold mint (G1), first and only phase (i), dinars (1d), *c.* 8.0g, standing king/ enthroned Miiro (Mithra) type.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to right, surrounded by halo, hair dressed in bun at back, bearded (beard tied below with three jewels), wearing crown decorated with three crenellations surrounding a dotted ball above, diadem with laddered ribbons extended to right and left of king, earring with single jewel, necklace (drawn as line), Sasanian dress, a thigh-length sleeved tunic over leggings with ties by ankles, with a cloak over both shoulders, with large fold hanging from left arm, sword suspended from belt on left thigh, holding sceptre, surmounted by knob, in left hand and making offering at small altar with extended right hand. Altar stem in form of three-petalled flower with dot above and below, curls of smoke rising from altar. Three dots and swastika in lower left field between king's leg and altar. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 2.30 to 11.30): ΑΡΔΑÞΟΡΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΟ (Ardashir Kushan King).

Reverse: Miiro, sun god, sitting on throne, frontally (slightly turned to right), head to front, surrounded by rayed halo, hair tied in diadem with laddered ribbon over right shoulder and dressed in two buns to right and left of head, wearing same Sasanian attire as king, holding sword, suspended on belt, vertically between knees, with left hand before abdomen and offering diadem with laddered ribbons with his raised right hand to right of his face. Throne with triple floral pattern panel on side. Tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 9.30 to 4.00): ΒΑΓΟ/ ΜΙΥΡΟ (Lord Mithra).

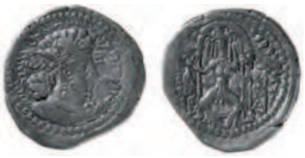
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia	Obv.	Rev.
3797*	269170	1986,0641.1	8.02	22	1A	1a

Copper coins

Two main varieties of copper coin were issued under Ardashir. The coins attributed here to Balkh continue the style of the first king's issue with Pahlavi inscriptions. The coins issued at the other mint feature the Kushan style coin design used on his gold coins. The *c.* 3g denomination of both issues continues that used by the first Kushano-Sasanian king. The northern mint's 76 examples average 2.89g (range 1.36–4.59g), and the southern mint's 23 examples average 2.95g (range 1.58–4.14g).

Northern copper mint, Balkh (S.C1)

The attribution of the mint to Balkh is based on the continuity of Kushano-Sasanain copper issues there until the Kidarite period. All its issues have the same design, king's bust on obverse and an enthroned image of the goddess Anahita, but distinguished by control marks in front of the king's face.



3798: S.C1-i 1u (1A)

290 S.C1-i 1u Northern copper mint bust/ Anahita type

Göbl 1984: 1028; Cribb 1990: 16

Ardashir II (S) Northern copper mint (C1), first and only phase (i), units (1u), *c.* 3g, royal bust/ enthroned goddess Anahita type.

Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed in bun (normally drawn as three rows of curls) at back, bearded (curled moustache and beard tied below with three jewels), wearing crown with three projections, in the form of florets (three petals at the front and back and five in the centre) with top covered with jewels (curved line of dots between the outer projections), diadem with two ribbons behind, earring with two small jewels above one larger jewel, necklace (drawn as two lines with dots between) and tunic with buttons on chest. Control mark symbols are placed before king's face on most examples. Inscription in Pahlavi (anti-clockwise from 3.30 to 4.00, sometimes letters are missing) *mzdysn bgy/ ʾrthštr RBA kwšʾn/ MLKA* (Divine Mazda Worshipper Ardashir Great Kushan King). All surrounded by dotted border.

1A symbol 1A before king's face.

1B symbol 1B before king's face.

2A symbol 2 (Bactrian KO) before king's face.

3A symbol 3 before king's face.

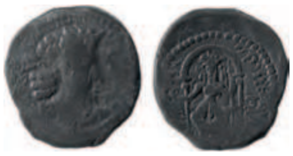
3B symbol 4 before king's face.

3C symbol 5 before king's face.

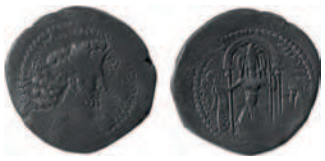
4A no symbol before king's face.

Reverse: Anahita, Iranian goddess seated facing frontally, head (surrounded by halo on some examples) to front, on throne with arched back, wearing crown with three projections (as king on obverse), with diadem ribbons and pendants hanging from crown, long ankle-length dress, tied at waist (ribbons hanging from knot), holding spear in raised left hand and offering diadem with laddered ribbons with extended right hand. Throne sides decorated with flower pattern panels and ball and cap finials and back with a dotted arch overhead on top of ball and cap finials. Details often simplified. Inscription in Pahlavi (anti-clockwise from 4.00 to 7.00): *phrz y brzy / ʾnʾhyt MROTA* (Lofty Protector Lady Anahita), reading by Enrico Morano, pers. comm.

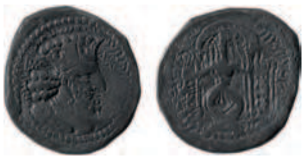
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Ax	Obv.
3798*	2567	1995,0506.1	3.22	19	11	1A
3799	2568	1990,0921.20	2.82	18	12	1A
3800	2569	1982,0626.7	2.67	18	1	1A
3801	2570	1995,0507.5	2.32	19	2	1A
3802	2571	1990,0921.22	2.15	17	12	1A
3803	2572	1995,0506.4	2.37	19	12	1A
A*	Private collection P		-	-	-	1A
B*	Private collection P		-	-	-	1A
C*	Private collection P		-	-	-	1A
3804*	2573	1859,0301.109	2.69	18	12	1B
D*	Private collection P		-	-	-	1B
3805*	2574	1994,0710.3	4.59	19	7	2A
3806*	2575	1922,0116.42	4.00	19	9	2A
3807	2576	1992,0119.77	2.60	17	3	2A
3808	2750	1990,0518.1	2.08	18	12	2A
3809	2777	OR.374	3.15	21	9	2A
E*	Private collection P		-	-	12	2A
F*	Private collection P		-	-	12	2A
G*	Agora 27 (24.2.2015): 74		2.08	19	6	2A
3810*	2844	1987,0616.1	3.53	20	9	3A
H*	ANS (1987.46.4)		2.58	19	12	3A
3811 *	2974	1995,0506.3	2.73	17	12	3B
I*	Agora 28 (10.3.2015): 43		3.45	17	1	3B
J*	ANS (1987.46.3)		3.02	19	12	3C
3812*	2997	1995,0507.6	3.11	18	12	4A
3813	2999	1990,0921.21	3.08	17	12	4A
3814	3011	1995,0506.2	2.76	17	1	4A



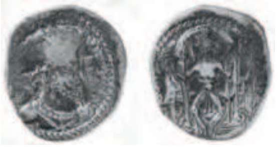
A: S.C1-i 1u (1A)



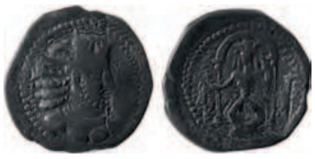
B: S.C1-i 1u (1A)



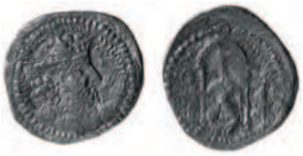
C: S.C1-i 1u (1A)



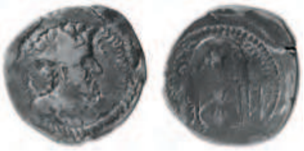
3804: S.C1-i 1u (1B)



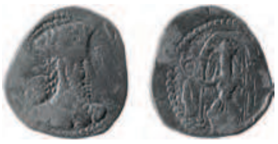
D: S.C1-i 1u (1B)



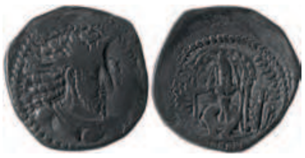
3805: S.C1-i 1u (2A)



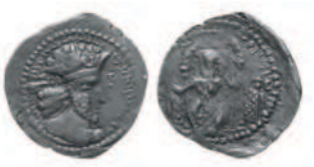
3806: S.C1-i 1u (2A)



E: S.C1-i 1u (2A)

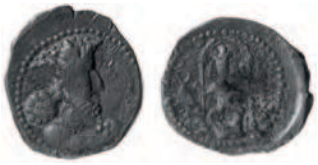


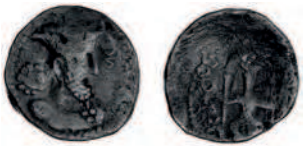
F: S.C1-i 1u (2A)

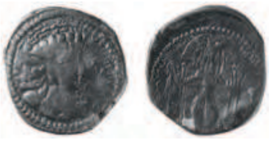


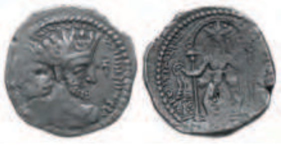
G: S.C1-i 1u (2A)

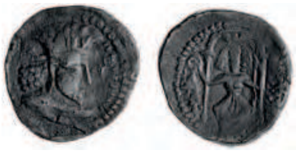
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Ax	Obv.
3815*	3310	1990,0921.19	2.26	17	12	4A
K*	VCoins 246 (13.05.2010): 46		3.44	16	-	4A
L*	Pegasi XXV (8.11.2011): 251		3.54	-	-	4A
3816	3334	1982,0602.8	3.27	18	12	?
3817	3341	1995,0506.6	3.20	19	12	?
3818	3348	1995,0506.5	2.96	16	11	?
3819	3399	OR.375	2.05	16	12	?

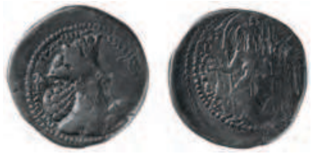

3810: S.C1-i 1u (3A)

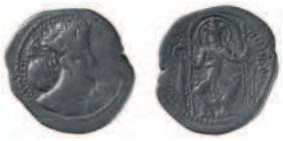

H: S.C1-i 1u (3A)

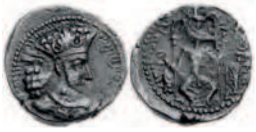

3811: S.C1-i 1u (3B)

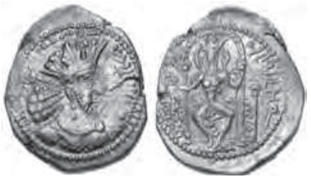

I: S.C1-i 1u (3B)


J: S.C1-i 1u (3C)


3812: S.C1-i 1u (4A)


3815: S.C1-i 1u (4A)


K: S.C1-i 1u (4A)


L: S.C1-i 1u (4A)

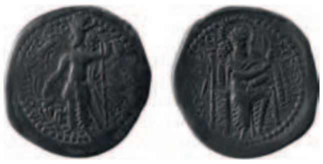
Southern copper mint (S.C2)

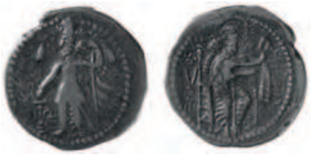
The southern copper mint uses the same designs as Ardashir's gold mint. The attribution of the mint to south of Balkh is based on the features derived from Kushan coin design. All its issues have the same design, standing king making offering on obverse and an enthroned image of the god Mithra on the reverse. Two phases are distinguished by the positioning of the three dots mark and the changed forms of the crown and altar on the obverse, and by the reverse inscription. The tamga used on the reverse appears again during the next reign on late copper coins of the Begram mint (U.C2-v).

291 S.C2-i 1u Southern copper mint, standing king/Miiro type

Göbl 1984: 1114; Cribb 1990: 15

Ardashir II (S) Southern copper mint (C2), first phase (i), units (1u), c. 3.0g, standing king/ enthroned Miiro (Mithra) type.


A: S.C2-i 1u (1A)


3820: S.C2-i 1u (1B)

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, hair dressed in bun at back, bearded (beard tied below with three jewels), wearing crown decorated with three crenellations surrounding a dotted ball above, diadem with laddered ribbons extended to right and left of king's head, necklace (drawn as line), Sasanian dress, a thigh-length sleeved tunic over leggings with ties by ankles, with a cloak over both shoulders, with large fold hanging from left arm, sword suspended from belt on left thigh, holding sceptre, surmounted by knob, in left hand and making offering at small altar with extended right hand. Altar stem in form of three-petalled flower with dot above and below (lower dot missing on some examples), curls of smoke rising from altar. Swastika in lower left field between king's leg and altar, three dots by king's left elbow on some examples. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 2.30 to 11.30): ΑΡΔΑÞΟΡΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΟ (Ardashir Kushan King; blundered on some examples).

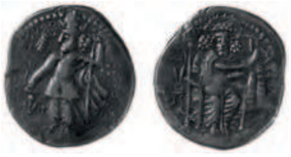
1A three dots by king's left elbow, smoke between king's face and ribbon.

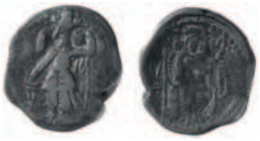
1B as 1A, but smoke between ribbon and inscription.

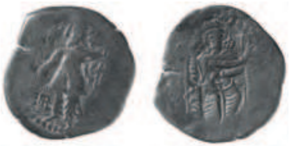
1C as 1B, but without three dots in right field.

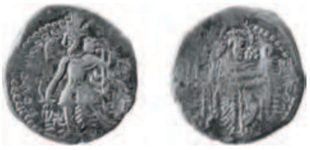
Reverse: Miiro, sun god, sitting on throne, frontally (slightly turned to right), head to front, surrounded by rayed halo, hair tied in diadem with laddered ribbon over right shoulder and dressed in two buns to right and left of head, wearing same Sasanian dress as king, holding sword, suspended on belt, vertically between knees with left hand before abdomen and offering diadem with laddered ribbons with his raised right hand. Throne with triple floral pattern panel on side. Tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 9.30 to 4.00): ΒΑΓΟ/ ΜΙΥΡΟ (Lord Mithra).

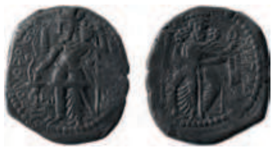
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.
A*	Private collection P		-	-	1A
3820*	3419	1922,0116.25	3.29	19	1B
3821*	3420	1982,0626.9	3.40	19	1B
3822	3421	OR.9149	4.14	19	1C
3823	3424	OR.9151	3.94	17	1C
3824*	3448	1892.0202,4	3.81	19	1C
3825	3473	OR.9150	2.73	17	1C
3826*	3477	OR.9152	2.25	18	1C
B*	Private collection P		-	-	1C
C*	Private collection P		-	-	1C
D*	Pegasi 25 (5.4.2011) 259		3.45	-	1C

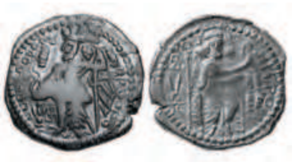

3821: S.C2-i 1u (1B)


3824: S.C2-i 1u (1C)


3826: S.C2-i 1u (1C)


B: S.C2-i 1u (1C)


C: S.C2-i 1u (1C)


D: S.C2-i 1u (1C)

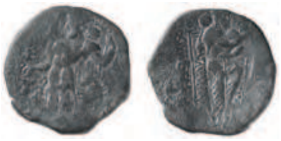
292 S.C2-ii 1u Southern copper mint, bird altar

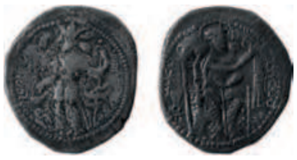
Cribb 1990: 15

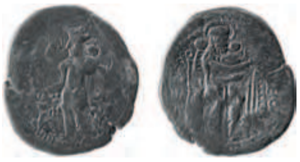
Ardashir II (S) Southern copper mint (C2), second phase (ii), units (1u), *c.* 3.0g, standing king/ enthroned god Miiro (Mithra) type.

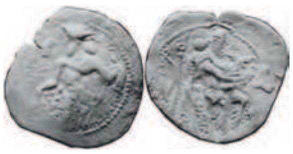
Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, hair dressed in bun at back, bearded (beard tied below with three jewels), wearing a crown decorated with three crenellations with top covered with jewels (curved line of dots between the outer projections), diadem with laddered ribbons extended to right and left of king, earring with single jewel, necklace (drawn as line above row of dots), Sasanian dress, a thigh-length sleeved tunic over leggings with ties by ankles, with a cloak over both shoulders, with large fold hanging from left arm, sword suspended from belt on left thigh, holding sceptre, surmounted by knob, in left hand and making offering at small altar with extended right hand. Altar stem in form of a bird (eagle?) facing left, head to right, with bowl above, curls of smoke rising from altar. Three dots and swastika in lower left field between king's leg and altar. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 3.00 to 11.30, and inner line 9.00 to 10.00): ΒΑΓΟ ΑΡΔΑÞΟ/ΡΟ/ ΟΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ/ ÞΑΟ (Lord Ardashir Great Kushan King; blundered on some examples).

Reverse: Miiro, sun god, sitting on throne, frontally (slightly turned to right), head to front, surrounded by rayed halo, hair tied in diadem with laddered ribbon over right shoulder and dressed in two buns to right and left of head, wearing same Sasanian dress as king, holding sword, suspended on belt, vertically between knees with left hand before abdomen and offering diadem with laddered ribbons with his raised right hand. Throne with triple floral pattern panel on side. Tamga in left field.


3827: S.C2-ii 1u


A: S.C2-ii 1u


B: S.C2-ii 1u


C: S.C2-ii 1u

Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 9.30 to 4.00): MIYPO/ IAZAΔO (Mithra Yazata).

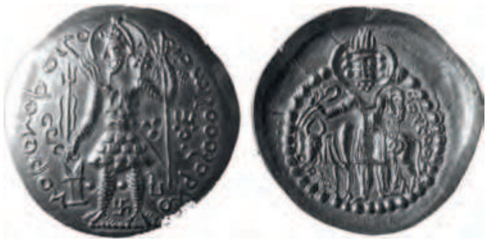
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
3827*	3485	OR.9153	2.49	17
A*	Private collection P		-	-
B*	Private collection P		-	-
C*	Private collection Q		-	-

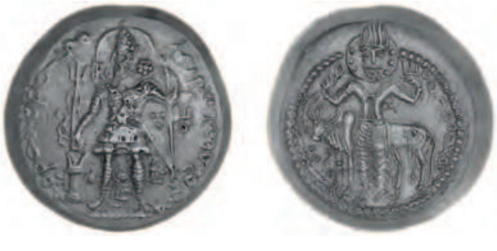
Gold coins

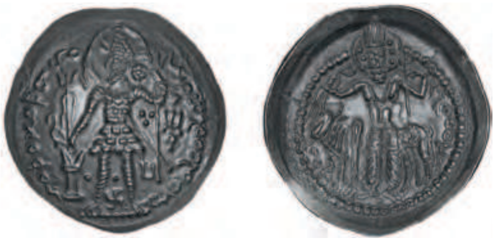
The gold coins were all struck on a reduced version of the Kushan dinar standard. Northern coins of phase 1 had weights close to contemporary Kushan gold coins, averaging 7.91g from seven recorded examples (range 7.78–7.98g). The 32 recorded weights of phase 2 average 7.84g (range 7.74–7.94g). The scyphate fabric of both phases shows they were successors to the imitation Kushan gold coins issued for the earlier Kushano-Sasanian kings. The only phase 2 quarter dinar weighs 1.93g. Two coins of the southern gold mint are known, both with the smaller fabric of contemporary Kushan gold dinars. The only recorded weight for this type is 7.87g.

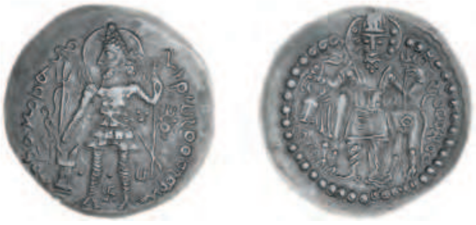
Main gold mint, Balkh (T.G1)

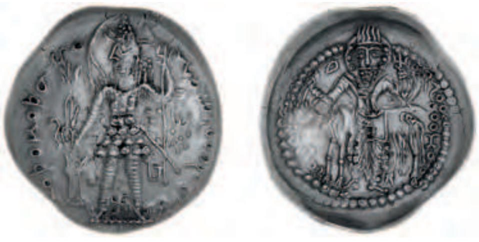
Peroz's main gold mint replaces the imitation Kushan coins of the early Kushano-Sasanian period with a new issue (phase 1), retaining a Kushan style representation of the king, but naming him in the Bactrian inscription and transforming the rendition of the Kushan god Oesho into a Sasanian style and adding his title 'high yazata'. This is followed by an issue (phase 2) which shows the king in Sasanian dress, wearing a lion head crown.


A: T.G1-i 1d (1A/1a)


B: T.G1-i 1d (1B/1b)


C: T.G1-i 1d (1B/1c)


D: T.G1-i 1d (1C/1d)


E: T.G1-i 1d (1D/1d)

293 T.G1-i 1d Main gold mint phase 1 dinars, Kushan crown type dinars

Göbl 1984: 702; Göbl 1993a: 79–80; Cribb 1990: 1

Peroz I (T) main gold mint (G1), first phase (i), dinars (1d), *c.* 7.9g, Kushan crown standing king/ Oesho and bull type.

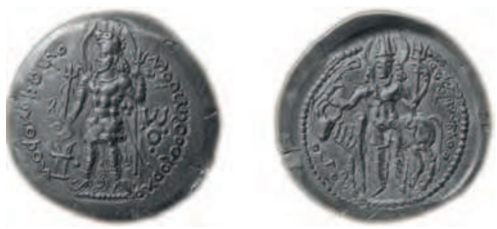
Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, surrounded by halo, hair dressed in bun at back, bearded (beard tied below with jewel), flames rising from shoulders, wearing Kushan crown, rising to point surmounted by ball, with crescent on front, sides covered in dots and diadem with two laddered ribbons behind, reaching beyond king's left hand, earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of plate-mail armour, over leggings, tied at ankles, sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident in raised left hand and making offering over fire altar with extended right hand, holding dish. Altar column-shaped with slab at top and bottom with triangular projects at corners of top slab, curls of smoke rising above altar, trident with ribbons on shaft positioned above altar. King standing on dotted ground line. Three dots under king's left arm, swastika and dot between king's legs, dot between king's right leg and altar, nandipada symbol in right field, Brahmi *pe* in right field between king's left leg and trident shaft, other control marks on some examples. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00 to 11.00): ΠΙΡΩΖΟ ΟΟΖΟΡΚΟ/ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ (Peroz Great Kushan King).

1A nandipada with three dots.
1B as 1A, but no flames on left shoulder, Brahmi *a* to left of altar.
1C as 1A, but Brahmi *a* to left of altar.
1D as 1A, but no flames on left shoulder, nandipada with five dots (one die is a recut of a die of version 1B).

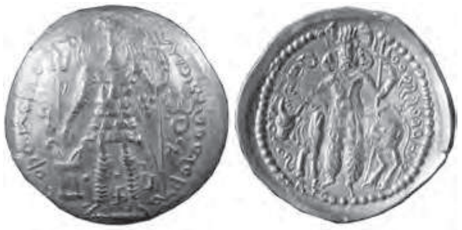
Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, head to front, surrounded by halo, hair in form of flames above and dots flanking face, bearded, wearing necklace, armlets and bracelets, thigh-length skirt over leggings, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left with circle on rump. Symbol under god's left arm. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00 to 9.00): (Ο)ΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔΟ/ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ (High Yazata).

1a dot under the god's left arm, inscription: ΟΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔΟ/ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ.
1b flower under god's left arm, inscription: ΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔΟ/ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ.
1c Bactrian Z under the god's left arm, dot below god's feet, inscription: ΟΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔΟ/ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ.
1d as 1c, but without dot between god's feet.

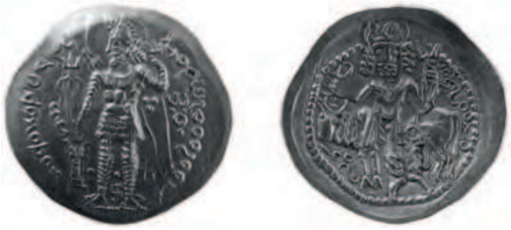
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Private collection Q		7.91	-	-	1A	1a
B*	ANS (LAK 29)		7.98	30	-	1B	1b



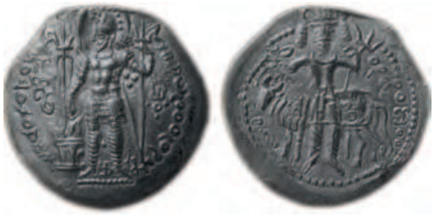
3830: T.G1-ii 1d (2A/2a)



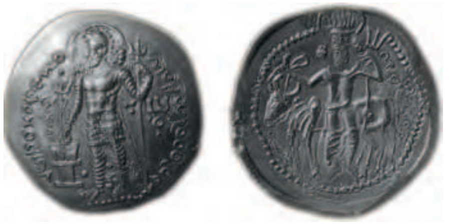
F: T.G1-ii 1d (2B/2b)



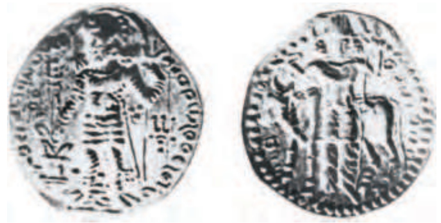
G: T.G1-ii 1d (2C/3a)



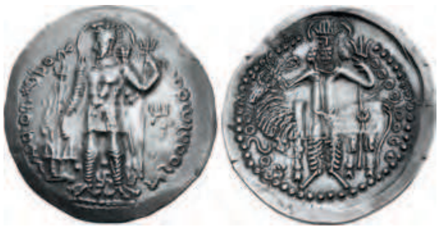
3831: T.G1-ii 1d (2D/3b)



3832: T.G1-ii 1d (3A/4a)



H: T.G1-ii 1d (3B/4a)



I: T.G1-ii 1d (3C/4a)

length skirt over leggings, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left with circle on rump. Symbol under god's left arm on some varieties. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00 to 9.00, blundered): OOPZAOANΔO/ IAZ(AΔO) (High Yazata).

1a god's hair dressed in curled strands flanking face, Bactrian Z under the god's left arm, diadem ribbons together, blundered inscription: OOPZAOANΔO/ IAZA.

1b as 1A, but diadem ribbons separated, blundered inscription: OOPZAOANΔO/ IAZAΔ.

1c Bactrian X under god's left arm, diadem ribbons separated, blundered inscription: OOPZAOANΔO/ IAZA.

1d as 1c, but no symbol under god's arm and halo is completed above king's head, diadem ribbons separated, inscription: OOPZAOAN/ AZAΔ.

2a no symbol under god's left arm, diadem ribbons together, blundered inscription: OOPZAOANΔO/ IAZA.

2b as 2a, but diadem ribbons separated, blundered inscription: OOPZAOANΔO/ IAZ(A).

3a god's halo only surrounding god's hair, but diadem ribbons separated, blundered inscription: OPZAONΔ/ ZAO.

3b as 3a, but blundered inscription: OPZANΔO/ ZA.

4a as 3a, but god's hair in buns either side of face, completely blundered inscription, often very abbreviated.

4b as 4a, but inscription: OOPZAOANΔO/ IAAΔ.

4c as 4a, but diadem ribbons together.

5a as 1a, but god's hair in buns either side of face (each drawn as three rows of curls, projecting from side of head), diadem ties separated, god and bull standing on ground line, and inscription OOOOPZAOANΔ/O/ IAZAΔ.

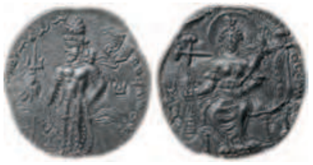
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Private collection E		7.77	28	-	1A	1a
B*	Private collection E		7.91	29	-	1A	1b
C*	Private collection P		-	-	-	1B	1c
D*	Seen by authors†		-	-	-	1C	1a
E*	CNG Mailbid 63 (21.5.2003), Lot 981		7.93	-	-	1D	1a
3829*	189575	1890,1106.3	7.82	29	16.12	1E	1d
3830*	189579	1890,0604.1	7.83	28	15.86	2A	2a
F*	Private collection Q		-	-	-	2B	2b
G*	Shanghai		7.90	29	-	2C	3a
3831*	189577	1890,1106.4	7.75	27	15.82	2D	3b
3832*	189579	1890,1106.5	7.94	28	15.86	3A	4a
H*	St Petersburg; Göbl 1984: 705.12		-	-	-	3B	4a
I*	CNG 91 (19.9.2012): 468		7.75	28	-	3C	4a
J*	Berlin (Guthrie 1876)		7.78	-	-	3D	4a
K*	Oxford (Oman 1947)		7.82	29	-	3D	4a
L*	Göbl 1984, 705/10		-	-	-	3E	4a
M*	CNG Mailbid 70 (21.9.2005), lot 526		7.90	-	-	3E	4a
N*	Berlin (Prokesh Osten 1875)		7.82	-	-	3F	4a
O*	Private collection P		-	-	-	3G	4b
3833*	189576	1894,0506.171	7.81	-	15.79	3G	4c
P*	ANS (1944.100.3613)		7.91	-	-	3H	5a
3833A	189578	1894,0506.170	7.74	-	15.95	3H	5a

† As part of a parcel in trade

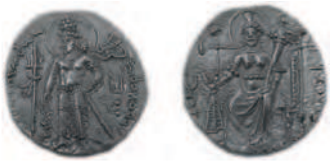
Southern gold mint Begram? (T.G2)

Only two coins have been recorded from this mint. The design appears to represent the Kushan goddess investing the king as ruler of former Kushan territory with the Kushan crown. The crown worn by the king suggests these were issued late in Peroz's reign.

296 T.G2-i 1d Southern gold mint phase 1 dinars



3835: T.G1-ii ¼d: (1A/1a)



A: T.G1-ii ¼d: (1A/2a)

Göbl 1984: 555; Cribb 1990: 30

Peroz I (T) Southern gold mint at Begram (G2) first and only phase (i) dinars (1d), *c.* 7.85g, jewelled flat crown standing king/ enthroned Ardochsho type.

Obverse: King full figure standing frontally, head to left, hair dressed in bun (drawn as three rows of curls, projecting from back of head), bearded, wearing flat crown with row of jewels above brim and large jewelled-ball above, diadem with laddered ribbons flying behind shoulders, wearing a necklace, earring and jewelled armlets, long-sleeved thigh-length belted tunic over leggings, tied at ankles, holding ribonned sword with left hand on left hip and making offering at altar with extended right hand holding small dish. Altar with ball-shaped stem and cone shaped foot and top, smoke rising from top; ribboned trident standing to left of altar. Brahmi *pe* in right field, by king's left elbow. Inscription in Bactrian (anticlockwise, read from edge, from 11.00 to 2.00): ΠΗΡΩΖΟ [ΟΟΖΟΡΚΟ] ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΟ (Peroz [Great] Kushan King).

1A without halo.

1B with halo surrounding the king's head.

Reverse: Ardochsho, goddess of good fortune, seated frontally on high-backed throne, head to front, surrounded by halo, hair dressed in curls above brow, wearing polos (city crown) on head, earrings composed of four jewels, necklace, sleeved and belted ankle-length dress, holding cornucopia in left hand on left thigh and resting on left shoulder, offering Kushan tall crown, ornamented with dots and diadem with two laddered ribbons hanging below, with extended right hand. Throne with high back with floral finials on uprights and cross-piece, with side panel decorated with jewels, and with turned legs. Tamga in left field. Inscription in Bactrian (anticlockwise, from 4.00 to 2.00): ΑΡΔΟΧÞΟ (Ardochsho).

1a with low polos.

1b with high polos touching top of halo.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
3835*	269171	1892,0202.3	7.87	20	1A	1a
A*	Seen by authors (in trade)		-	-	1B	1b

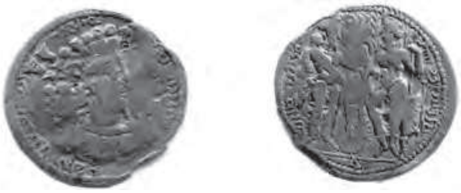
Silver coins

The unique silver coin weighs 4.08g, a standard Sasanian drachm.

Silver mint Balkh? (T.S1)

Only a single example survives from this mint. The portrait type suggests it was issued late in Peroz's reign. This mint appears to be part of the Balkh gold mint, as it has the same Brahmi monogram *go* as one of the next king's first phase gold issues from this mint.

297 T.S1-i 1dr Silver mint drachms, Sasanian style



3836: T.S1-i 1dr

Göbl 1984: 1030; Cribb 1990: 58

Peroz I (T), silver mint (S1), first and only phase (i), drachms (1dr), *c.* 4.0g, royal bust/ king and Anahita investiture type.

Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed in bun (drawn as three rows of curls, projecting from back of head), bearded (beard tied below with three jewels), wearing crown decorated row of palmettes, surmounted by jewels, diadem with two raised ribbons, earring (?), necklace and tunic with buttons on chest. Inscription in Pahlavi (anti-clockwise from 4.30 to 6.00) *mzdysn bgy/ pylwzy/ RBA kwšʾn MLKA* (Mazda Worshipper Peroz Great Kushan King). All surrounded by a dotted border.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god on right, seated frontally on throne, head, surrounded by flames, to left, facing king on left, standing frontally, head to right. God wearing crown with high front surmounted by crescent, hair dressed in curls, ankle-length, sleeved dress, holding spear in raised left hand and offering diadem, with two laddered ribbons hanging below, with raised right hand. Throne with raised post at back, surmounted by ball, side with two panels, lion legs. King, hair dressed in bun behind, wearing crown with row of palmettes (details unclear), diadem with laddered ribbons hanging behind back, cloak over shoulders and hanging down back and thigh-length sleeved tunic over leggings, making gesture with left hand to receive diadem from god and making offering with lowered right hand holding spoon over small fire altar. Altar shaped like hour glass with two projections from top. All above ground line. Brahmi *go* below ground line line. Inscription in Pahlavi (anticlockwise from 4.00 to 8.00): *bwrz'wndy y/ zdty/ pylwzy MLKA* (High Yazata King Peroz).

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
3836*	272000	1860,1220.249	4.08	24
3837	6742	1860,1220.250§	2.67	23

§ Modern cast forgery of previous coin.

Copper coins

The northern and southern copper coins were struck on different weight standards and have different designs.

The northern coinage (T.C1) continues the *c.* 3.0g denomination of earlier Kushano-Sasanian coins, but at a reducing standard *c.* 3.0g falling to *c.* 2.3g. 60 phase 1 coins average 2.86g (range 1.58–4.61g); 126 phase 2 coins average 2.38g (1.32–4.49g); five phase 3 coins average 2.85g (2.12–3.44g).

The southern mint issued a new denomination, on the higher weight standard *c.* 4.4g, of the Kushan and imitation Kushan coinages it was replacing. 4 phase 1 coins average 4.71g (3.86–6.22g) and 107 phase 2 coins, average 4.06 g (2.12–6.14g), suggesting that the weight standard was going into decline.

Copper mint, Balkh (T.C1)

The coins produced at this mint during its first two phases use the same designs as those used for Peroz's gold mint at Balkh, suggesting that the copper mint may have been part of this gold mint. The first phase shows the king wearing a Kushan crown and the second a Sasanian style lion head crown. The third phase uses Peroz's late Sasanian portrait bust type, wearing a palmetted flat crown, aslo used at his southern mint and southern copper mint.

298 T.C1-i 1u Balkh copper mint phase 1 Kushan crown

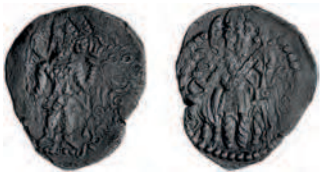
Göbl 1984: 1101–3; Cribb 1990: 19

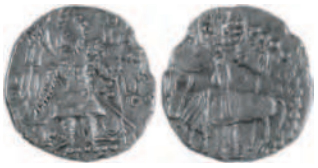
Peroz I (T), Balkh copper mint (C1), first phase (i), units (1u), *c.* 3.0g, standing king Kushan crown/ Oesho and bull type. These coins all have a vertical die axis.

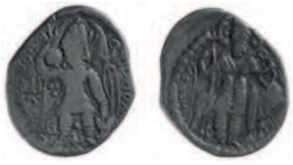
Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, surrounded by halo (not always complete behind head), hair dressed in bun behind, bearded (beard tied below with jewel), wearing Kushan crown, rising to point surmounted by ball, with crescent on front, sides covered in dots and diadem (sometimes with two ribbons), earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of plate-mail armour, over leggings, tied at ankles, sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident in raised left hand and making offering over fire altar with extended right hand (sometimes the king appears to be holding a spoon or dish). Altar column-shaped with slab at top and bottom with projects at corners of top slab, trident with ribbons on shaft positioned above altar. King standing on dotted ground line. Various symbols under king's left arm, between king's legs, between king's right leg and altar, in right field by king's elbow and in right field between king's left leg and trident shaft. Blundered inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00 to 11.00), abbreviated versions of: ΠΙΡΩΖΟ ΟΟΖΟΡΚΟ/ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ (Peroz Great Kushan King).

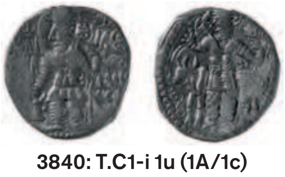
1A swastika and dot between king's legs, dot between king's right leg and altar, nandipada in right field by king's elbow and Brahmi *pe* in right field between king's left leg and trident shaft, three dots under king's left arm.

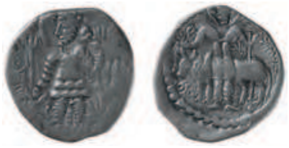
1B as 1A, but one dot under king's left arm.

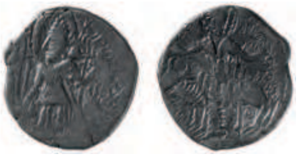

A: T.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)

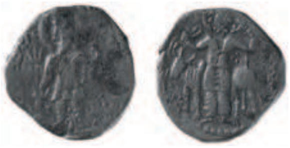

B: T.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)

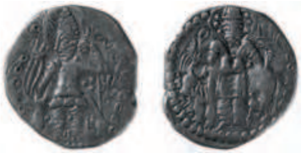

3838: T.C1-i 1u (1A/1b)

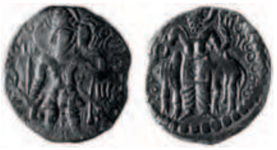

3840: T.C1-i 1u (1A/1c)

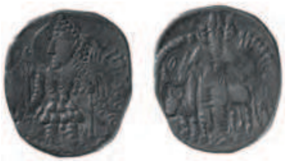

3841: T.C1-i 1u (1A/1c)

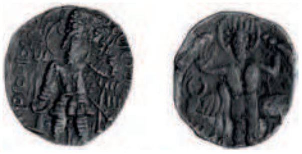

3842: T.C1-i 1u (1A/1d)

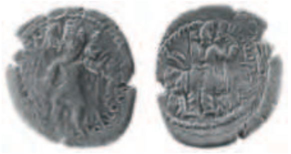

3843: T.C1-i 1u (1A/1e)

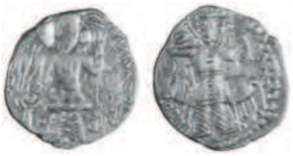

3844: T.C1-i 1u (1A/1e)

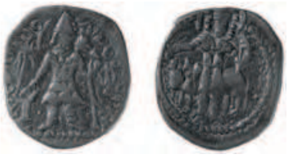

C: T.C1-i 1u (1A/1e)


3845: T.C1-i 1u (1A/1f)


D: T.C1-i 1u (1A/1f)


E: T.C1-i 1u (1A/1f)

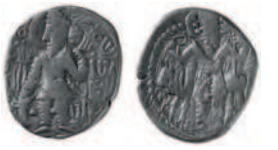

F: T.C1-i 1u (1A/1f)

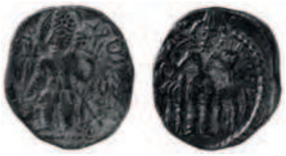

3849: T.C1-i 1u (1B/1f)

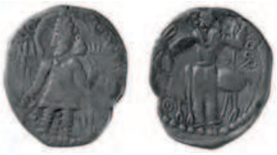
1C as 1B, but dot above nandipada.
1D as 1B, but no Brahmi *pe* by the king's leg.
1E as 1A, but three dots in row.
1F as 1E, but flower above nandipada and no Brahmi *pe* by king's leg.
1G as 1A, but star above nandipada and no Brahmi *pe* by king's leg.
1H as 1A, but Bactrian numeral Ϙ (= 90) to left of trident.
1I as 1A, but without three dots under king's arm.
Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, head to front, surrounded by halo, hair in form of flames above and dots flanking face, bearded, wearing necklace, armlets and bracelets, thigh-length skirt over leggings, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing facing left. Symbol under god's left arm. Blundered inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00 to 9.00), abbreviated version of: ΟΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔΟ/ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ (High Yazata).
1a Bactrian Z under the god's left arm.
1b Bactrian I under the god's left arm.
1c flower under god's arm.
1d three dots under god's arm.
1e one dot under god's arm.
1f no symbol under god's left arm.

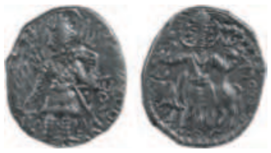
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	
A*	ANS (1987.46.25)		2.70	22	1A	1a	
B*	Private collection Q		2.76	20	1A	1a	
3838*	3554	1980,1003.3	2.82	20	1A	1b	
3839	3558	1990,0921.5	2.55	19	1A	1b	
3840*	3587	1995,0507.8	3.16	18	1A	1c	
3841*	3588	1990,0921.4	3.10	18	1A	1c	
3842*	3595	1995,0507.9	2.36	19	1A	1c	
3843*	3600	1982,0626.13	3.22	18	1A	1d	
3844*	3613	1995,0507.7	3.34	19	1A	1e	
C*	Bern: Göbl 1993a: 1034		4.18	18	1A	1e	
3845*	3619	1922,0116.26	3.06	20	1A	1f	
3846	3624	1990,0921.1	2.08	18	1A	1f	
3847	3625	1990,0921.2	3.37	18	1A	1f	
3848	3627	1990,0518.2	2.86	16	1A	1f	
D*	ANS (1987.46.19)		2.83	19	1A	1f	
E*	Loeschner 2007 (JONS 192)		-	-	1A	1f	§
F*	Private collection Q		2.17	-	1A	1f	†
3849*	3695	1844,0909.80	3.46	19	1B	1f	
3850	3725	1982,0626.10	3.11	19	1B	1f	
3851*	3750	1990,0921.3	3.22	18	1C	1a	
3852*	3753	1982,0626.11	2.96	19	1D	1a	
G*	Private collection Q		3.28	18	1E	1f	
H*	ANS (1987.46.17)		2.03	-	1F	1f	
I*	ANS (1987.46.20)		3.09	18	1G	1f	
J*	ANS (1944.100.64019)		2.28	20	1H	1c	
3853*	3762	1990,0921.6	2.86	19	1I	1a	
K*	Private collection Q		3.68	18	1I	1f	

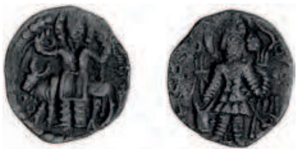
§ Overstruck on Shapur I Merv coin, see Cribb *et al.* 2022.
† King holding dish.

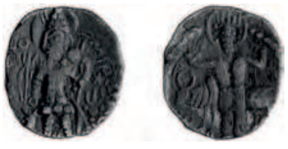

3851: T.C1-i 1u (1C/1a)

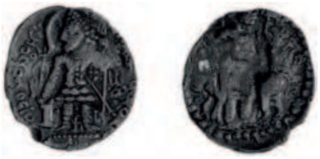

3852: T.C1-i 1u (1D/1a)

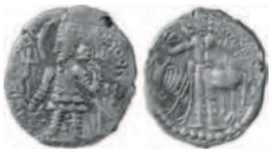

3853: T.C1-i 1u (1I/1a)


G: T.C1-i 1u (1E/1f)


H: T.C1-i 1u (1F/1f)

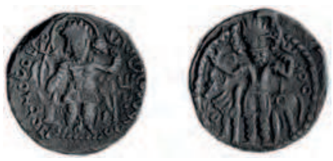

I: T.C1-i 1u (1G/1f)

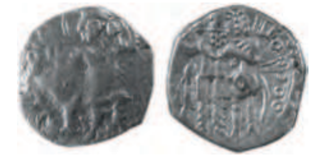

J: T.C1-i 1u (1F/1f)

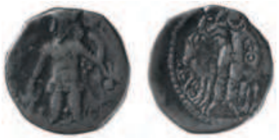

K: T.C1 -i 1u (1I/1f)

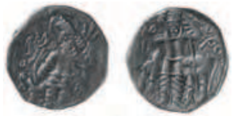
299 T.C1-ii 1u Balkh copper mint phase 2 units, lion head crown

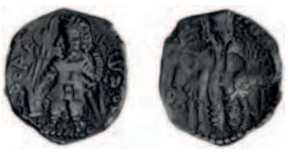
Göbl 1984: 1105–1110; Cribb 1990: 20
Peroz I (T), Balkh copper mint (C1), second phase (ii), units (1u), *c.* 2.3g, standing king lion head crown/ Oesho and bull type.
Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, surrounded by halo, hair dressed in various ways, bearded (beard tied below with jewel), wearing lion head crown, diadem (normally without ribbons), earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of armour with smooth breastplate and plate-mail skirt, over leggings, sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident in raised left hand and making offering over fire altar with extended right hand (sometimes the king appears to be holding a spoon or dish). Altar column-shaped with slab at top and bottom with triangular projects at corners of top slab, trident with ribbons on shaft positioned above altar, some examples with smoke rising above altar. King standing on dotted ground line. Three dots under king's left arm, swastika and dot between king's legs, dot between king's right leg and altar, nandipada symbol in right field, Brahmi *pe* in right field between king's left leg and trident shaft, some of these marks are missing or simplified on some examples. Blundered inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00 to 11.00) abbreviated versions of: ΠΙΡΩΖΟ ΟΟΖΟΡΚ(Ο)/ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ (Peroz Great Kushan King).
1A all symbols present.
1B as 1A, but circle with flames symbol above nandipada.
1C as 1A, but Bactrian numeral Ϙ (= 90) before face.
1D as 1C, but numeral above nandipada, diadem ribbons above trident in king's left hand.
1E as 1A, Brahmi *pe* replaced by dot.
1F as 1E, but no dots under king's arm.
1G as 1E, but three dots in left field between trident and inscription.
1H as 1A, but without Brahmi *pe*.
1I as 1H, but back of halo missing, replaced by diadem ribbons.
1J as 1A, but without nandipada.
2A as 1A, but hair in horizontal bun, flames on king's right shoulder, and no ribbons on trident over altar.
2B as 2A, but Brahmi *pe* written as an oval.
2B as 2A, but swastika between legs omitted.
2C as 2B, but without swastika.
2D as 2A, but Brahmi *pe* replaced by dot.
2E as 2A, but Brahmi *pe* missing.
2F as 2E, but swastika also missing.

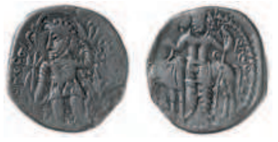

A: T.C1-ii 1u (1A/1a)

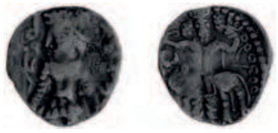

B: T.C1-ii 1u (1A/1b)

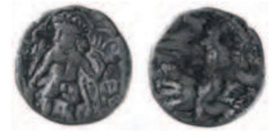

3854: T.C1-ii 1u (1A/2a)

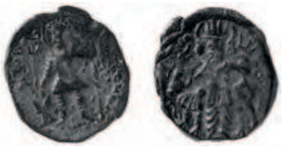

3858: T.C1-ii 1u (1A/2c)

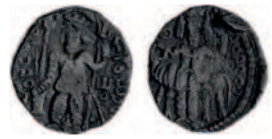

C: T.C1-ii 1u (1A/2c)

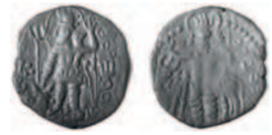

3859: T.C1-ii 1u (1B/2b)

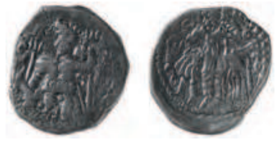

D: T.C1-ii 1u (1C/2c)

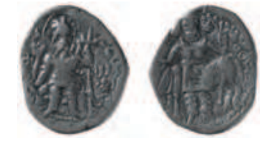

3860: T.C1-ii 1u (1D/2c)

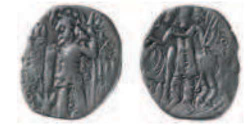

3861: T.C1-ii 1u (1E/2c)

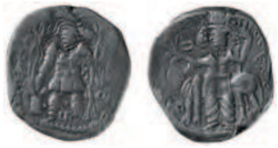

E: T.C1-ii 1u (1F/2c)

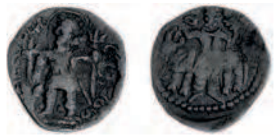

F: T.C1-ii 1u (1G/2c)

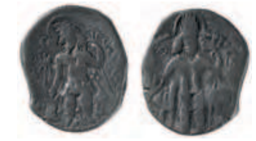

3863: T.C1-ii 1u (1H/2c)


3865: T.C1-ii 1u (1H/2c)


3867: T.C1-ii 1u (1H/2c)


3868: T.C1-ii 1u (1I/2c)


G: T.C1-ii 1u (1I/2c)

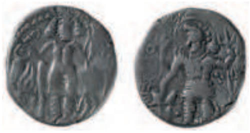

3869: T.C1-ii 1u (1J/2c)

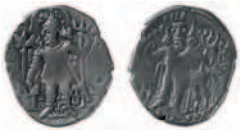
Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, head to front, surrounded by halo, hair in form of flames above and dressed in various ways, bearded, wearing necklace, thigh-length skirt over leggings, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left with circle on rump. Symbol under god's left arm on some varieties. Blundered inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00 to 9.00) abbreviated versions of: OOPZAOANΔO/ IAZ(AΔO) (High Yazata).

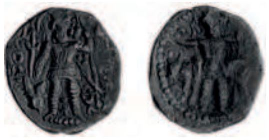
1a god's hair dressed as dots flanking face, no symbol under the god's left arm.
1b as 1a, but dot under god's left arm.
2a as 1a, but god's hair dressed as buns either sides of his face, Bactrian B under god's left arm.
2b as 2a, but Bactrian Z under god's left arm.
2c as 2a, but no symbol under the god's left arm.

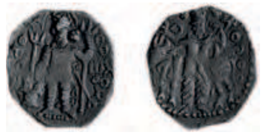
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	
A*	ANS (1987.46.28)		4.49	19	1A	1a	
B*	Private collection Q		2.18	-	1A	1b	
3854*	3769	1982,0626.12	2.56	17	1A	2a	
3855	3776	OR.365	2.27	18	1A	2c	
3856	3804	1922,0116.27	2.35	18	1A	2c	
3857	3805	1990,0518.3	1.83	16	1A	2c	
3858*	3809	1990,0921.15	1.77	14	1A	2c	
C*	ANS (1944.100.64037)		2.64	18	1A	2c	
3859*	3832	1990,0921.7	2.47	17	1B	2b	
D*	ANS (1944.100.64010)		1.93	16	1C	2c	
3860*	3836	1982,0626.17	2.92	16	1D	2c	§
3861*	3843	1982,0626.15	3.07	18	1E	2c	
E*	ANS (1987.46.16)		3.27	17	1F	2c	
F*	Bern: Göbl 1993a: 1071		2.35	16	1G	2c	
3862	3849	1990,0921.12	3.26	16	1H	2c	
3863*	3853	1995,0507.10	2.58	17	1H	2c	
3864	3856	1847,0421.32	2.45	16	1H	2c	
3865*	3861	1982,0626.16	2.29	17	1H	2c	
3866	3896	1990,0921.14	2.29	14	1H	2c	
3867*†	3902	1990,0921.18	1.66	15	1H	2c	
3868*	3970	1990,0921.17	2.23	18	1I	2c	
G*	ANS (1987.46.22)		2.50	18	1I	2c	
3869*	3997	1990,0921.8	3.10	18	1J	2c	
3870	4009	1859,0220.143	3.05	18	1J	2c	
3871*	4039	1990,0921.11	2.17	16	2A	2c	
3872*	4056	1990,0921.13	2.27	16	2B	2c	
H*	ANS (1987.46.36)		2.65	17	2B	2c	
I*	ANS (1987.46.35)		1.93	17	2C	2c	
J*	ANS (1987.46.37)		3.16	16	2C	2c	
3873*	4091	1990,0921.9	2.01	15	2D	2c	
3874*	4101	1990,0921.16	1.83	14	2D	2c	
3875	4113	1982,0602.14	2.73	17	2E	2c	
3876*	4116	OR.364	2.69	16	2E	2c	
3877*	4143	1922,0424.4507	2.64	16	2E	2c	§
3878	4147	OR.9122	2.37	17	2E	2c	
3879*	4148	1990,0921.10	2.35	15	2E	2c	§
K*	ANS (1987.46.33)		1.94	15	2F	2c	
L*	ANS (1987.46.26)		1.79	17	2F	2c	

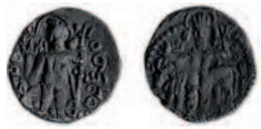
† Sword missing
§ 3.00 die axis

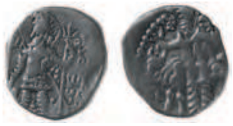

3871: T.C1-ii 1u (2A/2c)

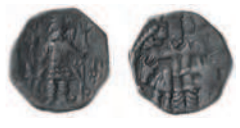

3872: T.C1-ii 1u (2B/2c)

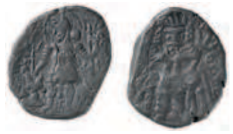

H: T.C1-ii 1u (2B/2c)

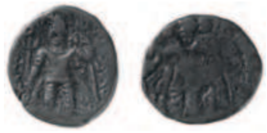

I: T.C1-ii 1u (2C/2c)

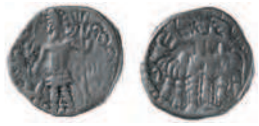

J: T.C1-ii 1u (2C/2c)

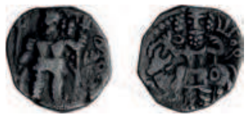

3873: T.C1-ii 1u (2D/2c)

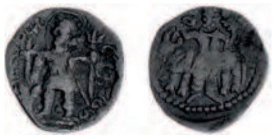

3874: T.C1-ii 1u (2D/2c)


3876: T.C1-ii 1u (2E/2c)


3877: T.C1 ii 1u (2E/2c)


3879: T.C1 ii 1u (2E/2c)


K: T.C1 ii 1u (2F/2c)


L: T.C1 ii 1u (2F/2c)

300 T.C1-iii 1u Balkh copper mint phase 3 units, palmette crown

Göbl 1984: 1112; Cribb 1990: 21

Peroz I (T), Balkh copper mint (C1), third phase (iii), units (1u), *c.* 2.8 g, palmette crown royal bust/ Oesho and bull type.

Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed in bun (drawn as four rows of curls) at back, bearded (beard tied below with jewels), wearing flat crown with palmettes, topped with jewels, diadem with two ribbons behind, earring with single jewel, necklace (drawn as line of dots) and tunic with buttons on chest. Inscription in Pahlavi (anti-clockwise from 4.00 to 7.30) *pylwzy/ kwš'n/ MLKA* (Peroz Kushan King). All surrounded by dotted border.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, head to front, surrounded by halo, hair in form of flames above and dressed as buns either sides of his face, bearded, wearing necklace, thigh-length skirt over leggings, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem (with separated ribbons) with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left with circle on rump. Blundered inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00 to 9.00): abbreviated version of OOPZAOANΔO/ IAZAΔO (High Yazata). (this reverse design is almost identical to T.G1-ii, rev 3b)

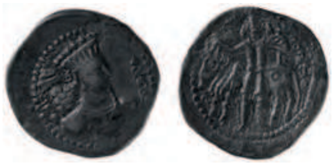
1a Blundered inscription: OOPNΔ/ Z.

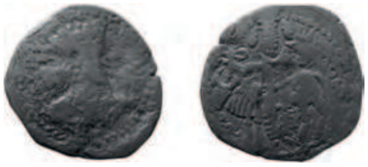
1b Blundered inscription: OPANΔ/ ZA.

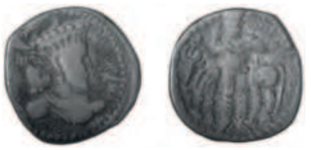
1c Blundered inscription: OOPA/ Z.

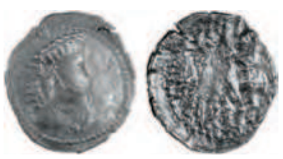
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Rev.	
3880*	4153	2000,0405.1	3.44	20	1a	
A*	Oxford (Bivar 2.3.1954)		2.75	20	1b	§
B*	Bern: Göbl 1993a: 1088		2.85	18	1c	
C*	Private collection Q		2.74	-	?	

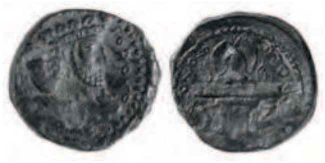
§ 'Bought at Mazar-i Sharif'


3880: T.C1-iii 1u (1a)

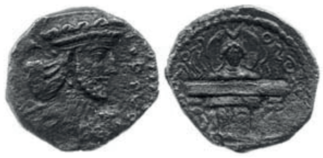

A: T.C1 iii 1u (1b)


B: T.C1-iii 1u (1c)

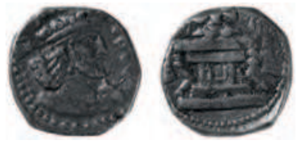

C: T.C1-iii 1u (?)



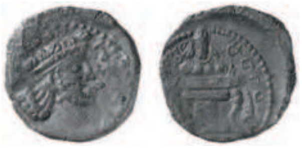
3881: T.C2-i 1u (1A/1a)



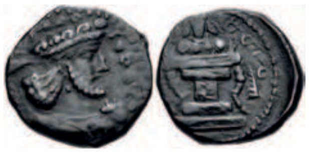
A: T.C2-i 1u (1A/1a)



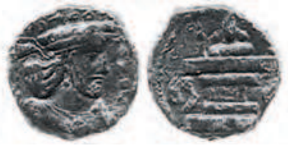
3882: T.C2-i 1u (1A/2a)



3883: T.C2-i 1u (1A/2a)



B: T.C2-i 1u (1A/2a)



C: T.C2-i 1u (1A/2b)

Southern copper mint Begram (T.C2)

This mint uses the jewelled or palmetted flat crown portrait type used on Peroz's gold coins from his southern gold mint, his silver coin and the third phase of his Balkh copper coinage, suggesting that they were issued late in his reign. The coins are divided into phases by the change in crown variety from jewelled to palmetted.

301 T.C2-i 1u Southern copper mint phase 1 units, jewelled flat crown

Göbl 1984: 1117; Cribb 1990: 31–2

Peroz I (T) Southern copper mint at Begram (C2) first phase (i) units (1u), *c.* 4.4 g, jewelled flat crown royal bust/ divine bust on fire altar type.

Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed in bun (drawn as four rows of curls) at back, bearded (beard tied below with jewels), wearing flat crown with row of curls above brim, diadem with ribbons flying behind, wearing a necklace and earring. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 11.00 to 2.00): ΠΙΡΩ/ΖΟ ÞΑΥΟ (Peroz King) (all examples struck from the same obverse die).

Reverse: bust facing, head surrounded by halo and flames to front, emerging from top of fire-altar/throne. Fire altar/throne merged together, throne to front with oblong seat, resting on out-turned lion legs, with ribbons tied to tops and falling down, fire altar seen behind throne, with oblong slab on top of broad column and the throne seat forming the top of the altar, standing on two steps. Brahmi *pe* on altar column. Inscription in Bactrian.

1a Nana, moon goddess, hair dressed in curls, wearing crescent on top of head, diadem with ribbons rising above shoulders, and dress, with halo surrounding head. Inscription anticlockwise (retrograde, from 3.00 to 9.00): ΒΑΓΑ/ ΝΑΝΑ (Lady Nana).

2a Oesho, mountain god, hair in form of flames above and dressed as buns either sides of his face, bearded, wearing diadem, with ribbons, hanging beside his hair buns, and necklace. Inscription clockwise (from 8.00 to 4.00): [ΒΟΡΖΑΟ]ΑΝΔ/Ο/ ΒΑΓΟ (High Lord).

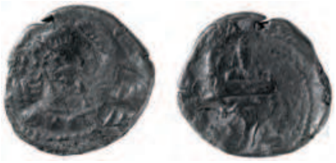
2b as 2a, but god raising right hand, and inscription (from 1.00 to 11.00): [ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔΟ]/ ΒΑΓΟ (same die as T.C-ii 1a).

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	
3881*	4155	1994,0911.1	6.22	20	1A	1a	
A*	Spink 5014 (28.9.2005): 196b		-	-	1A	1a	
3882*	4183	1922,0424.4501	4.39	17	1A	2a	
3883*	4194	1980,1003.2	3.62	18	1A	2a	§
B*	CNG e307 (24 Jul 2013) :169		4.36	18	1A	2a	†
C*	Spink 5014 (28.9.2005): 196c		-	-	1A	2b	‡

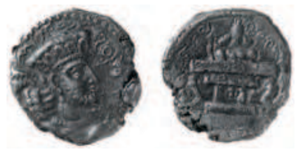
§ Same rev die as next

† Same reverse die as previous

‡ Same reverse die as T.C-ii 1a



3884: T.C2-ii 1u (1A/1a)



3885: T.C2-ii 1u (1A/1a)

302 T.C2-ii 1u Southern copper mint phase 2 units, palmetted flat crown

Göbl 1984: 1115–16, 1118–19, 1123; Cribb 1990: 33

Peroz I (T) Southern copper mint at Begram (C2) second phase (ii) units (1u), *c.* 4.4g, palmetted flat crown royal bust/ divine bust on altar type.

Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed in bun (drawn as four rows of curls) at back, bearded (beard tied below with jewels), wearing flat crown with row of palmettes above brim, surmounted by row of jewels, diadem with ribbons flying behind, wearing a necklace and earring. Inscription in Bactrian.

1A inscription (clockwise from 10.00 to 5.00): ΠΙΡΩ/ΖΟ ÞΑΥΟ (Peroz King).

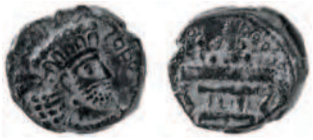
1B inscription (anticlockwise retrograde from 5.00 to 10.00): ΠΙΡΩΖΟ Þ/ ΑΥΟ (Peroz King).

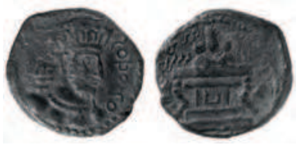
1C inscription (clockwise from 10.00 to 5.00): ΠΙΡ/ΩΖΟ ÞΑΥΟ (Peroz King).

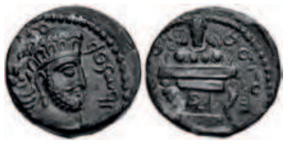
1D inscription blundered.

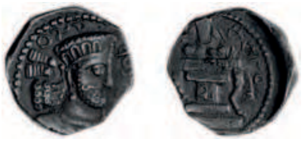
2A as 1D, but without jewels along the top of the palmettes.
Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, bust facing, head surrounded by halo and flames to front, emerging from top of fire-altar/throne, hair in form of flames above and dressed as buns either sides of his face, bearded, wearing diadem, with ribbons, hanging beside his hair buns, and necklace. Fire altar/throne merged together, throne to front with oblong seat, resting on out-turned lion legs, with ribbons tied to tops and falling down, fire altar seen below throne, with oblong slab on top of broad column, standing on two steps. Inscription in Bactrian.
1a god making gesture with raised right hand, Brahmi *pe* on altar column, inscription (clockwise from 8.00 to 4.00): ΒΑΓΟ/ ΒΟΡΖΑ[ΟΑΝΔΟ] (High Lord) (examples from same reverse die as T.C2-i 2b).
1b as 1a, but blundered and abbreviated inscription.
2a as 1a, but god not raising hand.
2b as 2a, but inscription (clockwise from 8.00 to 4.00): [ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝ]Δ/Ο/ ΒΑΓΟ (some examples struck from same reverse die as T.C 1-i 2a).
2c as 2a, but inscription blundered (clockwise from 1.00 to 11.00): ΟΑΓΟ/ ΟΟΟΑΟΟΟΝΔ.
3a as 1a, but blundered inscription and without Brahmi *pe* on altar column.
4a as 2a, but blundered inscription and without Brahmi *pe* on altar column.

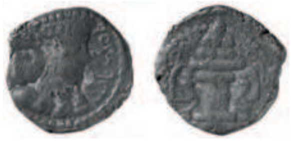
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	
3884*	4207	1981,0735.2	5.49	20	1A	1a	§
3885*	4208	1981,1007.1	5.13	18	1A	1a	†
3886*	4240	1992,0232.1	4.12	16	1A	1a	‡
3887*	4253	1994,0911.2	4.26	18	1A	2a	
A*	CNG e321 (26.4.2014): 268		3.62	17	1B	2b	*
B*	ANS (1987.46.9)		4.48	17	1B	2b	
3888	4323	1994,0911.3	3.49	18	1B	2b	
3889*	4358	1980,1003.1	4.60	17	1B	2b	
3890*	4666	1996,0608.1	3.44	19	1B	2b	**
3891*	4788	1982,0603.40	4.48	21	1C	2c	
C*	ANS (1987.47.1)		2.12	18	1C	2c	
3892*	4793	1987,0325.5	6.14	16	1D	1b	
3893	4794	1982,0602.41	4.70	18	1D	1b	
3894	4798	1992,0119.94	3.50	17	1D	1b	
3895	4827	1992,0119.92	4.83	18	1D	3a	
3896*	4839	1981,0325.6	4.51	19	1D	3a	
3897	5059	IOC.2391	4.49	18	1D	3a	
3898*	5103	1992,0119.83	4.36	18	1D	3a	
3899	5118	1981,0325.8	4.33	17	1D	3a	
3900	5129	1992,0119.93	4.19	17	1D	3a	
3901	5156	1992,0119.78	4.18	18	1D	3a	
3902	5172	1992,0119.80	4.08	20	1D	3a	
3903	5173	1992,0119.220	4.06	20	1D	3a	
3904	5187	1992,0119.79	3.90	19	1D	3a	
3905	5229	1992,0119.116	3.88	17	1D	3a	
3906	5230	1992,0119.91	3.29	16	1D	3a	
3907	5282	1987,0921.4	3.28	18	1D	3a	
3908	5354	1992,0119.85	4.54	19	1D	4a	
3909*	5355	IOC.2390	4.43	19	1D	4a	
3910	5361	1992,0101.106	4.43	18	1D	4a	
3911*	5375	1981,0325.7	4.59	17	1D	4a	
3912	5378	1992,0119.112	4.39	17	1D	4a	
3913	5381	1992,0119.81	4.36	20	1D	4a	
3914	5383	1990,0921.74	4.11	19	1D	4a	

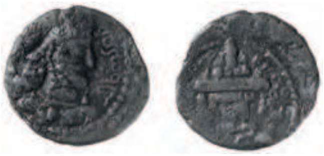

3886: T.C2-ii 1u (1A/1a)

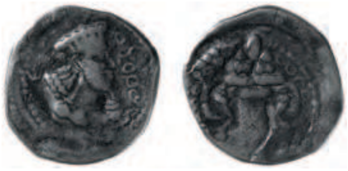

3887: T.C2-ii 1u (1A/2a)

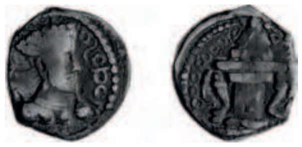

A: T.C2-ii 1u (1B/2b)

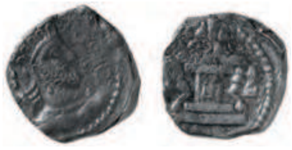

B: T.C2-ii 1u (1B/2b)

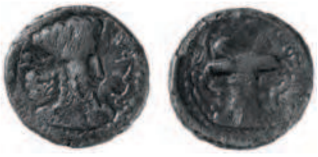

3889: T.C2-ii 1u (1B/2b)


3890: T.C2-ii 1u (1B/2b)

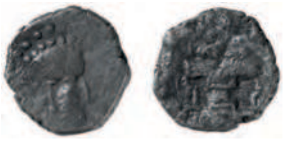

3891: T.C2-ii 1u (1D/1b)


C: T.C2-ii 1u (1B/1c)

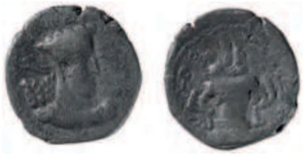

3892: T.C2-ii 1u (1D/1b)



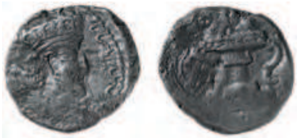
3896: T.C2-ii 1u (1D/3a)



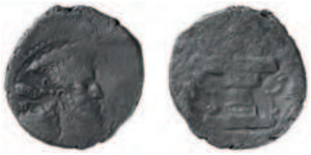
3898: T.C2-ii 1u (1D/3a)



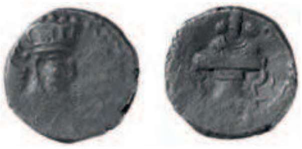
3909: T.C2-ii 1u (1D/4a)



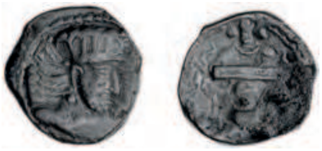
3911: T.C2-ii 1u (1D/4a)



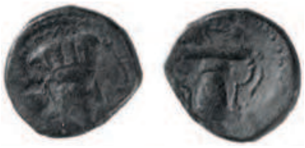
3920: T.C2-ii 1u (1D/4a)



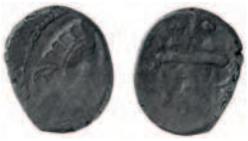
3924: T.C2-ii 1u (1D/4a)



E: T.C2-ii 1u (2A/4a)



3928: T.C2-ii 1u (1D or 2A/4a)



3929: T.C2-ii 1u (1D or 2A/4a)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	
3915	5385	1981,0120.1	4.10	17	1D	4a	
3916	5386	1992,0119.98	4.05	17	1D	4a	
3917	5410	1992,0119.89	4.04	16	1D	4a	
3918	5440	1992,0119.86	3.94	18	1D	4a	
3919	5466	1992,0119.117	3.88	17	1D	4a	
3920*	5473	1992,0119.126	3.88	19	1D	4a	
3921	5522	1992,0119.104	3.86	18	1D	4a	
3922	5570	1992,0119.96	3.84	18	1D	4a	
3923	5690	1992,0119.87	3.84	18	1D	4a	
3924*	5809	1992,0119.88	3.83	18	1D	4a	
3925	5823	1992,0119.82	3.43	19	1D	4a	
3926	5824	OR.9143	3.21	16	1D	4a	
3927	5850	1992,0119.124	4.84	17	2A	4a	
E*	ANS (1987.46.10)		4.24	19	2A	4a	
3928*	5859	1981,0120.2	5.19	18	1D or 2A	4a	
3929*	5866	1992,0119.105	4.44	17	1D or 2A	4a	
3930	5872	1992,0119.132	4.40	16	1D or 2A	4a	
3931	5918	1992,0119.130	4.39	18	1D or 2A	4a	
3932	5919	1987,0921.3	3.96	19	1D or 2A	4a	
3933	5925	1992,0119.120	4.73	15	1D or 2A	4a	
3934	5990	1992,0119.100	4.28	16	1D or 2A	4a	
3935	5991	1992,0119.107	4.66	18	1D or 2A	4a	
3936	5992	1992,0119.113	4.44	18	1D or 2A	4a	
3937	6191	1992,0119.119	4.38	16	1D or 2A	4a	
3938	6203	1992,0119.111	4.36	17	1D or 2A	4a	
3939	6218	1987,0921.2	4.37	18	1D or 2A	4a	
3940	6220	1992,0119.110	4.33	19	1D or 2A	4a	
3941	6221	1981,0120.4	4.27	17	1D or 2A	4a	
3942	6245	1992,0119.99	4.21	17	1D or 2A	4a	
3943	6251	1987,0921.1	4.21	19	1D or 2A	4a	
3944	6253	1987,0921.6	4.18	18	1D or 2A	4a	
3945	6354	1992,0119.90	4.15	17	1D or 2A	4a	
3946	6334	1992,0119.101	4.10	18	1D or 2A	4a	
3947	6335	1992,0119.118	4.08	19	1D or 2A	4a	
3948	6354	1992,0119.84	4.01	18	1D or 2A	4a	
3949	6481	1992,0119.129	3.97	17	1D or 2A	4a	
3950	6495	1992,0119.21	3.94	16	1D or 2A	4a	
3951	6509	1992,0119.122	3.89	16	1D or 2A	4a	
3952	6511	OR.9142	3.88	18	1D or 2A	4a	
3953	6502	1992,0119.95	3.75	16	1D or 2A	4a	
3954	6503	1992,0119.108	3.73	18	1D or 2A	4a	
3955	6524	1992,0119.115	3.67	20	1D or 2A	4a	
3956	6527	1987,0121.5	3.64	18	1D or 2A	4a	
3957	6548	1980,1005.1	3.64	17	1D or 2A	4a	
3958	6570	1992,0119.127	3.62	17	1D or 2A	4a	
3959	6571	1992,0119.97	3.60	18	1D or 2A	4a	
3960	6595	1992,0119.114	3.30	17	1D or 2A	4a	
3961	6596	1992,0119.131	3.18	19	1D or 2A	4a	
3962	6597	1992,0119.128	3.11	17	1D or 2A	4a	
3963	6603	OR.9144	3.01	18	1D or 2A	4a	

§ Overstruck on F-imit copper.
† Same reverse die as T.C2-i 2b and next.
‡ Same reverse die as T.C2-i 2b and previous.
* Same reverse die as T.C 1-i 2a.
** Overstuck on Shapur I Merv copper. See Cribb *et al.* 2022.

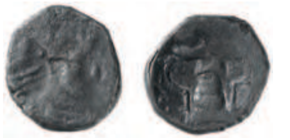
303 T.C2-ii-imit 1u Unofficial copies of southern copper mint units

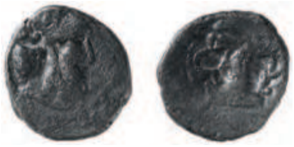
Peroz I (T) Unofficial copies (imit) of Southern copper mint at Begram (C2), second phase (ii) units (1u), *c.* 4.4 g, palmetted flat crown royal bust/ divine bust on altar type.

Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed in bun (drawn as four rows of curls) at back, bearded (beard tied below with jewels), wearing flat crown with row of palmettes above brim, surmounted by row of jewels, diadem with ribbons flying behind, wearing a necklace, earring. Blundered inscription in Bactrian.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, bust facing, head surrounded by halo and flames to front, emerging from top of fire-altar/throne, hair in form of flames above and dressed as buns either sides of his face, bearded, wearing diadem, with ribbons, hanging beside his hair buns, and necklace. Fire altar/throne merged together, throne to front with oblong seat, resting on out-turned lion legs, with ribbons tied to tops and falling down, fire altar seen below throne, with oblong slab on top of broad column, standing on two steps. Blundered inscription in Bactrian.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
3964	6604	1992,0119.125	4.54	17
3965	6605	1981,0120.3	4.45	17
3966	6610	1992,0119.109	4.34	19
3967	6628	1992,0119.102	4.33	17
3968*	6668	1982,0119.128	4.08	17
3969*	6717	1992,0119.103	3.98	18


3968: T.C2-ii imit 1u


3969: T.C2-ii imit 1u

Gold coins

The reduced standard Kushan dinar denomination continued to be used, with 79 examples from the Balkh gold mint averaging 7.86g (range 7.60–8.05g) and 5 examples from the southern gold mint averaging 7.75g (range 7.72–7.80g). The gold coins of the Merv mint were struck on the *c.* 7.2g Sasanian standard, with three coins averaging 7.12g (range 7.00 to 7.20g).

Main gold mint, Balkh (U.G1)

The coins of this mint were issued in four phases distinguished by three different reverse designs: god's head in halo with no ground line (phase 1), ground line (phases 2 and 3), god's head with raised ribbons (phase 4) and the addition of the title king of kings ÞΑΥΟΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ (phase 3). Other features in the treatment of the obverse design, such as addition of crescent on trident, additonal smoke from altar, control marks and the mint name ΒΑΧΛΟ (Balkh) confirm the sequence based on the reverse variations.

304 U.G1-i 1d Main gold mint phase 1 dinars, lion head crown

Cribb 1990: 3

Hormizd I (U) main gold mint (G1), first phase (i), dinars (1d), 7.85g, lion head crown standing king/ Oesho and bull type.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left surrounded by halo, hair dressed in bun (drawn as four horizontal rows of curls), bearded (beard tied below with jewel), flames rising from shoulders, wearing lion head crown surmounted by artichoke, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons, earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of armour with smooth breastplate and plate-mail skirt, over leggings, tied at ankles, sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident in raised left hand and making offering over fire altar with extended right hand, holding dish. King standing on dotted ground line. Altar column-shaped with slab at top and bottom of column, with triangular projects at corners of top slab, curls of smoke rising above altar, trident with ribbons on shaft positioned above altar. Three dots under king's left arm, swastika and dot between king's legs, dot between king's right leg and altar, nandipada symbol in right field, control marks on some examples. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00 to 11.00, with variant spellings): ΩΥΡΑΜΑΖΔΟ ΟΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ (Hormizd Great Kushan King).

1A altar smoke with top curl facing away from king, inscription: ΩΥΡΑΜΑΖΔΟ ΟΟΖ/ΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ.

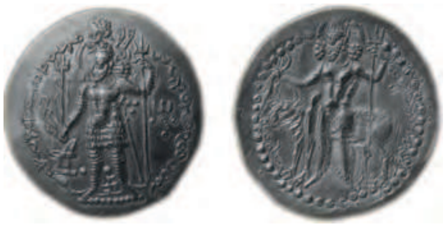
1B as 1A, but altar smoke with top curl facing towards king.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, head to front, slightly turned to left, surrounded by halo, hair in form of flames above and dressed in buns either side of head (drawn as three or four horizontal rows of curls), bearded, wearing necklace, earring and bracelets, thigh-length skirt over leggings, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left with strap across rump. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00 to 9.00): ΒΟΡΖΟΑΝΔΟ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ (high yazata).

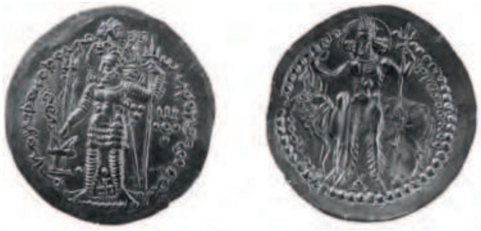
1a inscription ΒΟΡΖΟΑΝΔΟ// ΙΑΖΑΔΟ.

1b as 1a, but with Brahmi *go* between god's feet.

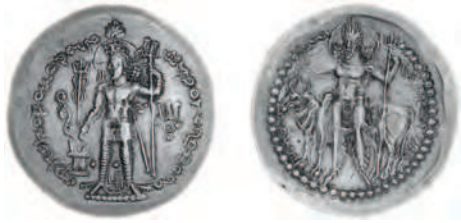
1c inscription ΒΟΡΖΟΑΝΔΟ/ ΙΑΖ/ΑΔΟ.



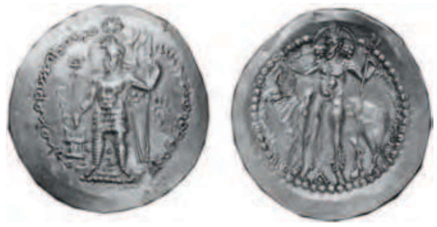
3970: U.G1-i 1d (1A/1a)



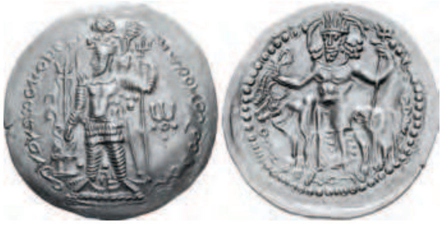
A; U.G1-i 1d (1A/1b)



B: U.G1-i 1d (1B/1a)



C: U.G1-i 1d (1B/1b)



D: U.G1-i 1d (1B/1c)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
3970*	189587	1894,0506.172	7.73	28	1A	1a
A*	Shanghai (Wang 728)		7.80	29	1A	1b
B*	ANS (LAK.033)		7.89	28	1B	1a
C*	Shown to authors (in trade §)		7.86	-	1B	1b
D*	CNG 90 (23.5.2012): 919		7.85	28	1B	1c

§ 'From Akra, Bannu'

305 U.G1-ii 1d Main gold mint phase 2 dinars, lion head crown

Göbl 1984: 707, 743, 744; Göbl 1993a: 85, 134, 136, 138; Cribb 1990: 3
Hormizd I (U) main gold mint (G1), second phase (ii), dinars (1d), 7.85g, lion head crown standing king/ Oesho and bull type.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, surrounded by halo on most varieties, hair dressed in bun (drawn as four horizontal rows of curls), bearded (beard tied below with jewel), flames rising from shoulders (sometimes missing on king's left shoulder), wearing lion head crown surmounted by artichoke, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons, earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of armour with smooth breastplate and plate-mail skirt, over leggings, tied at ankles, sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident in raised left hand and making offering over fire altar with extended right hand, holding dish. King standing on dotted ground line. Altar column-shaped with slab at top and bottom of column, with triangular projects at corners of top slab, curls of smoke rising above altar, trident with ribbons on shaft positioned above altar. Three dots under king's left arm, swastika and dot between king's legs, dot between king's right leg and altar, nandipada symbol in right field, mint name ΒΑΧΛΟ clockwise in right field on some varieties, and control marks on some varieties. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00 to 11.00, with variant spellings): ΟΥΡΑΜΑΖΔΟ ΟΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ (Hormizd Great Kushan King).

1A altar smoke with top curl facing towards king, inscription: ΟΥΡΑΜΑΖΔΟ ΟΟΖ/ΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ.

1B as 1A, but cross lines on altar column.

1C as 1A, but inscription: ΟΥΡΑΜΑΖΔΟ ΟΟΖΟΡ/ΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ.

2A as 1A, but altar smoke with top curl facing away from king, inscription: ΟΥΡΑΜΑΖΔΟ ΟΟΖ/ΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΥΟ.

2B as 2A, but king holding spoon, cross lines on altar column and inscription: ΟΥΡΑΜΑΖΔΟ ΟΟΖ/ΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΥΟ.

3A mint name in right field, split above and below nandipada symbol: ΒΑΧ/ΛΟ, inscription: ΟΥΡΑΜΑΖΔΟ ΟΟΖ/ΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ.

4A as 1A, but dot on central tip of trident held by king, mint name ΒΑΧΛΟ joined below nandipada, swastika above nandipada.

5A as 4A, but no dot on tip of trident and king's head without halo and Bactrian X above nandipada.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, head to front, slightly turned to left, surrounded by halo, hair in form of flames above and dressed in buns either side of head (drawn as three or four horizontal rows of curls), bearded, wearing necklace, earring and bracelets, thigh-length skirt over leggings, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left with strap across rump. God and bull standing on linear ground line. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00 to 9.00): ΒΟΡΖΟΑΝΔΟ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ (High Yazata).

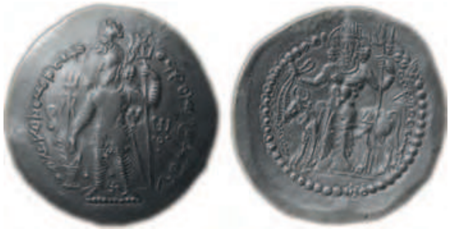
1a inscription: ΒΟΡΖΟΑΝΔΟ// ΙΑΖΑΔΟ.

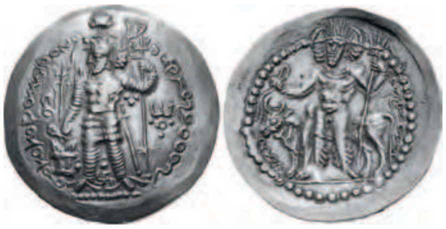
1b inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟ/ΑΝΔΟ/ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ.

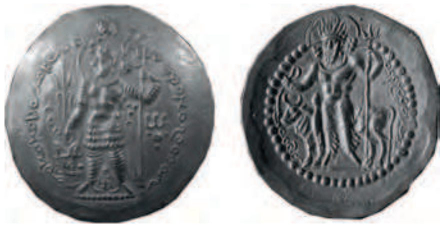
1c inscription: ΒΟΡΖΟΑΝΔΟ// (ΙΑΖΑΔΟ omitted).

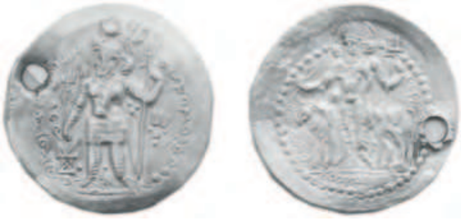
1d inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝ/ΔΟ/ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ.

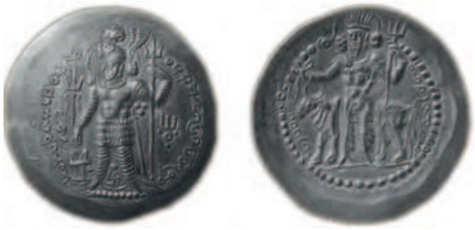
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
3971*	189586	1853,0301.1314	8.03	29	15.33	1A	1a
A*	CNG 90 (23.5.2012) 820		7.90	28	-	1A	1a
B*	Private collection Q		-	-	-	1B	1a
C*§	Paris (Kieffer 1973.188.4)		6.71	28	-	1B	1b
3972*	189581	1983,0817.5	7.82	29	15.21	1C	1a
D*	Spink-Taisei 9 (20.2.1991): 99		7.87	-	-	2A	1a
E*	Cast in British Museum (Senior)		7.76	-	15.30	2B	1a
F*	CNG Triton IX (10.1.2006) 1240		7.91	-	-	2B	1a

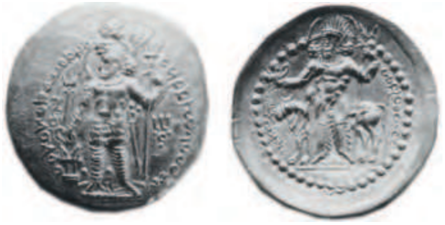

3971: U.G1-ii 1d (1A/1a)

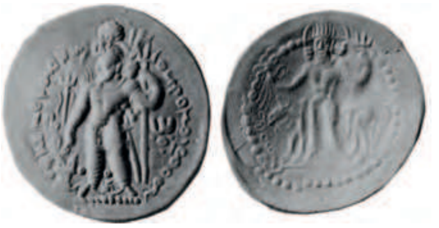

A: U.G1-ii 1d (1A/1a)


B: U.G1-ii 1d (1B/1a)


C: U.G1-ii 1d (1B/1b)


3972: U.G1-ii 1d (1C/1a)


D: U.G1-ii 1d (2A/1a)

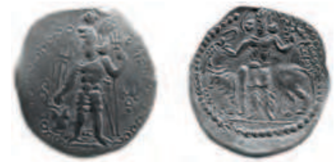

E: U.G1-ii 1d (2B/1a)

front, slightly turned to left, surrounded by halo, hair in form of flames above and dressed in buns either side of head (drawn as three or four horizontal rows of curls), bearded, wearing necklace, earring and bracelets, thigh-length skirt over leggings, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left with strap across rump. God and bull standing on linear ground line. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00 to 9.00): BOPZOANΔO IAZAΔO (High Yazata).

1a inscription: BOPZOANΔO// IAZAΔO.

1b inscription: BOPZAOAN/ΔO/ IAZAΔO.

1c inscription: BOPZA//OANΔO.



D: U.G1-ii ¼d (2A/1c)

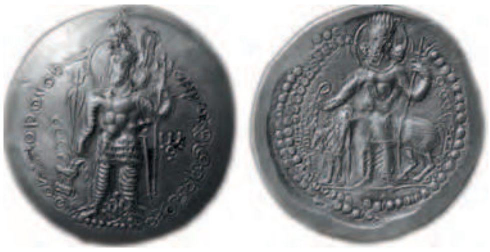
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Vienna; Göbl 1984: 709.1		-	-	-	1A	1a
3973*	189584	1939,0516.1	1.64	20	15.00	1B	1b
B*	Bern (88.435); Göbl 1993a: 826		1.74	19	-	2A	1a
C*	Peus 282 (30.10.1973): 591		1.93	-	-	2A	1b
D*	Private collection E		-	-	-	2A	1c

307 U.G1-ii-imit 1d Unofficial copies of main gold mint phase 2 dinars

Hormizd I (U) main gold mint (G1), second phase (ii), unofficial copies (imit), dinars (1d), 7.85g, lion head crown standing king/ Oesho and bull type.

Obverse: as U.G1-ii obverse 2B, but inscription: OYPOMAZΔO OYZOKO/OOKO KOÞANO ÞYO

Reverse: as U.G1-ii reverse 1a, but inscription: OBOPZOANΔO// IAZA.



3974: U.G1-ii-imit 1d

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
3974*	269169	1983,0817.7	7.38	31

308 U.G1-iii 1d Main gold mint phase 3 dinars, 'king of kings' lion head

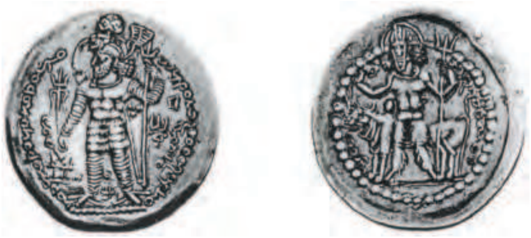
Göbl 1984: 747; Göbl 1993a: 139; Cribb 1990: 4

Hormizd I (U) main gold mint (G1), third phase (iii), dinars (1d), 7.85g, 'king of kings' lion head crown standing king/ Oesho and bull type.

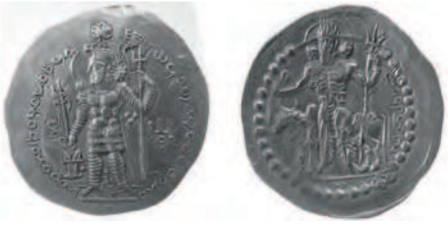
Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, surrounded by halo on some varieties, hair dressed in bun (drawn as four horizontal rows of curls), bearded (beard tied below with jewel), flames rising from shoulders, wearing lion head crown surmounted by artichoke, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons, earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of armour with smooth breastplate and plate-mail skirt, over leggings, tied at ankles, sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident in raised left hand and making offering over fire altar with extended right hand, holding dish. King standing on dotted ground line. Altar column-shaped with slab at top and bottom of column, with triangular projects at corners of top slab, curls of smoke rising above altar, trident with ribbons on shaft, surmounted by a crescent on some varieties, positioned above altar. Three dots under king's left arm, swastika and dot between king's legs, dot between king's right leg and altar, nandipada symbol in right field, mint name BAXΛO clockwise in right field on some varieties, and control marks on some varieties. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00 to 11.00, with variant spellings and errors): Ω(or O)(YO)PAMAZΔO OOZOPKO KOÞANO ÞAYONO ÞA(YO) (Hormizd Great Kushan King of Kings).

1A king's head surrounded by halo, with top curl of smoke towards king, no crescent on trident, Brahmi *ba* in right field above nandipada and mint name BAXΛO below, inscription: ΩYPAMAZΔO OOZOPKO/ KOÞANO ÞAYONO ÞAYO.

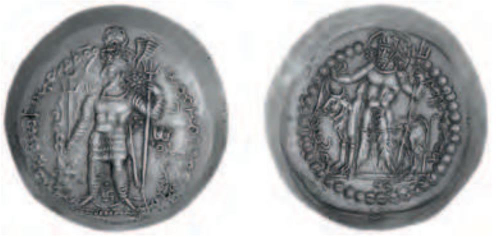
1B as 1A, but no symbol or mint name, inscription: ΩYPAMAZΔO OOZKO/ KOÞANO ÞAYONO ÞYO.



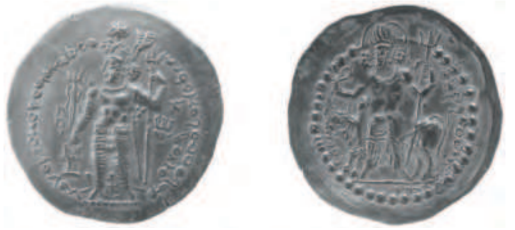
A: U.G1-iii 1d (1A/1a)



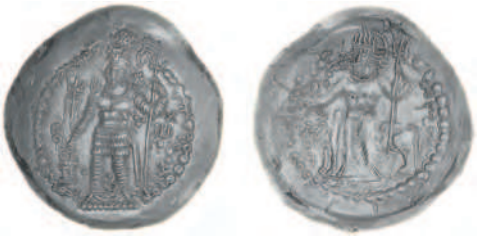
B: U.G1-iii 1d (1B/2a)



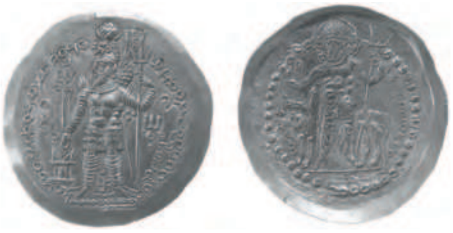
C: U.G1-iii 1d (2A/3a)



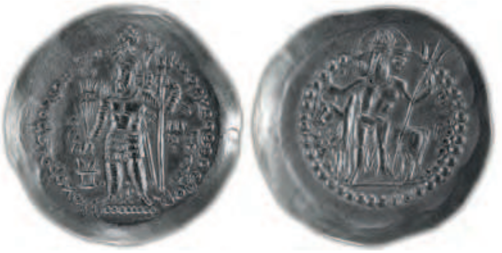
D: U.G1-iii 1d (3A/2a)



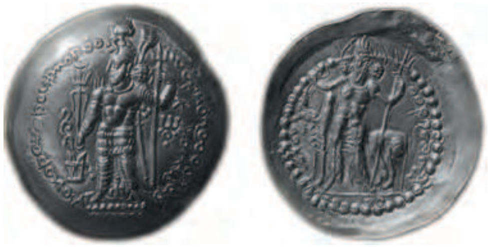
E: U.G1-iii 1d (3A/3b)



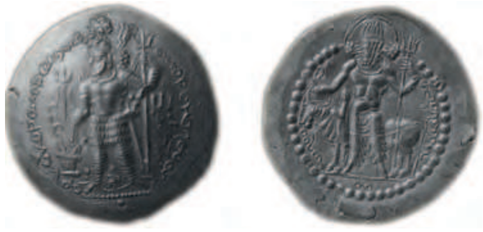
F: U.G1-iii 1d (3B/2a)



3975: U.G1-iii 1d (3C/1b)



3976: U.G1-iii 1d (3C/3a)



3977: U.G1-iii 1d (4A/3a)

2A king's head surrounded by halo, with top curl of smoke away from king, crescent on trident, symbol 10 in right field above nandipada and mint name ΒΑΧΛΟ below, inscription: ΩΡΟΜΑΖΔΟ ΟΟΖΟΡ/ΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟΝΟ ÞΑΟ (with line above last word).

3A no halo, with top curl of smoke towards king, no crescent on trident, Bactrian X in right field above nandipada and mint name ΒΑΧΛΟ below, inscription: ΩΡΟΜΑΖΔΟ ΟΟΖΟΡ/ΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟΝΟ ÞΑΟ.

3B no halo, with top curl of smoke towards king, crescent on trident, curl in right field above nandipada and mint name ΒΑΧΛΟ below, inscription: ΩΡΥΡΑΜΑΖΔΟ ΟΟΖΟΡ/ΚΟ ΚΟΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ.

3C no halo, with top curl of smoke away from king, crescent on trident, Bactrian X in right field above nandipada and mint name ΒΑΧΛΟ below, inscription: ΩΟΡΜΑΖΔΟ ΟΟΖΟΡ/ΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟΝΟ ÞΑΟ.

4A no halo, with top curl of smoke towards king, no crescent on trident, inscription (last word in right field below nandipada): ΟΥΟΡΑΜΑΖΔΟ ΟΖ/ΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟΝΟ/ ÞΑΥΟ. Dot below ground line. Dot in field between king's right hand and his skirt (may be a die flaw).

5A no halo, with top curl of smoke towards king, crescent on trident, inscription: ΟΥΡΑΜΑΖΔΟ ΟΟΖΟΡΟ/ ΟΡ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟΝΟ ÞΥΟ.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, head to front, slightly turned to left, surrounded by halo, hair in form of flames above and dressed in buns either side of head (drawn as three or four horizontal rows of curls), bearded, wearing necklace, earring and bracelets, thigh-length skirt over leggings, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left with strap across rump. God and bull standing on linear ground line. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00 to 9.00, with some omissions): ΒΟΡΖΟΑΝΔΟ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ (high yazata).

1a inscription: ΒΟΡΖΟΑΝΔΟ// ΙΑΖΑΔΟ.

1b inscription: ΒΟΡΖΟΑΝΔΟ// ΙΑΖΑΔ.

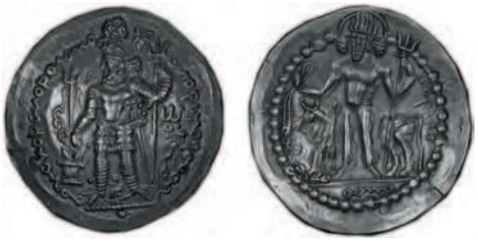
2a inscription: ΒΟΡΖΟΑΝΔΟ/ ΙΑΖ/ΖΑΔΟ.

3a inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝ/ΔΟ/ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ.

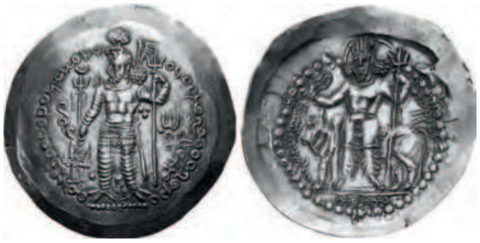
3b inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟ/ΑΝΔΟ/ ΙΑΖ/ΑΔΟ (inscription ends in upper left field).

3c inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟ/ΑΝΔΟ/ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev
A*	Burgan (30.6.1987) 14		8.01	-	-	1A	1a
B*	Bern; Göbl 1993a: 815		7.83	28	-	1B	2a
C*	ANS (LAK.051)		7.87	30	-	2A	3a
D*	Bern: Göbl 1993a: 827		7.65	29	-	3A	2a
E*	ANS (LAK.050)		7.89	31	-	3A	3b
F*	Bern, Göbl 1993a: 828		7.92	29	-	3B	1b
3975*	25544	1860,1220.219	7.88	32	15.51	3C	1b
3976*	189591	1982,0626.1	7.82	31	15.44	3C	3a
3977*	189588	1985,0306.1	7.81	29	-	4A	3a
G*	Private collection P		-	-	-	4A	3c
H*	CNG Triton XVIII (6.1.2015) 867; CNG Triton IX (10.1.2006) 1241		7.84	30	-	5A	3c



G: U.G1-iii 1d (4A/3c)

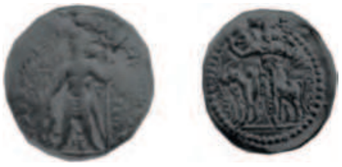


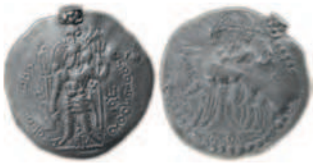
H: U.G1-iii 1d (5A/3c)

309 U.G1-iii ¼d Main gold mint phase 3 quarter dinars, lion head

Göbl 1984: 710

Hormizd I (U) main gold mint (G1), third phase (iii), quarter dinars (¼d), 1.96g, lion head crown standing king 'king of kings'/ Oesho and bull type.


A: U.G1-iii ¼d (1A/1a)


3978: U.G1-iii ¼d (1B/1b)

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, with halo, hair dressed in bun (drawn as four horizontal rows of curls), bearded (beard tied below with jewel), flames rising from shoulders (sometimes missing on king's left shoulder), wearing lion head crown surmounted by artichoke, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons, earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of armour with smooth breastplate and plate-mail skirt, over leggings, tied at ankles, sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident in raised left hand and making offering over fire altar with extended right hand, holding dish. King standing on dotted ground line. Altar column-shaped with slab at top and bottom of column, with triangular projects at corners of top slab, curls of smoke rising above altar on most examples, trident with ribbons on shaft positioned above altar. Three dots under king's left arm, swastika and dot between king's legs, dot between king's right leg and altar, nandipada symbol in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00 to 11.00, with variant spellings): Ω(or Ο)ΥΡΑΜΑΖΔΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ (Hormizd Kushan King of Kings).

1A inscription ΟΥΡΑΜΑΖΔΟ ΟΟ/ΖΟΡΚΟ ÞΑΥΟΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ.

1B inscription ΩΥΡΑΜΑΖΔΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, head to front, slightly turned to left, surrounded by halo, hair in form of flames above and dressed in buns either side of head (drawn as three or four horizontal rows of curls), bearded, wearing necklace, earring and bracelets, thigh-length skirt over leggings, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left with strap across rump. God and bull standing on linear ground line. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00 to 9.00): ΒΟΡΖΟΑΝΔΟ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ (High Yazata) with different spacing between types.

1a inscription ΒΟΡΖΟΑΝΔΟ// ΙΑΖΑΔΟ.

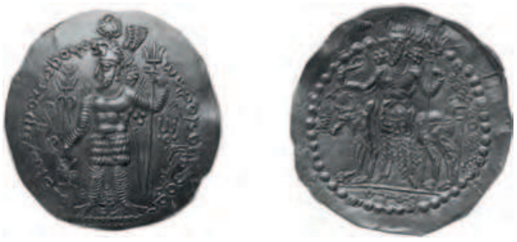
1b inscription ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝ/ΔΟ ΙΑΖ/ΑΔΟ.

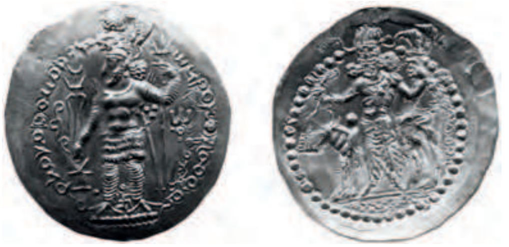
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Mitchiner 1274		1.60	-	-	1A	1a
3978*	189585	1888,1208.562	1.89	20	15.54	1B	1b

310 U.G1-iv 1d Main gold mint phase 4 dinars, lion head crown

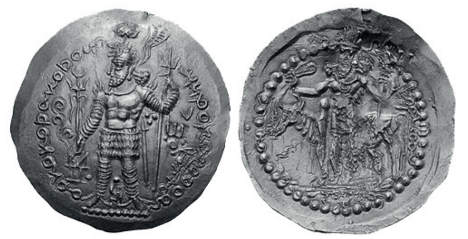
Göbl 1984: 745; Göbl 1993a: 132, 133, 135, 137, 140, 141; Cribb 1990: 4

Hormizd I (U) main gold mint (G1), fourth phase (iv), dinars (1d), 7.85g, lion head crown standing king/ Oesho and bull type.

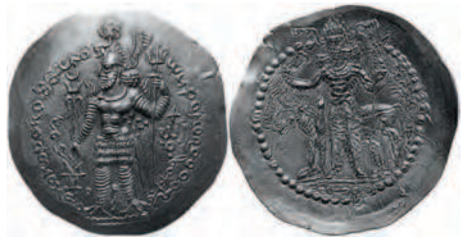

A: U.G1-iv 1d (1A/1a)


3979: U.G1-iv 1d (1B/1b)

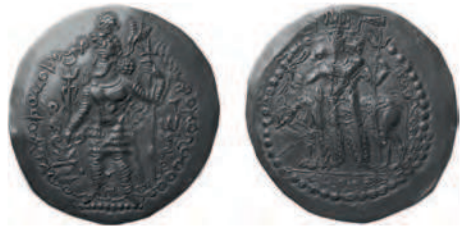
Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, hair dressed in bun (drawn as four horizontal rows of curls), bearded (beard tied below with jewel), flames rising from shoulders, wearing lion head crown surmounted by artichoke, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons, earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of armour with smooth breastplate and plate-mail skirt, over leggings, tied at ankles, sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident in raised left hand and making offering over fire altar with extended right hand, holding dish. King standing on dotted ground line. Altar column-shaped with slab at top and bottom of column, with triangular projects at corners of top slab, curls of smoke rising above altar top curl facing towards king, on some examples extra smoke curls to right of king's hand, trident, with crescent surmounting its central prong and with ribbons on shaft positioned above altar. Three dots under king's left arm, swastika and dot between king's legs, dot between king's right leg and altar, nandipada symbol in right field, mint name ΒΑΧΛΟ clockwise in right field, and control marks on some varieties. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00 to 11.00, with variant spellings): Ω (or Ο)ΥΡΑΜΑΖΔΟ ΟΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ (Hormizd Great Kushan King).



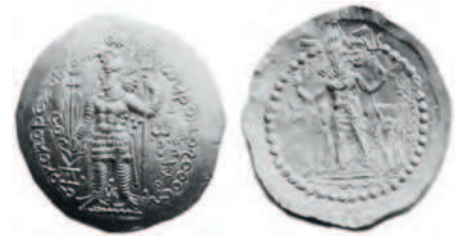
B: U.G1-iv 1d (1B/1b)



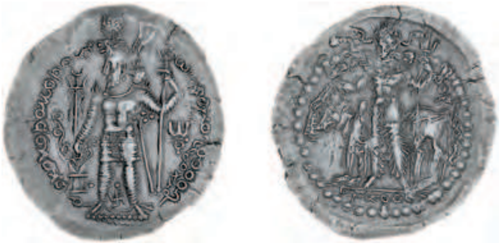
C: U.G1-iv 1d (1C/1b)



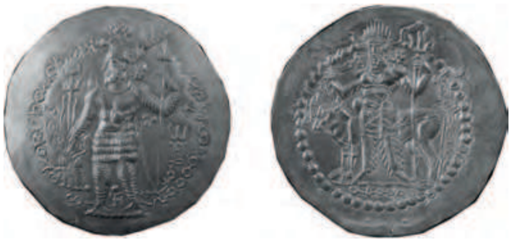
D: U.G1-iv 1d (2A/1b)



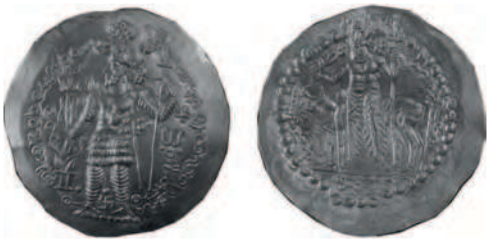
E: U.G1-iv 1d (2B/1b)



F: U.G1-iv 1d (2C/1b)



G: U.G1-iv 1d (2D/1b)



H: U.G1-iv 1d (2D/1c)

1A no smoke to right of king's hand, Bactrian Λ above nandipada, inscription: ΩΥΡΑΜΑΖΔΟ ΟΟΖ/ΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ.

1B as 1A, but inverted Bactrian Λ above nandipada.

1C as 1A, but Bactrian X above nandipada.

2A smoke to right of king's hand, inverted Bactrian T above nandipada, inscription: ΩΥΡΑΜΑΖΔΟ ΟΟΖ/ΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ.

2B as 2A, but rotated Bactrian Λ above nandipada.

2C as 2A, but rotated Bactrian M above nandipada.

2D as 2A, but rotated Bactrian X above nandipada.

2E as 2A, but no control mark in field above nandipada.

2F as 2A, but laddered ribbons on trident over altar and Pahlavi *bn* in right field by king's left foot and no control mark in field above nandipada.

2G as 2F, but Pahlavi *bn* in right field by king's left foot and sideways Bactrian Λ above nandipada, inscription: ΩΥΡΜΑΖΔΟ ΟΟΖ/ΟΡΟΚΟ ΚÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ.

2H as 2G, but plain, not laddered, ribbons, inscription: ΩΥΡΑΜΑΖΔΟ ΟΟ/ΖΟΡΟΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ.

2I as 2A, but inverted Bactrian Λ above nandipada, inscription: ΩΥΡΑΜΑΖΔΟ ΟΟ/ΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ.

3A smoke to right of king's hand, no control mark above nandipada, inscription: ΟΥΡΑΜΑΖΔΟ ΟΟΖ/ΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ.

3B as 3A, but inverted Bactrian T above nandipada, inscription: ΟΥΡΑΜΑΖΔΟ ΟΟΖ/ΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ΑΥΟ.

3C as 3A, but rotated Bactrian T above nandipada.

3D as 3A, but Brahmi *kha* above nandipada and Bactrian X in left field, inscription: ΟΥΡΜΑΖΔΟ ΟΟΖΟΡΚ/Ο ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ.

3E as 3A, but Brahmi *kha* above nandipada, inscription: ΟΥΡΜΑΖΔΟ ΟΟΖΟ/ΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, head to front, slightly turned to left, hair in form of flames above and dressed in buns either side of head (drawn as three or four horizontal rows of curls), bearded, wearing diadem with laddered ribbons rising above to right and left, necklace, earring and bracelets, thigh-length skirt over leggings, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left with strap across rump. God and bull standing on linear ground line. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 1.00 to 9.00): ΒΟΡΖΟΑΝΔΟ ΒΑΓΟ (high lord) or ΒΟΡΖΟΑΝΔΟ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ (High Yazata).

1a inscription: ΒΟΡΖΟΑΝΔΟ/ ΒΑΓΟ/.

1b inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝ/ΔΟ ΒΑΓΟ/

1c inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟ/ΑΝΔΟ/ ΒΑΓΟ

2a inscription: ΒΟΡΖΟΑΝΔΟ/ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ/

2b inscription: ΒΟΡΖΟΑΝΔΟ/ ΙΑΖ/ΑΔΟ

2c inscription: ΒΟΡΖΟΑΝΔΟ// ΙΑΖΑΔΟ

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Private collection W		7.66	30	-	1A	1a
3979*	189593	1983,0817.6	7.84	31	-	1A	1b
B*	CNG mailbid 60 (22.5.2002), lot 1165		8.03	-	-	1B	1b
C*	Ponterio 149 (24.04.2009), lot 2129		8.02	-	-	1C	1b
D*	Ashmolean		7.82	-	-	2A	1b
E*	Spink-Taisei 9 (20.2.1991) 101		7.94	-	-	2B	1b
F*	ANS (1944.100.3612)		7.73	29	-	2C	1b
G*	Private collection Q		7.84	-	-	2D	1b
H*	Private collection Q		7.83	-	-	2D	1c
I*	CNG Triton XIV 4.1.2011 lot 548		7.86	30	-	2E	1b

Southern gold mint, Begram (U.G2)

The coins of this mint were issued in two phases distinguished by the addition of the title king of kings ÞAYONO ÞAYO (phase 2). These phases seem to coincide with phases 2 and 3 at the Balkh mint, from which they are only distinguished by their style and control marks. The tamga appearing on two reverse varieties is also featured on the early issues of the Begram mint's copper coins.

311 U.G2-i 1d Southern gold mint phase 1 dinars, lion head crown

Göbl 1984: 707; Göbl 1993a: 86; Cribb 1990: 4

Hormizd I (U) southern gold mint (G2), first phase (i), dinars (1d), 7.75g, lion head crown standing king/ Oesho and bull type.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, surrounded by halo, hair dressed in bun (drawn as four horizontal rows of curls), bearded (beard tied below with jewel), flames rising from shoulders, wearing lion head crown surmounted by artichoke, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons, earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of armour with smooth breastplate and plate-mail skirt, over leggings, tied at ankles, sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident in raised left hand and making offering over fire altar with extended right hand, holding dish. King standing on dotted ground line. Altar column-shaped with slab at top and bottom of column, with triangular projects at corners of top slab, curls of smoke rising above altar, trident with ribbons on shaft positioned above altar. Three dots under king's left arm, swastika and dot between king's legs, dot between king's right leg and altar, nandipada symbol in right field, control marks on some varieties. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00 to 11.00, with variant spellings): Ω(or O)YPAMAZΔO OOZOPKO KOÞANO ÞAYO (Hormizd Great Kushan King).

1A dot on column of altar, altar smoke (five curls) with top curl facing away from king, no control mark in field above nandipada, inscription: ΩYPAMAZΔO OO/ZOPKO KOÞANO ÞAO.

2A cross lines on altar column, altar smoke (three curls) with top curl facing away from king, illegible Bactrian inscription clockwise in field below nandipada, inscription: OYPAMAZΔO OOZ/OPKO KOÞANO ÞAYO.

2B plain altar column, altar smoke (four curls) with top curl facing towards king, symbol 6 and dot in field below nandipada, inscription: OYPAMAZAΔO OO/ZOPKO KOÞANO ÞAYO.

2C cross lines on altar column, altar smoke (four curls) with top curl facing away from king, but Bactrian Ω in field below nandipada, inscription: OYPAMAZΔO OOZ/OOOOZOKO KOÞANO ÞAO.

2D as 2C, but altar smoke (three curls), Bactrian Ω in field below nandipada, inscription: OYPAMAZΔO OOZ/OPKO KOÞANO ÞAYO.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, head to front, slightly turned to left, hair in form of flames above and dressed in buns either side of head (drawn as three or four downwards rows of curls), bearded, wearing necklace, earring, thigh-length skirt over leggings, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left with circle and strap across rump. God and bull standing on linear ground line. Blundered inscription in Bactrian (clockwise): BOPZOANΔO BAΓO (High Lord) or BOPZOANΔO IAZAΔO (High Yazata).

1a tamga in right field, inscription (from 2.00 to 11.00): BOPZ//AO/AN.

1b as 1a, halo before god's face, inscription: BOPZOANΔO// IAZA/ΔO.

2a no tamga, inscription: BOPZA///N.

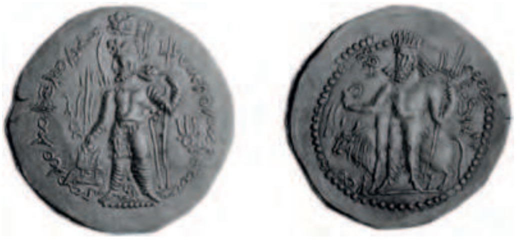
2b as 2a, inscription: BOP///N.

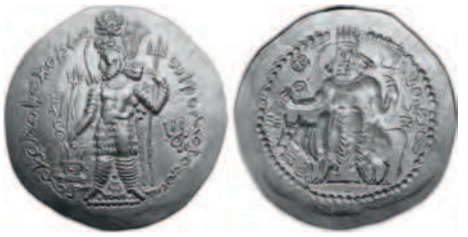
2c as 2a, inscription: BOPZA///.

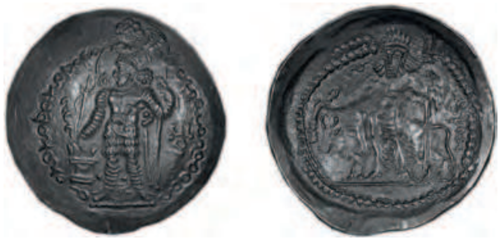
2d as 2a, inscription: BOPZ//AOANΔO/ BAΓO.

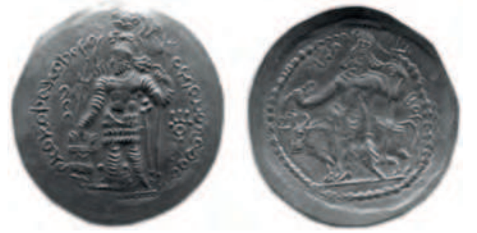
2e as 2a, inscription: BOPZAO/NΔO/ BAΓO.

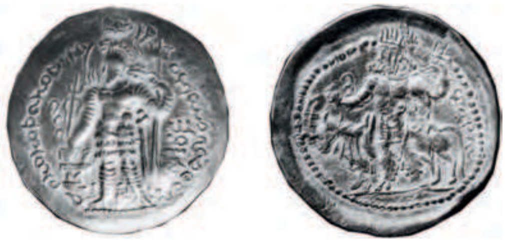
3a god's head surrounded by halo, inscription: BOPZ//N.

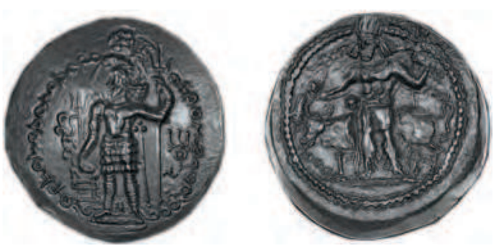

A: U.G2-i 1d (1A/1a)


B: U.G2-i 1d (1A/1b)

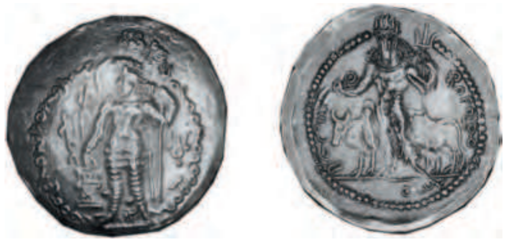

C: U.G2-i 1d (2A/2a)


D: U.G2-i 1d (2A/2b)

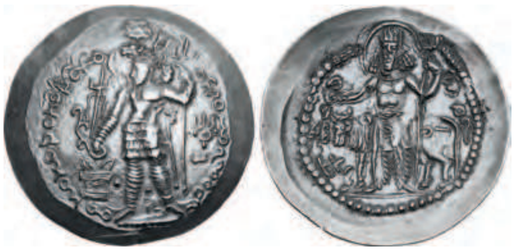

E: U.G2-i 1d (2A/2c)


F: U.G2-i 1d (2B/2d)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Vienna; Göbl 1984: 707.8		-	-	-	1A	1a
B*	Heritage 3026 (25.9.2013): 23264		-	-	-	1A	1b
C*	Private collection P		-	-	-	2A	2a
D*	Private collection E		7.80	-	-	2A	2b
E*	Vienna; Göbl 1984: 707.7		7.72	-	-	2A	2c
F*	Private collection P		-	-	-	2B	2d
G*	Spink KS		-	-	-	2C	2e
H*	CNG 94 (18.9.2013): 863		7.72	31	-	2D	3a

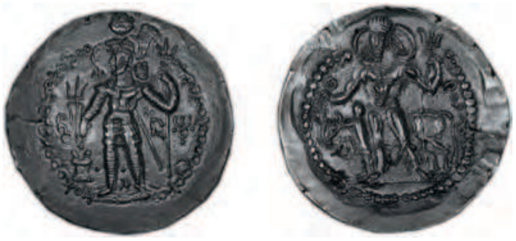


G: U.G2-i 1d (2C/2e)



H: U.G2-i 1d (2D/3a)

312 U.G2-ii 1d Southern gold mint phase 2 dinars, lion head 'king of kings'



A: U.G2-ii 1d (1A/1a)

Cribb 1990: 4

Hormizd I (U) southern gold mint (G2), second phase (ii), dinars (1d), 7.75g, 'king of kings' lion head crown standing king/ Oesho and bull type.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, surrounded by halo, hair dressed in bun (drawn as four horizontal rows of curls), bearded (beard tied below with jewel), flames rising from shoulders, wearing lion head crown surmounted by artichoke, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons, earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of armour with smooth breastplate and plate-mail skirt, over leggings, tied at ankles, sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident in raised left hand and making offering over fire altar with extended right hand, holding spoon. King standing on dotted ground line. Altar column-shaped with slab at top and bottom of column, marked with crossed lines, with triangular projects at corners of top slab, curls of smoke rising above altar, trident with ribbons on shaft positioned above altar. Three dots under king's left arm, swastika and dot between king's legs, dot between king's right leg and altar, nandipada symbol in right field, symbol 4 in right field, between king's sword and trident. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00 to 11.00): ΟΥΡΑΜΑΖΔΟ ΟΟΖΟΡΚΟ/ ΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟΝΟ ÞΑΟ (Hormizd Great Kushan King of Kings).

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, head to front, slightly turned to left, surrounded by halo, hair in form of flames above and dressed in buns either side of head (drawn as three or four downwards rows of curls), bearded, wearing necklace, earring, thigh-length skirt over leggings, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left with strap across rump. God and bull standing on linear ground line. Blundered inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 2.00 to 4.00): ΒΟΡΖΑ (High [Yazata or Lord]).

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Private collection P		-	-	-	1A	1a

Merv gold mint (U.G3)

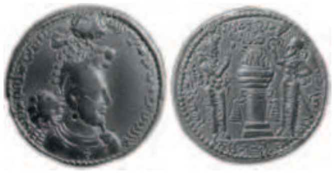
Only one phase of coins was issued by this mint. The use of the title king of kings *MLKAn MLKA* matches it to the third phase of issue at the main gold mint at Balkh.

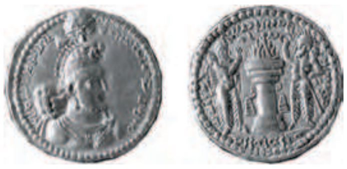
313 U.G3-i 1d Merv gold mint phase 1 dinars, bust and fire altar

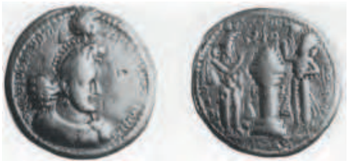
Göbl 1984: 1026–7; Cribb 1990: 61

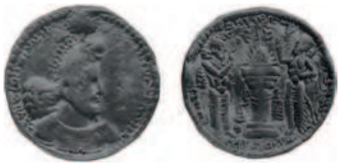
Hormizd I (U), Merv Gold Mint (G3), first and only phase, Sasanian standard dinars (1d), *c.* 7.2g, royal bust 'king of kings'/ king and Oesho (high yazata) investiture type.

Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed in bun at back, bearded (beard tied below with three jewels), wearing lion head crown, surmounted by artichoke (tied with a pair of laddered ribbons projecting behind), diadem with two laddered ribbons hanging below hair bun, earring, necklace and tunic with ornaments on chest. Inscription in Pahlavi (anticlockwise from 5.00 to 7.30): *mzdysn bgy ʾwhrmzdy RBA/ kwšʾn MLKAn MLKA* (Mazda Worshipping Hormizd Great Kushan King of Kings)


3980: U.G3-i 1d (1a)


A: U.G3-i 1d (1a)


B: U.G3-i 1d (1b)


C: U.G3-i 1d (1b)

Reverse: Mithra, sun god on right, standing frontally, head to left, facing king on left, standing frontally head to right, on either side of fire altar. God with sun rays emanating from head, bearded, wearing diadem with two laddered ribbons hanging behind his back, Sasanian dress, sleeved thigh-length tunic over leggings, holding sword, hanging from belt across god's left hip and projecting beside his thigh, with right hand at waist height, and offering diadem, with ribbons flying above, with his raised right hand towards the king. The king, hair dressed in bun at back, bearded (tied below with three jewels), wearing lion head crown, surmounted by artichoke, diadem with two laddered ribbons hanging below hair bun, earring, necklace and the same Sasanian dress as the god, holding a sword in his left hand at his waist and making gesture of acceptance towards god with raised right hand. Fire altar with thick column, decorated with a diadem with laddered ribbons hanging to right and left, the column resting on two steps and surmounted by three slabs on which the fire sits in a shallow bowl, the flames in a rounded mound. The god, king and fire altar stand on a linear ground line. Inscription: (anticlockwise from 4.30 to 5.00): *mzdysn bgy ʾwhrmzdy RBA kwšʾn MLKAn MLKA* (Mazda Worshipping Hormizd Great Kushan King of Kings); (anticlockwise above flames): *mrwy* (mint name: Merv).

1a inscription: *mzdysn bgy/ ʾwhrmzdy/ RBA kwšʾn /MLKAn MLKA*.

1b dot in lower left field, inscription: *mzdysn bgy/ ʾwhrmzdy RBA/ kwšʾn / MLKAn MLKA*.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
3980*	269172	1850,0412.101	7.16	21	-	-	1a
A*	Private collection E		7.20	20	-	-	1a
B*	Tanabe 1993: 87		-	-	-	-	1b
C*	Mitchiner 1978: 1270		7.00	-	-	-	1b

Coins A, B and C are struck from the same obverse die (though this is obscured in B as the image is distorted), and coins B and C are struck from the same reverse die.

Silver coins

The silver coins of this reign are on the *c.* 4.2g Sasanian drachm standard, with examples weighing 3.90, 4.14 and 4.23g.

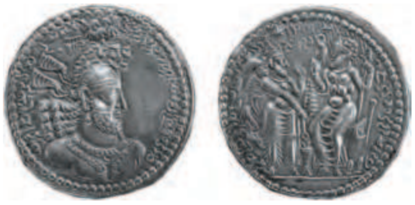
Merv silver mint (U.S1)

There is only one phase of silver coins with the mint name Merv (*mlwy*). An obverse die is shared with the sole coin with the mint name Herat (? *hlywy*), suggesting that both were made at the same mint, either Merv or Balkh, as the design was already used there for the silver coin of Peroz I.

314 U.S1-i 1dr Merv silver mint phase 1 drachms, lion head crown

Cribb 1990: 59

Hormizd I (U), Merv Silver Mint (S1), first and only phase (i), Sasanian standard drachms (1dr), *c.* 4.2g, royal bust 'king of kings'/ king and Oesho (high yazata) investiture type.


3981: U.S1-i 1dr (1A/1a)

Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed in bun (drawn as four horizontal rows of curls), bearded (beard tied below with triangular cluster of jewels), wearing lion head crown (side marked with clusters of three dots) surmounted by artichoke (tied with a pair of laddered ribbons projecting behind), diadem with two rising laddered ribbons behind head, earring with single jewel, necklace (drawn as heavy line decorated with dots), and tunic with ornamented halter on chest (drawn as heavy lines decorated with dots, from shoulder to centre of chest, where it is clasped by two floral devices). Dot before and behind crown. Inscription in Pahlavi (anticlockwise from 5.00 to 7.30): *mzdysn bgy ʾwhrmzdy RBA kwšʾn MLKAn MLK*A (Mazda worshipping Hormizd Great Kushan King of Kings).

1A inscription: *mzdysn bgy ʾwhrmzdy RBA k/wšʾn MLKAn MLKA*.

1B inscription: *mzdysn bgy ʾwhrmzdy RBA kw/šʾn MLKAn MLKA*.

1C inscription: *mzdysn bgy ʾwhrmzdy RBA kwš/ʾn MLK/An MLKA*.

1D tunic decorated with clusters of three dots, circle mark in right field above king's left shoulder, inscription: *mzdysn bgy ʾwhrmzdy RBA/ kw/šʾn MLKAn MLKA*.

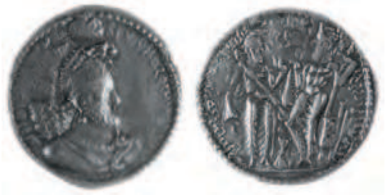
Reverse: Oesho, mountain god on right, seated frontally on throne, head, surrounded by flames, to left, facing king on left, standing frontally, head to right. God wearing crown with high front surmounted by crescent, hair dressed in curls and ankle-length, sleeved dress, holding spear in raised left hand (with pointed index finger) and offering diadem, with two laddered ribbons hanging below, with raised right hand. Throne with raised post at back, surmounted by ball, side with two panels (with dot in centre) and lion legs. King, hair dressed in bun behind, wearing lion head crown, diadem with laddered ribbons hanging behind back, cloak over shoulders and hanging down back and thigh-length sleeved tunic over leggings, making gesture with left hand to receive diadem from god and making offering with lowered right hand holding spoon over small fire altar. Altar shaped like hour glass. All above ground line. Mint name *mlwy* (Merv) in field between god and king's faces. Inscription in Pahlavi (anticlockwise from 4.00 to 8.00): *bwrzʾwndy yzdty ʾwhrmzdy RBA kwšʾn MLKAn MLKA* (High Yazata; Hormizd Great Kushan King of Kings).

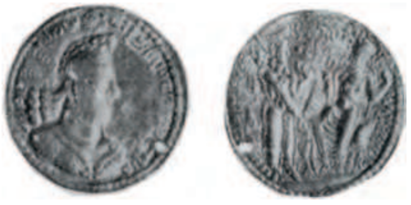
1a long handled spoon and altar with two projections from top, inscription: *bwrzʾwndy yzdty/whrmz/dy RBA kwšʾn MLKAn MLKA*.

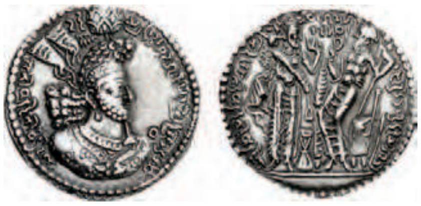
1b short handled spoon with drop of offering above altar top and altar without projections, inscription: *bwrzʾwndy yzdty/ʾwhrmz/dy RBA kwšʾn MLKAn MLKA*.

1c short handled spoon and altar with two projections from top, inscription: *bwrzʾwndy yzdty/ ʾwhrmzdy/ rba kwšʾn MLKAn MLKA*.

1d long handled spoon and altar without projections, inscription: *bwrzʾwndy yzdty/ʾwhrmz/dy RBA kwšʾn MLKAn MLKA*.


A: U.S1-i 1dr (1B/1b)


B: U.S1-i 1dr (1C/1c)


C: U.S1-i 1dr (1D/1d)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
3981*	26379	1982,1107.1	4.14	25	1A	1a
A*	Spink 7023 (27.9.2007): 104		3.90	-	1B	1b
B*	Lukonin 1969: pl 12: 30		-	-	1C	1c
C*	CNG Triton IX (10.1.2006)1239		4.23	-	1D	1d

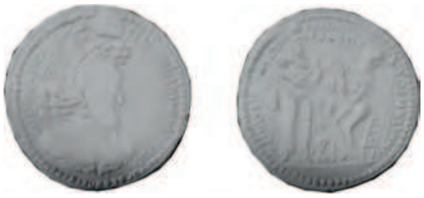
Herat(?) silver mint (U.S2)

The only recorded example of this mint's production shares an obverse die (U.S1-i coin A) with a coin with the mint name Merv, so they were probably minted at the same mint, either Merv or Balkh, as the design was already used there for the silver coin of Peroz I.

315 U.S2-i 1dr Herat(?) silver mint phase 1 drachms, lion head crown

Göbl 1984: 1031; Cribb 1990: 59

Hormizd I (U), Herat? Silver Mint (S1), first and only phase, Sasanian standard drachms (1dr), *c.* 4.2g, royal bust 'king of kings'/ king and Oesho (High Yazata) investiture type.


A: U.S2-i 1dr (1A/1a)

Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed in bun (drawn as four horizontal rows of curls), bearded (beard tied below with triangular cluster of jewels), wearing lion head crown (side marked with clusters of three dots) surmounted by artichoke (tied with a pair of laddered ribbons projecting behind), diadem with two rising laddered ribbons behind head, earring with single jewel, necklace (drawn as heavy line decorated with dots), and tunic with ornamented halter on chest (drawn as heavy lines decorated with dots, from shoulder to centre of chest, where it is clasped by two floral devices). Dot before and behind crown. Inscription in Pahlavi (anticlockwise from 5.00 to 7.30): *mzdysn bgy ʾwhrmzdy RBA kw/ šʾn MLKAn MLKA* (Mazda Worshipping Hormizd Great Kushan King of Kings).

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god on right, seated frontally on throne, head, surrounded by flames, to left, facing king on left, standing frontally, head to right. God wearing crown with high front surmounted by crescent, hair dressed in curls and ankle-length, sleeved dress, holding spear in raised left hand (with pointed index finger) and offering diadem, with two laddered ribbons hanging below, with raised right hand. Throne with raised post at back, surmounted by ball, side with two panels (with dot in centre) and lion legs. King, hair dressed in bun behind, wearing lion head crown, diadem with laddered ribbons hanging behind back, cloak over shoulders and hanging down back and thigh-length sleeved tunic over leggings, making gesture with left hand to receive diadem from god and making offering with lowered right hand holding spoon over small fire altar. Altar shaped like hour glass. All above ground line. Mint name *hlywy* (Herat?) in field between god and king's faces. Inscription in Pahlavi (anticlockwise from 4.00 to 8.00): *bwrzʾwndy yzdty ʾwhrmzdy RBA kwšʾn MLKAn MLKA* (High Yazata Hormizd Great Kushan King of Kings).

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	BM cast; Paruck 1936, pl. 1, no. 2		-	-	1A	1a

Copper coins

The copper coins of the Balkh mint represent a much reduced version of the copper denomination used in the previous reign, now falling from *c.* 2.3 to *c.* 2.1g. 47 coins of phase 1 average 2.28g (range 1.42–2.99g); 31 coins of phase 2 average 2.36g (range 1.86–3.47g); 82 coins of phase 3 average 2.15g (range 1.62–2.95g); 3 coins of phase 4 average 2.18g (range 2.13–2.29g); 51 coins of phase 5 average 2.08g (range 1.65–2.45g). The Begram mint coins continue the standard of the previous reign, *c.* 3.8g with 439 examples averaging 3.62g (range 2.26–5.33g).

U.C1 Balkh copper mint

Five phases of coins were produced at this mint all the same denomination. The phases are distinguished by their reverse types: Oesho (exalted yazata) and bull (phase 1), investiture scene with king and Oesho (phase 2) and Oesho emerging from fire altar (phases 3–5) and by their obverses the device surmounting the king's lion head crown: artichoke (phases 1–3) and striped globe (phases 4 and 5) and the use of the title 'king of kings' (only on phase 4).

316 U.C1-i 1u Balkh copper mint phase 1 units, lion head crown

Göbl 1984: 1032–6; Cribb 1990: 22

Hormizd I (U), Balkh copper mint (C1), first phase (i), units (1u), *c.* 2.3g, lion head crown royal bust/ Oesho and bull type.

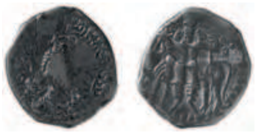
Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed in bun (drawn as three or four rows of curls) at back, bearded (beard tied below with jewels), wearing lion head crown surmounted by artichoke, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons behind, earring with single jewel, necklace (drawn as line or dotted) and tunic with buttons on chest. Inscription in Pahlavi (anti-clockwise from 4.00 to 7.00) *ʾwhrmzdy [RBA kwšʾn] MLKA* (Hormizd [Great Kushan] King). All surrounded by dotted border.

1A three rows of curls, linear necklace, inscription: *ʾwhrmzdy RBA/ kwšʾn MLKA*.

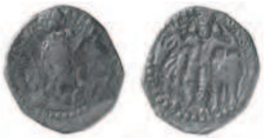
2A as 1A, but inscription: *ʾwhrmzdy kwšʾn/ MLKA*.

3A four rows of curls, linear necklace, but inscription *ʾwhrmzdy/ MLKA*.

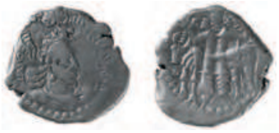
3B four rows of curls, dotted necklace, inscription as 3A.



3982: U.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)



3983: U.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)



3984: U.C1-i 1u (2A/1a)

4A three rows of curls, linear necklace, inscriptions as 3A, dot behind crown.

4B four rows of curls, double linear necklace, inscription as 3A, symbol 2 behind crown.

4C as 4B, but linear necklace.

4D as 4C, but symbol 2 over three dots behind crown.

4E as 4C, but symbol 2 over one dot.

4F as 4C, but symbol 2 behind crown and dot before beard.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, head to front, surrounded by halo, hair in form of flames above and dressed as buns either sides of his face, bearded, wearing necklace, thigh-length skirt over leggings, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left with circle on rump. Inscription in Bactrian, mostly blundered (clockwise from 1.00 to 9.00): version of ΒΟΡΖΟΑΝΔΟ/ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ (High Yazata).

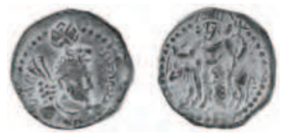
1a no ground line, very blundered inscription with only a few letters visible.

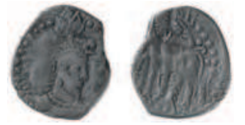
1b as 1a, but complete inscription with letters between feet: ΒΟΡΖΟΑΝΔΟ/ ΙΑΖ/ΑΔΟ.

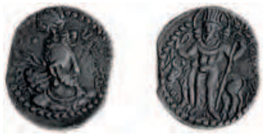
2a ground line beneath feet of god and bull, complete inscription, with letters below ground line: ΒΟΡΖΟΑΝΔΟ/ ΙΑΖ/ΑΔΟ.

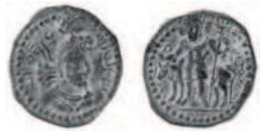
3a ground line below god's feet, blundered inscription, about half the letters missing, no letters below ground line.

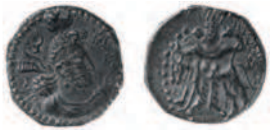
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Ax
3982*	6852	1844,0909.81	2.49	16	1A	1a	12
3983*	6856	1992,0605.1	2.58	17	1A	1a	12
3984*	6859	1990,0921.37	2.26	16	2A	1a	1
3985	6863	1990,0921.36	2.99	17	3A	1a	12
3986*	6878	1990,0921.40	2.53	16	3A	1a	3
3987*	6883	1995,0507.12	2.42	17	3A	1a	3
3988	6886	1990,0921.39	2.36	17	3A	1a	9
3989	6914	OR.9154	1.97	17	3A	1a	12
3990	6936	1990,0921.38	1.93	16	3A	1a	12
3991*	6969	1990,0921.41	1.84	15	3B	1a	12
A*	ANS (1987.47.3)		2.40	17	4A	1b	12
3992*	6970	1990,0921.27	2.17	16	4B	2a	11
3993*	6976	1990,0921.33	2.89	16	4C	3a	9
3994*	6977	1990,0921.28	2.81	17	4C	3a	12
3995	6986	1990,0921.30	2.28	16	4C	3a	1
B*	ANS (1987.47.5)		2.69	17	4D	3a	12
3996	6987	1990,0921.31	2.62	16	4D	3a	3
3997*	6988	1990,0921.42	1.76	16	4D	3a	9
3998*	6989	1990,0921.29	2.57	17	4E	3a	3
3999	6990	1990,0921.34	2.39	17	4E	3a	11
4000	6991	1990,0921.32	1.91	16	4E	3a	12
C*	Baldwin 71 (29.09.2011) 1010		2.15	16	4E	3a	1
4001*	6992	1990,0921.35	2.27	17	4F	2a	11

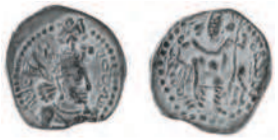

3986: U.C1-i 1u (3A/1a)

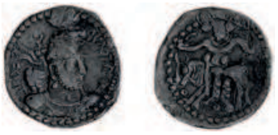

3987: U.C1-i 1u (3B/1a)

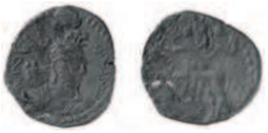

A: U.C1-i 1u (4A/1b)

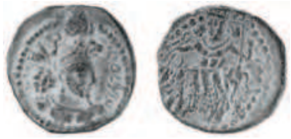

3992: U.C1-i 1u (4B/2a)

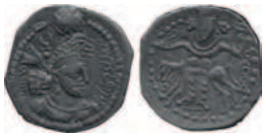

3993: U.C1-i 1u (4C/3a)

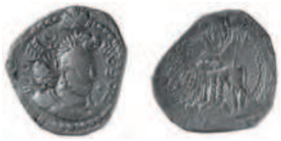

3994: U.C1-i 1u (4C/3a)


B: U.C1-i 1u (4D/3a)

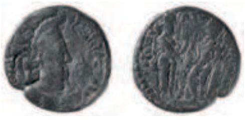

3997: U.C1-i 1u (4D/3a)

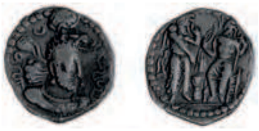

3998: U.C1-i 1u (4E/3a)

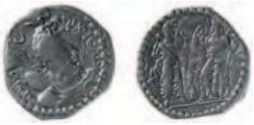

C: U.C1-i 1u (4E/3a)

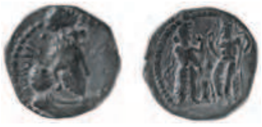

4001: U.C1-i 1u (4F/2a)

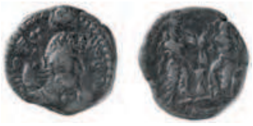
317 U.C1-ii 1u Balkh copper mint phase 2 units, investiture type

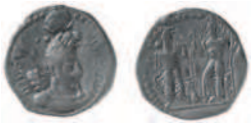

4002: U.C1-ii 1u (1A/1a)

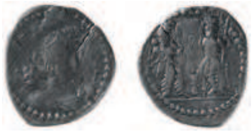

A: U.C1-ii 1u (2A/2a)

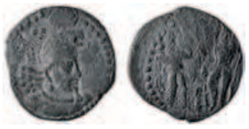

4005: U.C1-ii 1u (2A/2a)

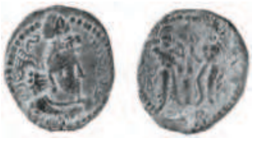

4006: U.C1-ii 1u (2B/2a)


4008: U.C1-ii 1u (2C/2a)


4009: U.C1-ii 1u (2C/2a)


4011: U.C1-ii 1u (2D/2a)


B: U.C1-ii 1u (2D/2a)


4012: U.C1-ii 1u (2E/2a)

Göbl 1984: 1042–8; Cribb 1990: 23

Hormizd I (U), Balkh copper mint (C1), second phase (ii), units (1u), *c.* 2.3g, lion head crown royal bust/ king and Oesho investiture type.

Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed in bun (drawn as four rows of curls) at back, bearded (beard tied below with jewels), wearing lion head crown surmounted by artichoke, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons behind, earring with single jewel, necklace (drawn as line or dotted) and tunic with buttons on chest. Inscription in Pahlavi (anti-clockwise from 4.00 to 7.00) *ʾwhrmzdy [RBA kwšʾn] MLKA* (Hormizd [Great Kushan] King). All surrounded by dotted border.

1A diadem ribbons flowing from artichoke, inscription: *ʾwhrmzdy RBA kw/š/ʾn MLK[A]*.

2A no diadem ribbons on artichoke, inscription: *ʾwhrmzdy/ MLKA*, symbol 1 behind crown.

2B as 2A, but dot behind crown.

2C as 2A, but two dots behind crown.

2D as 2A, but three dots behind crown.

2E as 2A, but symbol 5 behind crown.

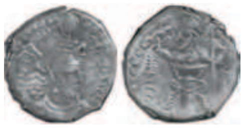
Reverse: Oesho, mountain god on right, seated frontally on throne, head, surrounded by flames, to left, facing king on left, standing frontally, head to right. God wearing crown with high front surmounted by crescent, hair dressed in curls, and ankle-length, sleeved dress, holding spear in raised left hand (with pointed index finger) and offering diadem, with two laddered ribbons hanging below, with raised right hand. Throne with raised post at back, surmounted by ball, side with two panels (with dot in centre) and lion legs. King, hair dressed in bun behind, wearing lion head crown, diadem with laddered ribbons hanging behind back, cloak over shoulders and hanging down back and thigh-length sleeved tunic over leggings, making gesture with left hand to receive diadem from god and making offering with lowered right hand holding spoon over small fire altar. Altar shaped like hour glass. All above ground line.

1a inscription in Pahlavi (anticlockwise from 4.00 to 8.00): *bwrzʾndy/ ʾwh/ rmzdy* (High [Yazata]; Hormizd [King]).

2a as 1a, but no inscription.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Ax
4002*	6992	1990,0921.23	2.80	14	1A	1a	12
A*	ANS (1987.47.2)		2.48	16	2A	2a	12
4003	6994	1990,0921.24	2.76	17	2A	2a	12
4004	6995	1982,0626.18	2.26	15	2A	2a	12
4005*	7001	1995,0507.11	2.15	15	2A	2a	12
4006*	7015	1992,0605.2	2.52	15	2B	2a	12
4007	7016	1982,0626.19	2.34	16	2B	2a	12
4008*	7017	1850,0412.102	2.06	15	2C	2a	9
4009*	7020	1990,0921.26	1.94	15	2C	2a	12
4010	7021	1990,0921.108	2.35	18	2D	2a	12
4011*	7024	1982,0626.20	1.99	16	2D	2a	12
B*	Bern (66.545); Göbl 1991: 899		2.10	15	2D	2a	9
4012*	7025	1990,0921.25	2.21	17	2E	2a	12

318 U.C1-iii 1u Balkh copper mint phase 3 units, lion head crown & bust


A: U.C1-iii 1u (1A/1a)

Göbl 1984: 1051–60; Cribb 1990: 24

Hormizd I (U), Balkh copper mint (C1), third phase (iii), units (1u), *c.* 2.1g, lion head crown with artichoke royal bust/ divine bust on fire altar type.

Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed in bun (drawn as four rows of curls) at back, bearded (beard tied below with jewels), wearing lion head crown surmounted by artichoke, diadem normally with two rising laddered ribbons behind, earring with single jewel, necklace (drawn as line or dotted) and tunic with buttons on chest. Inscription in Pahlavi (anti-clockwise from 4.00 to 7.00) *’whrmzdy [kwš’n] MLKA* (Hormizd [Great Kushan] King). All surrounded by dotted border.

1A inscription: *’whrmzdy / kwš’n MLKA*.

1B as 1A, but dot behind head.

1C as 1A, but diadem ribbons below hair bun.

2A as 1A, but inscription: *’whrmzdy / MLKA*.

2B as 2A, but with large and small dot behind king’s head.

2C as 2A, but line behind king’s head.

2D as 2A, but with Bactrian X behind king’s head.

2E as 2A, but with symbol 8 behind king’s head.

2F as 2A, but with symbol 6 behind king’s head.

2G as 2A, but with symbol 2 behind king’s head.

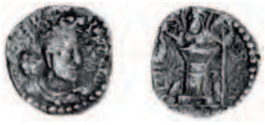
2H as 2A, but with symbol 1 over dot behind king’s head.

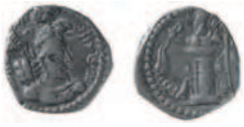
Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, bust emerging from top of fire altar, surrounded by flames. God wearing crown with high front surmounted by crescent, hair dressed in curls, and sleeved dress, holding spear in raised left hand (with pointed index finger) and offering diadem, with two laddered ribbons hanging below, with raised right hand. The fire altar has a trapezoid top slab on a round stem, tied with a diadem with loops and ribbons to right and left, and a single stepped base. On some examples there is a dot on or above the line separating the top from the stem. Inscription in Pahlavi (anti-clockwise from 4.00 to 7.00) *bwrz’ndy yzty* (High Yazata). Control mark symbol in reverse field on some examples.

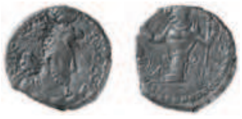
1a as description.

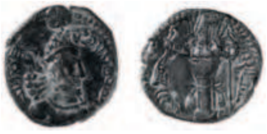
1b as 1a, but Pahlavi aleph in left field by altar.

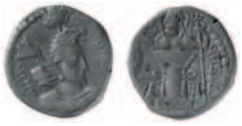
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Ax
A*	Private collection Q		1.96	-	1A	1a	-
B*	ANS (1987.46.44)		1.89	15	1A	1a	-
4013*	7029	1998,0305.1	2.29	15	1B	1a	-
4014*	7033	1998,0305.2	2.06	14	1C	1a	-
4015*	7034	1982,0626.22	2.44	16	2A	1a	-
4016	7035	1982,0626.26	2.44	14	2A	1a	-
4017*	7036	1990,0921.48	2.44	15	2A	1a	-
4018	7046	OR.366	2.34	13	2A	1a	-
4019	7049	1990,0921.50	2.20	15	2A	1a	-
4020	7050	1990,0921.49	2.19	16	2A	1a	-
4021	7055	1990,0921.51	2.40	16	2A	1a	-
4022*	7056	1990,0921.45	2.10	15	2A	1a	2
4023	7057	1990,0921.46	2.05	15	2A	1a	9
4024	7058	1990,0921.55	2.05	16	2A	1a	3
4025	7064	1990,0921.53	2.00	15	2A	1a	2
4026	7065	1990,0921.54	1.97	16	2A	1a	3
4027	7067	1990,0921.52	1.93	15	2A	1a	9
C*	ANS (1987.46.40)		2.42	15	2A	1a	-
4028*	7073	1990,0921.56	2.03	14	2A	1b	12
4029*	7074	1990.0921.47	1.74	15	2A	1b	12
D*	ANS (1989.15.3)		2.37	16	2A	1b	-
E*	Oxford (Bivar 2.3.1954)§		1.95	-	2B	1a	-
4030*	7075	1982,0626.21	2.72	16	2C	1a	9
F*	ANS (1987.47.6)		2.09	17	2C	1a	-
4031*	7080	1990,0921.43	2.31	16	2D	1a	3
4032*	7082	1990,0921.44	2.27	15	2E	1a	9
G*	Private collection Q		2.80	-	2E	1a	-
H*	ANS (1987.46.46)		2.18	18	2F	1a	-

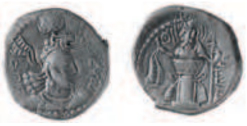

B: U.C1-iii 1u (1A/1a)

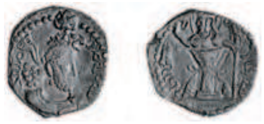

4013: U.C1-iii 1u (1B/1a)

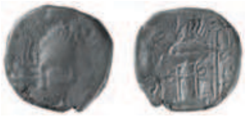

4014: U.C1-iii 1u (1C/1a)

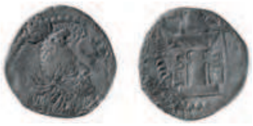

4015: U.C1-iii 1u (2A/1a)

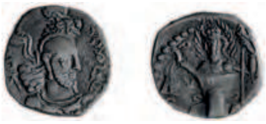

4017: U.C1-iii 1u (2A/1a)

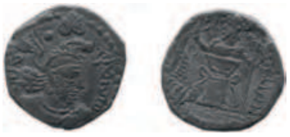

4022: U.C1-iii 1u (2A/1a)

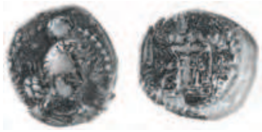

C: U.C1-iii 1u (2A/1a)


4028: U.C1-iii 1u (2A/1b)


4029: U.C1-iii 1u (2A/1b)

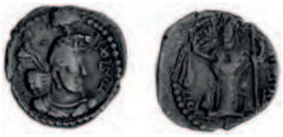

D: U.C1-iii 1u (2A/1b)

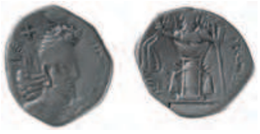

E: U.C1-iii 1u (2B/1a)

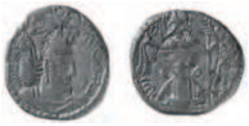

4030: U.C1-iii 1u (2C/1a)

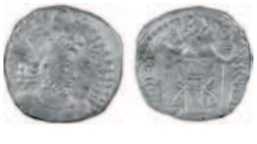
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Ax
I*	Private collection Q		2.53	-	2G	1a	-
J*	Bern (85,156): Göbl 1993a: 941		2.95	-	2H	1a	-

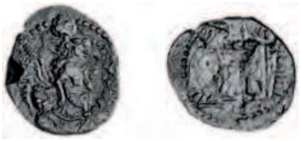
§ ‘Bought at Kabul’

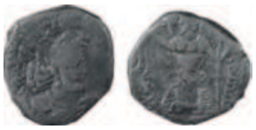

F: U.C1-iii 1u (2C/1a)

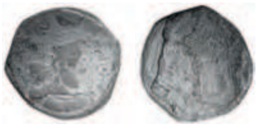

4031: U.C1-iii 1u (2D/1a)


4032: U.C1-iii 1u (2E/1a)

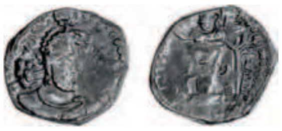

G: U.C1-iii 1u (2E/1a)

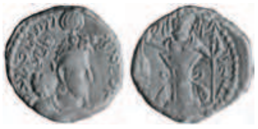

H: U.C1-iii 1u (2F/1a)

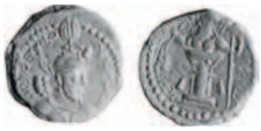

I: U.C1-iii 1u (2G/1a)


J: U.C1-iii 1u (2H/1a)

319 U.C1-iv 1u Balkh copper mint phase 4 units, lion head crown bust


A: U.C1-iv 1u (1A/1a)


B: U.C1-iv 1u (1A/1a)


C: U.C1-iv 1u (1B/1a)

Hormizd I (U), Balkh copper mint (C1), fourth phase (iv), units (1u), *c.* 2.1g,lion head crown with striped globe royal bust ‘king of kings’/ divine bust on fire altar type.

Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed in bun (drawn as four rows of curls) at back, bearded (beard tied below with jewels), wearing lion head crown surmounted by striped globe, diadem normally with two rising laddered ribbons behind, earring with single jewel, necklace (drawn as line or dotted) and tunic with buttons on chest. Inscription in Pahlavi (anti-clockwise from 4.00 to 7.00) *’whrmzdy/ kwš’n MLKAn/ MLKA* (Hormizd Kushan King of Kings) last word in left field. All surrounded by dotted border.

1A full inscription, last word in left field.

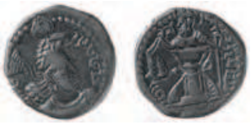
1B as 1A, but with blundered inscription: *’whrmzdy/ ML[KAn]/ MLKA.*

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, bust emerging from top of fire altar, surrounded by flames. God wearing crown with high front surmounted by crescent, hair dressed in curls and sleeved dress, holding spear in raised left hand (with pointed index finger) and offering diadem, with two laddered ribbons hanging below, with raised right hand. The fire altar has a trapezoid top slab on a round stem, tied with a diadem with loops and ribbons to right and left, and a single stepped base. On some examples there is a dot on or above the line separating the top from the stem. Inscription in Pahlavi (anti-clockwise from 4.00 to 7.00) *bwrz’ndy yzty* (High Yazata).

1a reverse as described above.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	ANS (1952.112.184)		2.29	16	1A	1a
B*	Tyler-Smith 1997, no. 3		2.13	15	1A	1a
C*	Tyler-Smith 1997, no. 2		2.13	15	1B	1a

320 U.C1-v 1u Balkh copper mint phase 5 units, with striped globe


4034: U.C1-v 1u (1A/1a)

Göbl 1984: 1062–75; Cribb 1990: 24

Hormizd I (U), Balkh copper mint (C1), fifth phase (v), units (1u), *c.* 2.1g, lion head crown with striped globe royal bust/ divine bust on fire altar type.

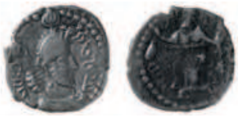
Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed in bun (drawn as four rows of curls) at back, bearded (beard tied below with jewels), wearing lion head crown surmounted by striped globe, diadem normally with two rising laddered ribbons behind, earring with single jewel, necklace (drawn as line or dotted) and tunic with buttons on chest. Inscription in Pahlavi (anti-clockwise from 4.00 to 7.00) *'whrmzdy/ MLKA* (Hormizd Kushan King). With or without control mark symbols. All surrounded by dotted border.

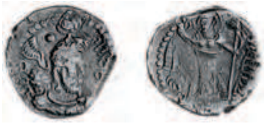
1A without symbol.
1B with dot behind crown.
1C with symbol 1 and three dots behind crown.
1D with symbol 1 behind crown.
1E with three dots behind crown.
1F with symbol 7 behind crown.
1G with symbol 10 behind crown.
1H with symbol 3 behind crown.
1I with symbol 3 and two dots behind crown.
1J with symbol 9 behind crown.
1K with symbol 8 behind crown.

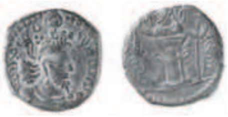
Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, bust emerging from top of fire altar, surrounded by flames. God wearing crown with high front surmounted by crescent, hair dressed in curls and sleeved dress, holding spear in raised left hand (with pointed index finger) and offering diadem, with two laddered ribbons hanging below, with raised right hand. The fire altar has a trapezoid top slab on a round stem, tied with a diadem with loops and ribbons to right and left, and a single stepped base. On some examples there is a dot on or above the line separating the top from the stem. Inscription in Pahlavi (anti-clockwise from 4.00 to 7.00) *bwrz'ndy yzty* (High Yazata).

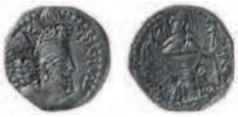
1a reverse as described above.

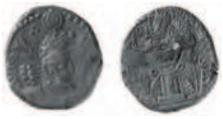
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Ax
4033	7085	1982,0626.27	2.13	14	1A	1a	-
4034*	7086	1982,0626.24	2.12	14	1A	1a	-
4035	7087	1894,0506.123	2.10	14	1A	1a	9
4036	36676	1990,0921.65	2.05	15	1A	1a	3
4037	7093	1990,0921.62	2.25	15	1A	1a	8
4038	7094	1990,0921.60	2.02	14	1A	1a	9
4039*	7095	1982,0626.23	1.89	14	1A	1a	3
4040	7108	1894,0506.133	1.65	14	1A	1a	9
A*	ANS (1987.47.8)		2.28	15	1B	1a	-
4041*	7112	1938,0507.1	2.22	14	1C	1a	9
4042*	7133	1990,0921.61	1.96	14	1D	1a	9
4043*	7137	1990,0921.64	2.08	14	1E	1a	12
4044*	7149	1990,0921.63	2.43	15	1F	1a	9
4045	7147	OR.367	2.15	14	1F	1a	3
4046	7148	1982,0626.25	2.15	15	1F	1a	9
4047*	7149	1990,0921.59	2.10	14	1F	1a	2
4048*	7225	1998,0306.1	2.12	14	1G	1a	3
4049	7284	1990,0921.58	2.10	14	1H	1a	12
4050	7290	1847,0421.36	2.08	13	1H	1a	10
4051*	7416	1990,0921.57	1.95	13	1H	1a	12
4052*	7417	1992,0605.3	2.23	15	1I	1a	9
B*	Bern: Göbl 1993a: 953		2.45	15	1J	1a	-
C*	Paris (1965/63)		2.21	15	1K	1a	-

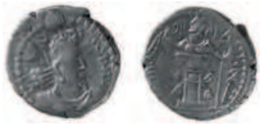

4039: U.C1-v 1u (1A/1a)

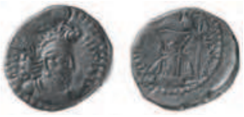

A: U.C1-v 1u (1B/1a)

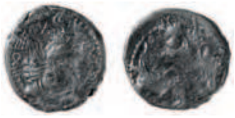

4041: U.C1-v 1u (1C/1a)

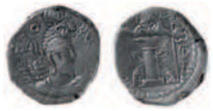

4042: U.C1-v 1u (1D/1a)

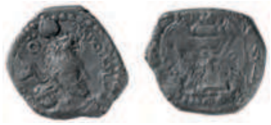

4043: U.C1-v 1u (1E/1a)

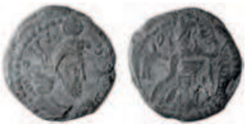

4044: U.C1-v 1u (1F/1a)

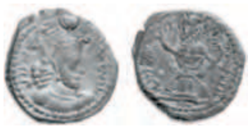

4047: U.C1-v 1u (1F/1a)


4048: U.C1-v 1u (1G/1a)


4051: U.C1-v 1u (1H/1a)


4052: U.C1-v 1u (1I/1a)

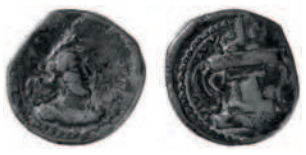

B: U.C1-v 1u (1J/1a)


C: U.C1-v 1u (1K/1a)

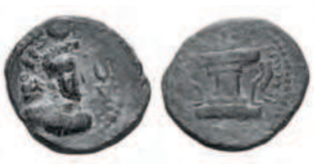
U.C2 Begram copper mint

This mint issued four phases of coinage. The inscription is the main distinguishing feature, with a Pahlavi inscription on the first issues, naming the king and Bactrian inscriptions on phases 2–4 naming a subordinate: Kavad (KABAΔ) on phases 2 and 3 and Mēzē (MHZH) on phase 4. Phases 2 and 3 are distinguished by the presence or absence of a tamga. There are many unofficial imitations of the coins of phases 3 and 4.

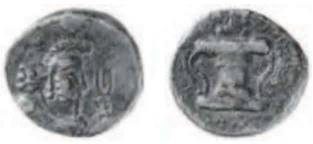
321 U.C2-i 1u Begram copper mint phase 1 units



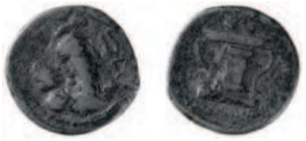
4053: U.C2-i 1u (1A/1a)



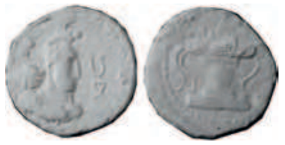
A: U.C2-i 1u (1B/1a)



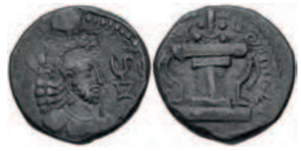
4054: U.C2-i 1u (1B/1a)



4055: U.C2-i 1u (1B/1a)



B: U.C2-i 1u (1B/1a)



C: U.C2-i 1u (1B/1b)

Hormizd I (U), Begram copper mint (C2), first phase (i), units (1u), *c.* 3.8g, lion head crown royal bust/ divine bust on fire altar type.

Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed in bun (drawn as four rows of curls) at back, bearded (beard tied below with jewels), wearing lion head crown surmounted by artichoke, diadem with two rising ribbons behind, earring with single jewel, necklace (drawn as line) and tunic with buttons on chest. Pahlavi inscription: (anti-clockwise from 5.00 to 7.00): *mzdysn bgy ʾ*/[*whrmzdy MLKA*]. All surrounded by dotted border.

1A without tamga before king's face.

1B with tamga before king's face, cut over the inscription.

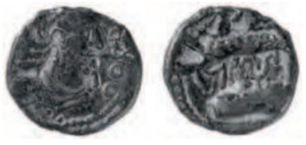
Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, bust facing, head to front, emerging from top of fire-altar/throne, hair in form of flames above and dressed as buns either sides of his face, bearded, wearing diadem, with ribbons, hanging beside his hair buns, and necklace, raising right hand. Fire altar/throne merged together, throne to front with oblong seat, resting on out-turned lion legs, with ribbons tied to tops and falling down, fire altar seen behind throne, with oblong slab on top of broad column standing on two steps. Illegible inscription in Pahlavi (appears to be *bwrzʾndy yzdty* (High Yazata), retrograde, clockwise from 4.00 to 7.00).

1a plain altar stem.

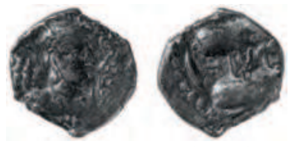
1b with central line on altar stem.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
4053*	7418	1894,0506.1287	4.29	18	1A	1a
A*	Roma e7 (26.4.14): 954		4.32	20	1B	1a
4054*	7419	1994,0911.4	4.07	17	1B	1a
4055*	7420	1982,0602.42	4.01	17	1B	1a
B*	Cast in BM		-	-	1B	1a
C*	CNG e-auction 364 (2.12.2015): 525		4.30	18	1B	1b

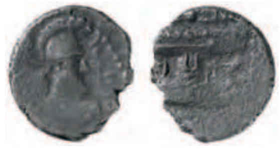
322 U.C2-ii 1u Begram copper mint phase 2 units



4056: U.C2-ii 1u (1A/1a)



4061: U.C2-ii 1u (1A/1a)



4063: U.C2-ii 1u (1A/1a)

Göbl 1984: 1122; Cribb 1990: 34

Hormizd I (U), Begram copper mint (C2), second phase (ii), units (1u), *c.* 3.8g, lion head crown bust KABAΔ (Kavad)/ divine bust on fire altar type.

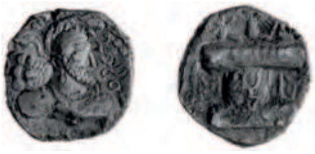
Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed in bun (drawn as four rows of curls) at back, bearded (beard tied below with jewels), wearing lion head crown surmounted by artichoke (normally off flan), diadem with two rising ribbons behind, earring with single jewel, necklace (drawn as line) and tunic with buttons on chest. Bactrian inscription (clockwise from 1.00 to 4.00) KABAΔ. All surrounded by dotted border.

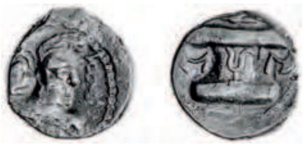
Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, bust facing, head to front, emerging from top of fire-altar/throne, hair in form of flames above and dressed as buns either sides of his face, bearded, wearing diadem, with ribbons, hanging beside his hair buns, and necklace, raising right hand. Fire altar/throne merged together, throne to front with oblong seat, resting on out-turned lion legs, with ribbons tied to tops and falling down, fire altar behind throne, with throne seat as slab on top of broad column standing on single step. Tamga on stem of altar. All surrounded by dotted border.

1a top of tamga turns to left.

1b top of tamga turns to right.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Ax
4056*	7635	1894,0506.1285	4.29	17	1A	1a	11
4057	17426	1990,0921.75	3.87	18	1A	1a	12
4058	17585	1980,1006.2	3.80	18	1A	1a	11
4059	17616	1922,0213.5	3.50	17	1A	1a	11
4060	17664	1990,0921.84	2.87	18	1A	1a	12
4061*	17669	1922,0424.4500	3.79	17	1A	1a	12
4062	17717	1980,1005.11	3.62	17	1A	1a	12
4063*	17759	1992,0119.133	3.53	18	1A	1a	12
4064	17764	1922,0424.3957	3.34	18	1A	1a	12
A*	ANS(1987.47.9)		4.15	19	1A	1a	-
B*	ANS (1944.100.64016)		4.34	18	1A	1b	-


A: U.C2-ii 1u (1A/1a)


B: U.C2-ii 1u (1A/1b)

323 U.C2-iii 1u Begram copper mint phase 3 units

Göbl 1984: 1124; Cribb 1990: 34

Hormizd I (U), Begram copper mint (C2), third phase (iii), units (1u), *c.* 3.8g, lion head crown bust ΚΑΒΑΔ (Kavad)/ divine bust on fire altar type.

Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed in bun (drawn as four rows of curls) at back, bearded (beard tied below with jewels), wearing lion head crown surmounted by artichoke (normally off flan, occasionally missing), diadem with two rising ribbons behind, earring with single jewel, necklace (drawn as line) and tunic with buttons on chest. Bactrian inscription (clockwise from 1.00 to 4.00) ΚΑΒΑΔ. With or without control mark symbol. All surrounded by dotted border.

1A without symbols.

1B with dot behind crown.

2A as 1A, but crude representation of the design.

2B as 2A, but king's crown missing.

2C as 2b, but bust facing left.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, bust facing, head to front, emerging from top of fire-altar/throne, hair in form of flames above and dressed as buns either sides of his face, bearded, wearing diadem, with ribbons, hanging beside his hair buns, and necklace. Fire altar/throne merged together, throne to front with oblong seat, resting on out-turned lion legs, with ribbons tied to tops and falling down, fire altar behind throne, with throne seat as slab on top of broad column standing on single step. All surrounded by dotted border.

1a with illegible Pahlavi inscription (from 4.00 to 7.00).

2a without inscription.

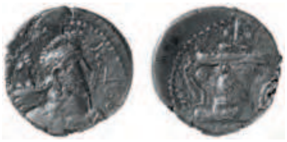
2b as 2a, but crude representation of the design.

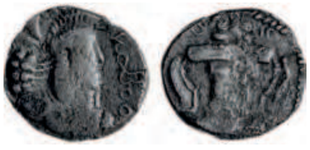
3a as 2a, but with dot on altar column.

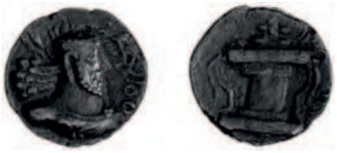
3b as 2a, but with line down centre of altar column.

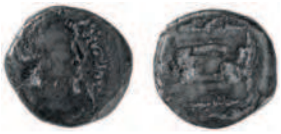
3c as 2a, but altar column divided vertically into three sections.

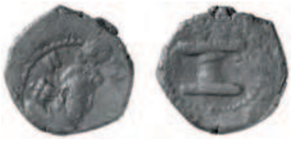
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Ax
4065*	17765	1981,0325.9	3.90	17	1A	1a	-
4066	17896	1980,1005.3	3.68	19	1A	1a	-
4067A*	ANS (1987.46.50)		3.85	19	1A	1a	-
4068B*	ANS (1944.100.64043)		3.50	19	1A	1a	-
4069	17921	1992,0119.223	5.33	19	1A	2a	12
4070*	17949	1894,0506.1283	4.96	16	1A	2a	11
4071	17963	1987,0921.12	4.83	17	1A	2a	12
4072	17964	OR.371	4.79	16	1A	2a	-
4073	17965	1992,0119.222	4.75	18	1A	2a	-

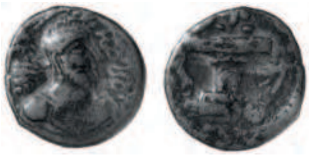

4065: U.C2-iii 1u (1A/1a)

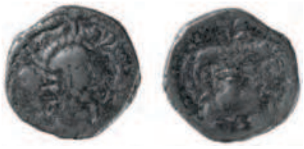

A: U.C2-iii 1u (1A/1a)

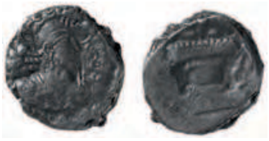

B: U.C2-iii 1u (1A/1a)

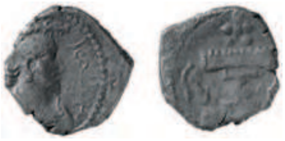

4068: U.C2-iii 1u (1A/2a)

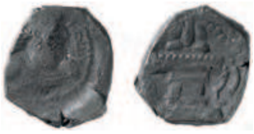

4072: U.C2-iii 1u (1A/2a)


4088: U.C2-iii 1u (1A/2a)


4089: U.C2-iii 1u (1A/2a)

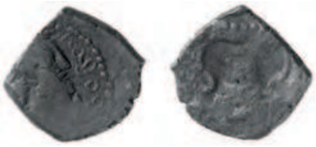

4096: U.C2-iii 1u (1A/2a)

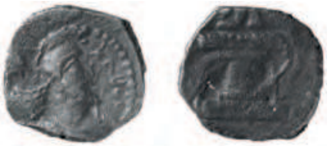

4102: U.C2-iii 1u (1A/2a)

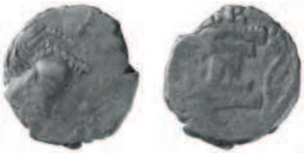

4116: U.C2-iii 1u (1A/2a)

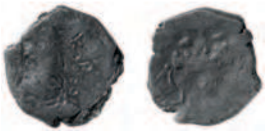
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Ax
4074*	18006	1981,0120.5	4.69	17	1A	2a	12
4075	18007	1992,0119.201	4.54	17	1A	2a	12
4076	18037	1992,0119.210	4.54	17	1A	2a	11
4077	18261	1992,0119.271	4.52	20	1A	2a	12
4078	18266	1987,0921.13	4.50	18	1A	2a	12
4079	18312	1992,0119.281	4.49	18	1A	2a	1
4080	18477	1987,0921.9	4.49	18	1A	2a	12
4081	18486	1992,0119.267	4.46	17	1A	2a	1
4082	18566	1992,0119.200	4.44	17	1A	2a	12
4083	18599	1992,0119.288	4.41	17	1A	2a	-
4084	18600	1992,0119.199	4.38	17	1A	2a	1
4085	18609	1992,0119.198	4.38	18	1A	2a	1
4086	18611	1992,0119.197	4.36	18	1A	2a	11
4087	18612	1992,0119.264	4.36	18	1A	2a	12
4088	18616	OR.9145	4.34	18	1A	2a	1
4089	18618	1992,0119.196	4.33	19	1A	2a	1
4090*	18622	IOC.2396	4.31	19	1A	2a	12
4091*	18623	1982,0626.45	4.26	18	1A	2a	12
4092	18624	1980,1005.13	4.25	17	1A	2a	12
4093	18625	1980,1005.10	4.25	20	1A	2a	12
4094	18626	1992,0119.155	4.18	17	1A	2a	12
4095	18627	1992,0119.320	4.18	17	1A	2a	-brockage-
4096	18628	1992,0119.195	4.16	18	1A	2a	1
4097	18630	1982,0626.43	4.15	19	1A	2a	12
4098*	18633	1992,0119.194	4.14	17	1A	2a	11
4099	18634	1992,0119.266	4.11	19	1A	2a	-
4100	18635	1992,0119.154	4.09	17	1A	2a	10
4101	18637	1992,0119.226	4.08	17	1A	2a	10
4102	18690	1992,0119.225	4.08	17	1A	2a	12
4103	18719	1987,0921.7	4.07	20	1A	2a	12
4104*	18861	1992,0119.221	4.07	17	1A	2a	11
4105	18878	1992,0119.227	4.07	17	1A	2a	11
4106	18927	OR.9146	4.05	17	1A	2a	-
4107	18930	1992,0119.247	4.04	19	1A	2a	12
4108	18934	1992,0119.208	4.03	17	1A	2a	12
4109	18942	1992,0119.257	4.02	18	1A	2a	12
4110	18946	1994,0911.5	3.99	20	1A	2a	12
4111	18952	1992,0119.291	3.98	18	1A	2a	10
4112	18953	1992,0119.219	3.97	20	1A	2a	11
4113	18958	1992,0119.207	3.97	17	1A	2a	12
4114	18959	1992,0119.193	3.96	18	1A	2a	11
4115	18960	1992,0119.228	3.95	17	1A	2a	10
4116	18962	1992,0119.192	3.95	19	1A	2a	1
4117	18963	1980,1005.2	3.94	17	1A	2a	11
4118*	18964	1992,0119.191	3.93	16	1A	2a	12
4119	19088	1992,0119.275	3.92	19	1A	2a	-
4120	19141	1992,0119.319	3.91	17	1A	2a	-brockage
4121	19191	1992,0119.152	3.90	17	1A	2a	12
4122	19337	1894,0506.124	3.89	18	1A	2a	1

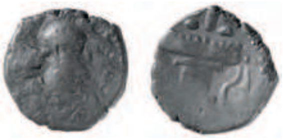
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Ax
4123	19402	1980,1005.14	3.89	18	1A	2a	12
4124	19414	1992,0119.218	3.88	18	1A	2a	1
4125	22513	1992,0119.190	3.87	18	1A	2a	12
4126*	22659	1992,0119.273	3.86	18	1A	2a	12
4127	22672	1992,0119.189	3.85	17	1A	2a	12
4128	22718	1992,0119.277	3.84	18	1A	2a	1
4129	22802	1992,0119.165	3.84	18	1A	2a	1
4130	22863	1987,0921.8	3.83	17	1A	2a	2
4131	22871	OR.369	3.82	16	1A	2a	12
4132	22904	1992,0119.296	3.82	17	1A	2a	12
4133	22914	1992,0119.217	3.80	20	1A	2a	12
4134	22924	2001,1201.7685	3.80	18	1A	2a	12
4135	22928	1992,0119.151	3.79	18	1A	2a	11
4136	22951	1992,0119.188	3.79	18	1A	2a	12
4137	23025	1992,0119.187	3.79	18	1A	2a	11
4138	23026	1992,0119.186	3.77	19	1A	2a	10
4139	23027	OR.9139	3.77	19	1A	2a	12
4140	23028	1992,0119.229	3.77	17	1A	2a	12
4141	23029	1990,0921.86	3.77	17	1A	2a	11
4142	23031	1992,0119.284	3.76	18	1A	2a	12
4143	23032	1992,0119.164	3.75	16	1A	2a	12
4144	23033	1992,0119.248	3.74	17	1A	2a	12
4145	23034	1992,0119.206	3.73	18	1A	2a	12
4146	23035	1992,0119.258	3.69	18	1A	2a	1
4147	23036	1992,0119.295	3.68	15	1A	2a	12
4148	23037	1992,0119.289	3.66	16	1A	2a	12
4149	23038	1980,1005.15	3.67	17	1A	2a	12
4150	23039	1992,0119.150	3.65	18	1A	2a	1
4151	23040	1992,0119.185	3.64	17	1A	2a	12
4152	23041	1992,0119.184	3.63	17	1A	2a	1
4153	23042	1980,1005.16	3.63	16	1A	2a	11
4154	23043	1992,0119.163	3.63	17	1A	2a	12
4155	23044	1992,0119.280	3.62	18	1A	2a	12
4156	23045	1992,0119.216	3.61	18	1A	2a	11
4157	23046	1992,0119.205	3.61	18	1A	2a	12
4158	23047	1992,0119.285	3.60	16	1A	2a	11
4159	23049	1980,1006.4	3.60	16	1A	2a	12
4160	23050	1992,0119.230	3.60	20	1A	2a	12
4161	23051	1992,0119.231	3.60	18	1A	2a	12
4162	23052	1992,0119.215	3.60	17	1A	2a	11
4163	23053	1992,0119.183	3.59	18	1A	2a	2
4164	23054	1992,0119.270	3.59	17	1A	2a	12
4165	23055	1980,1005.17	3.58	17	1A	2a	12
4166	23056	1992,0119.232	3.58	15	1A	2a	1
4167	23057	1987,0921.10	3.58	19	1A	2a	11
4168	23058	1992,0119.162	3.58	16	1A	2a	-
4169	23059	1992,0119.182	3.57	18	1A	2a	12
4170	23060	1992,0119.249	3.57	17	1A	2a	10
4171	23061	1992,0119.250	3.56	16	1A	2a	11
4172	23062	1990,0921.78	3.55	16	1A	2a	12


4124: U.C2-iii 1u (1A/2a)


4194: U.C2-iii 1u (1A/2a)

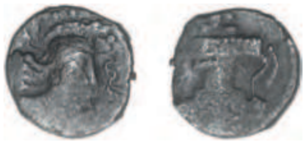

4204: U.C2-iii 1u (1A/2a)


4217: U.C2-iii 1u (1A/2a)

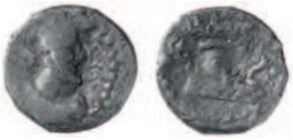

4226: U.C2-iii 1u (1A/2a)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Ax
4173	23063	1992,0119.181	3.54	16	1A	2a	12
4174	23064	1992,0119.233	3.54	17	1A	2a	12
4175	23065	1992,0119.214	3.52	18	1A	2a	11
4176	23066	1992,0119.234	3.52	17	1A	2a	12
4177	23067	1992,0119.276	3.51	17	1A	2a	1
4178	23068	1992,0119.161	3.51	17	1A	2a	12
4179	23070	1992,0119.213	3.51	17	1A	2a	12
4180	23071	1992,0119.293	3.51	17	1A	2a	-
4181	23072	1992,0119.274	3.51	17	1A	2a	12
4182	23073	1992,0119.149	3.51	17	1A	2a	-
4183	23074	1992,0119.252	3.49	18	1A	2a	12
4184	23075	1992,0119.251	3.49	17	1A	2a	12
4185	23076	1980,1005.48	3.49	16	1A	2a	12
4186	23077	1992,0119.253	3.49	16	1A	2a	12
4187	23078	1992,0119.180	3.48	17	1A	2a	12
4188	23079	1992,0119.236	3.47	16	1A	2a	11
4189	23080	1992,0119.235	3.47	17	1A	2a	12
4190	23081	1992,0119.179	3.46	18	1A	2a	1
4191	23084	IOC.2395	3.46	17	1A	2a	12
4192	23085	1990,0921.83	3.45	17	1A	2a	1
4193	23086	1992,0119.204	3.44	17	1A	2a	10
4194	23087	1980,1005.19	3.44	18	1A	2a	19
4195	23088	1922,0213.36	3.43	16	1A	2a	11
4196*	23089	1992,0119.148	3.42	18	1A	2a	11
4197	23090	1980,1006.5	3.42	16	1A	2a	11
4198	23091	1992,0119.287	3.41	18	1A	2a	11
4199	23092	1992,0119.269	3.40	17	1A	2a	1
4200	23093	1992,0119.286	3.40	17	1A	2a	12
4201	23094	1992,0119.178	3.39	17	1A	2a	11
4202	23095	1935,1010.4	3.39	16	1A	2a	11
4203	23096	1992,0119.177	3.39	16	1A	2a	12
4204*	23097	1980,1005.20	3.37	19	1A	2a	12
4205	23098	1980,1005.22	3.36	14	1A	2a	12
4206	23099	1992,0119.176	3.36	17	1A	2a	12
4207	23100	1980,1005.4	3.36	17	1A	2a	12
4208	23101	1992,0119.292	3.36	17	1A	2a	12
4209	23102	1992,0119.262	3.35	19	1A	2a	12
4210	23103	1992,0119.290	3.35	17	1A	2a	11
4211	23104	1992,0119.158	3.33	19	1A	2a	12
4212	23105	1922,0213.72	3.33	17	1A	2a	11
4213	23106	1922,0424.3953	3.31	18	1A	2a	-
4214	23107	1980,0610.1	3.31	17	1A	2a	-
4215	23186	1992,0119.237	3.30	17	1A	2a	-
4216	23302	2001,1201.7686	3.28	19	1A	2a	-
4217	23303	1992,0119.147	3.27	16	1A	2a	-
4218	23304	1992,0119.238	3.26	19	1A	2a	-
4219*	23306	1992,0119.239	3.25	16	1A	2a	-
4220	23307	1992,0119.294	3.24	17	1A	2a	-
4221	23308	1992,0119.283	3.23	16	1A	2a	-
4222	23309	1992,0119.157	3.23	18	1A	2a	-

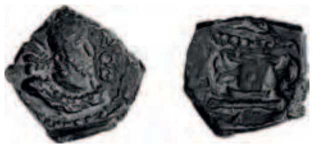
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Ax
4223	23310	1980,1005.23	3.23	17	1A	2a	-
4224	23312	1987,0921.11	3.21	18	1A	2a	-
4225	36673	1922,0424.4499	3.20	17	1A	2a	-
4226	23313	1980,1005.24	3.20	18	1A	2a	-
4227	23314	1990,0921.76	3.19	18	1A	2a	-
4228*	23315	1990,0921.81	3.19	17	1A	2a	-
4229	23316	OR.9140	3.17	17	1A	2a	-
4230	23319	1992,0119.240	3.17	15	1A	2a	-
4231	23320	1992,0119.211	3.15	19	1A	2a	-
4232	23321	1980,1005.6	3.15	16	1A	2a	-
4233	23322	1992,0119.272	3.13	17	1A	2a	-
4234	23323	1992,0119.282	3.13	17	1A	2a	-
4235	23324	1980,1005.25	3.13	17	1A	2a	-
4236	23325	1990,0921.85	3.12	18	1A	2a	-
4237	23334	1992,0119.175	3.12	17	1A	2a	-
4238	23336	1982,0602.47	3.11	18	1A	2a	-
4239	23338	1992,0119.255	3.09	16	1A	2a	12
4240	23340	1982,0602.48	3.04	15	1A	2a	-
4241	23496	2001,1201.7684	3.02	17	1A	2a	-
4242	23508	1992,0119.241	3.02	17	1A	2a	-
4243	23532	1990,0921.79	3.00	17	1A	2a	1
4244	23584	1992,0119.268	2.98	16	1A	2a	12
4245	23642	1992,0119.278	2.97	16	1A	2a	11
4246	23872	1992,0119.173	2.96	17	1A	2a	12
4247	23828	1980,1005.27	2.95	18	1A	2a	12
4248	23829	1992,0119.242	2.92	18	1A	2a	12
4249*	23830	1992,0119.172	2.89	17	1A	2a	12
4250	23831	1992,0119.243	2.88	17	1A	2a	10
4251	23832	1992,0119.244	2.86	16	1A	2a	12
4252	23833	1980,1005.29	2.84	15	1A	2a	11
4253	23834	1990,0921.77	2.83	18	1A	2a	11
4254	24070	1992,0119.202	2.82	17	1A	2a	12
4255	24342	1992,0119.245	2.70	17	1A	2a	12
4256	24354	1992,0119.246	2.70	16	1A	2a	1
4257	24362	1992,0119.156	2.70	17	1A	2a	12
4258	24382	1982,0626.46	2.66	17	1A	2a	12
4259	24470	1992,0119.171	2.48	17	1A	2a	12
4260	24490	1980,1005.31	2.41	16	1A	2a	12
4261	24536	1992,0119.261	2.26	18	1A	2a	12
4262	24581	1992,0119.139	4.27	16	1A	3a	-
4263*	24590	1980,1005.7	3.93	17	1A	3a	-
4264	24794	1992,0119.140	3.93	16	1A	3a	10
4265	24804	1980,1005.8	3.87	16	1A	3a	-
4266	24828	1992,0119.141	3.81	16	1A	3a	11
4267E*	ANS (1987.46.54)		3.74	19	1A	3a	-
4268	24889	1992,0119.142	3.60	17	1A	3a	3
4269 *	24890	1992,0119.143	3.59	19	1A	3a	10
4270	24924	1980,1005.9	3.50	17	1A	3a	11
4271	24930	1992,0119.144	3.40	17	1A	3a	11
4272	24960	1992,0119.145	3.20	17	1A	3a	11



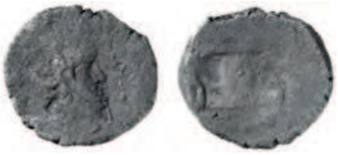
4247: U.C2-iii 1u (1A/2a)



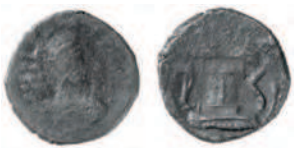
4261: U.C2-iii 1u (1A/3a)



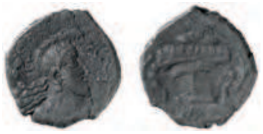
E: U.C2-iii 1u (1A/3a)



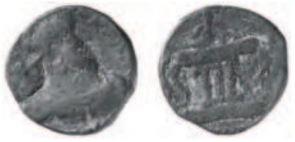
4266: U.C2-iii 1u (1A/3a)



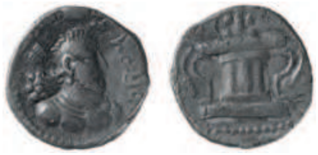
4275: U.C2-iii 1u (1A/3b)



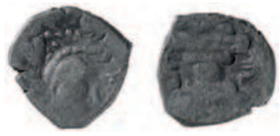
4276: U.C2-iii 1u (1A/3b)



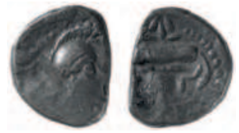
4280: U.C2-iii 1u (1A/3c)



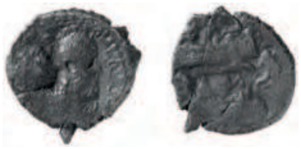
4281: U.C2-iii 1u (1A/3c)



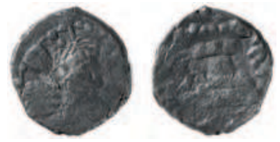
4288: U.C2-iii 1u (1B/2a)



4289: U.C2-iii 1u (1B/2a)



4292: U.C2-iii 1u (1B/2a)



4295: U.C2-iii 1u (1B/2a)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Ax
4273	25103	1980,1006.3	3.08	15	1A	3a	11
4274	25111	1992,0119.146	3.03	15	1A	3a	11
4275	25249	1992,0119.263	4.86	18	1A	3b	11
4276	25341	1992,0119.134	4.36	17	1A	3b	11
4277	25342	1992,0119.135	3.73	17	1A	3b	10
4278*	25399	1992,0119.136	3.47	18	1A	3b	12
4279*	25400	1992,0119.137	3.26	16	1A	3b	12
4280	25512	1990,0921.80	3.12	17	1A	3b	12
4281	25527	1992,0119.138	2.71	16	1A	3b	12
4282	25528	1992,0119.166	3.99	16	1A	3c	12
4283*	25529	1980,1006.1	3.72	17	1A	3c	1
4284 *	25531	1982,0626.44	3.50	19	1A	3c	12
4285	25550	1992,0119.160	3.47	17	1A	3c	-
4286	25552	1980,1005.5	3.29	17	1A	3c	-
4287	25553	1982,0626.49	4.32	17	1B	2a	11
4288	25580	1992,0119.209	4.09	18	1B	2a	11
4289	25689	1992,0119.167	4.09	17	1B	2a	12
4290	25696	1992,0119.170	3.75	17	1B	2a	12
4291*	25704	1992,0119.169	3.68	16	1B	2a	11
4292*	25710	IOC.2397	3.55	16	1B	2a	12
4293	25722	1992,0119.212	3.46	17	1B	2a	12
4294	25814	1992,0119.159	3.34	17	1B	2a	1
4295*	25900	1992,0119.279	3.10	18	1B	2a	-
4296	36677	1992,0119.174	3.04	18	1B	2a	12
4297	25927	1992,0119.168	2.60	17	1B	2a	12
4298*	25937	1992,0119.203	3.11	17	1B	3a	12

324 U.C2-iii-imit 1u Unofficial copies of Begram mint phase 3 units

Hormizd I (U), Begram copper mint (C2), third phase (i), unofficial copies (imit) units (1u), *c.* 3.8g, lion head crown bust ΚΑΒΑΔ (Kavad)/ divine bust on fire altar type.

Obverse: Crude version of king, bust facing right, hair dressed in bun (drawn as four rows of curls) at back, bearded (beard tied below with jewels), wearing lion head crown surmounted by artichoke (normally off flan, occasionally missing), diadem with two rising ribbons behind, earring with single jewel, necklace (drawn as line) and tunic with buttons on chest. Bactrian inscription (clockwise from 1.00 to 4.00) blundered version of ΚΑΒΑΔ. All surrounded by dotted border.

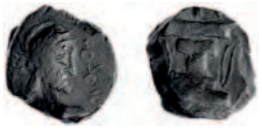
1A as above with trace of inscription.

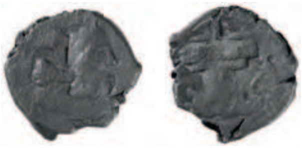
1B as 1A, but no detail of crown or inscription.

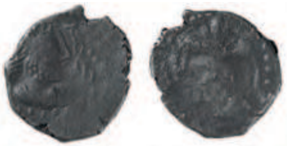
2A as 1B, but bust facing left.

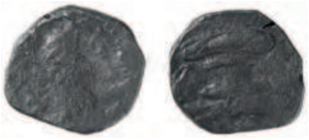
Reverse: Crude version of Oesho, mountain god, bust facing, head to front, emerging from top of fire-altar/throne, hair in form of flames above and dressed as buns either sides of his face, bearded, wearing diadem, with ribbons, hanging beside his hair buns, and necklace. Fire altar/throne merged together, throne to front with oblong seat, resting on out-turned lion legs, with ribbons tied to tops and falling down, fire altar behind throne, with throne seat as slab on top of broad column standing on single step. All surrounded by dotted border.

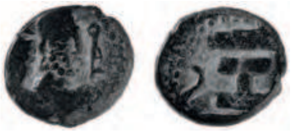
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Ax
4299	26742	1992,0119.265	4.59	18	1A	1a	-
4300	27074	1992,0119.300	4.05	17	1A	1a	1
A*	ANS (1987.47.10)		3.94	16	1A	1a	-
4301	27076	1992,0119.302	3.87	17	1A	1a	-
4302	27083	1992,0119.313	3.77	17	1A	1a	11
4303	27084	1992,0119.310	3.72	17	1A	1a	12
4304*	27085	1992,0119.301	3.69	18	1A	1a	12
4305	27086	1992,0119.306	3.66	16	1A	1a	12
4306	27088	1992,0119.259	3.64	17	1A	1a	3
4307	27089	1980,1005.18	3.56	18	1A	1a	8
4308	31296	1992,0119.330	3.53	16	1A	1a	-
4309	27094	1992,0119.315	3.53	16	1A	1a	-
4310*	27095	1992,0119.298	3.52	18	1A	1a	1
4311	27096	1990,0921.93	3.51	15	1A	1a	2
4312	27097	1992,0119.304	3.50	17	1A	1a	3
4313	27100	1992,0119.317	3.44	17	1A	1a	1
4314	27101	1980,0610.2	3.37	16	1A	1a	12
4315	27102	1980,1005.21	3.36	15	1A	1a	12
4316	27103	1992,0119.331	3.29	17	1A	1a	-
4317	27104	1992,0119.316	3.27	15	1A	1a	3
4318	27105	1980,1005.12	3.27	17	1A	1a	12
4319	27106	1980,1006.6	3.26	15	1A	1a	2
4320*	27107	1992,0119.303	3.24	17	1A	1a	5
4321	27108	1992,0119.299	3.22	16	1A	1a	11
4322	27493	1980,1005.65	3.21	13	1A	1a	12
4323	27640	1992,0119.260	3.20	17	1A	1a	12
4324	27907	1992,0119.314	3.18	16	1A	1a	12
4325	27986	1992,0119.308	3.16	19	1A	1a	2
4326	30841	1992,0119.309	3.15	17	1A	1a	11
4327	30846	1992,0119.305	3.15	15	1A	1a	4
4328	30921	1992,0119.311	3.06	16	1A	1a	11
4329	30966	1980,1005.26	3.04	16	1A	1a	12
4330	31147	1922,0213.37	3.00	13	1A	1a	12
4331*	31207	1982,0626.53	2.88	16	1A	1a	1
4332	31208	1980,1005.28	2.85	15	1A	1a	1
4333	31227	1981,0736.3	2.80	15	1A	1a	-
4334*	31265	1980,1005.30	2.67	15	1A	1a	11
4335	31280	1992,0119.312	2.56	16	1A	1a	-
4336	31290	1981,0736.2	2.48	13	1A	1a	11
4337	31291	1981,0736.1	2.45	10	1A	1a	-
4338*	31293	1990,0921.106	3.95	17	1B	1a	12
4339*	31294	1992,0119.297	3.28	17	2A	1a	11

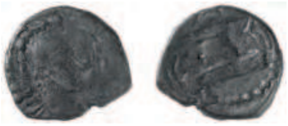

A: U.C2-iii-imit 1u (1A/1a)

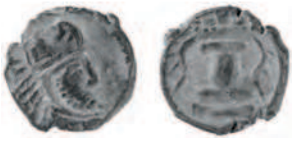

4301: U.C2-iii-imit 1u (1A/1a)

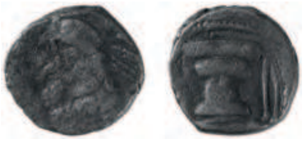

4307: U.C2-iii-imit 1u (1A/1a)


4317: U.C2-iii-imit 1u (1A/1a)

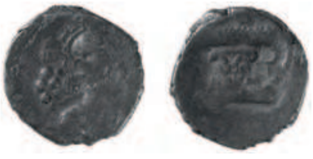

4328: U.C2-iii-imit 1u (1A/1a)

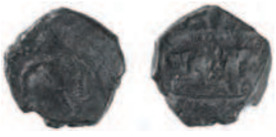

4331: U.C2-iii-imit 1u (1A/1a)

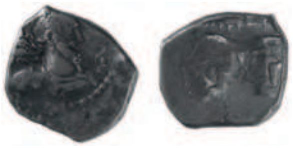

4335: U.C2-iii-imit 1u (1B/1a)

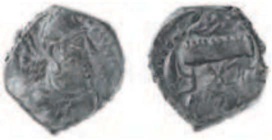

4336: U.C2-iii-imit 1u (2A/1a)

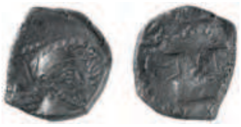
325 U.C2-iv 1u Begram copper mint phase 4 units


4341: U.C2-iv 1u (1A/1a)


4342: U.C2-iv 1u (1A/1a)


4343: U.C2-iv 1u (1A/1a)


4350: U.C2-iv 1u (1B/1b)


4364: U.C2-iv 1u (1B/1b)

Göbl 1984: 1125; Cribb 1990: 35

Hormizd I (U), Begram copper mint (C2), fourth phase (iv), units (1u), *c.* 3.8g, lion head crown bust MHZH (Mēzē)/ divine bust on fire altar type.

Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed in bun (drawn as four rows of curls) at back, bearded (beard tied below with jewels), wearing lion head crown diadem with two rising ribbons behind, earring with single jewel, necklace (drawn as line) and tunic with buttons on chest. Bactrian inscription (clockwise from 1.00 to 4.00) MHZH. All surrounded by dotted border.

1A crown surmounted by artichoke on some examples.

1B as 1A, but without artichoke.

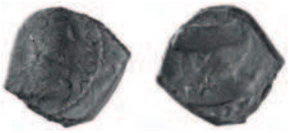
Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, bust facing, head to front, emerging from top of fire-altar/throne, hair in form of flames above and dressed as buns either sides of his face, bearded, wearing diadem, with ribbons, hanging beside his hair buns, and necklace. Fire altar/throne merged together, throne to front with oblong seat, resting on out-turned lion legs, with ribbons tied to tops and falling down, fire altar behind throne, with throne seat as slab or throne seat on top of slab on top of broad column standing on single or double step. Tamga on column of fire altar. All surrounded by dotted border.

1a fire altar with throne seat on top of slab on top of broad column standing on or double step.

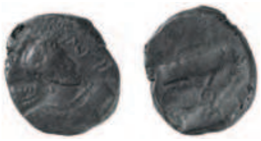
1b fire altar with throne seat as slab on top of broad column standing on single step.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Ax
4340	31300	1992,0119.321	4.68	19	1A	1a	11
4341	31301	1992,0119.322	4.66	17	1A	1a	11
4342	31404	1992,0119.323	4.58	16	1A	1a	1
4343	31405	1990,0921.82	4.40	17	1A	1a	12
4344*	31457	1995,0507.13	4.01	19	1A	1a	1
4345*	31469	1980,1005.32	3.73	16	1A	1a	12
4346*	31474	1992,0626.56	3.64	18	1A	1a	11
4347	31490	OR.370	2.83	15	1A	1a	11
4348	31509	2001,1201.7688	4.68	17	1B	1b	12
4349	31510	OR.368	4.45	18	1B	1b	12
4350	36672	1980,1006.7	4.35	17	1B	1b	12
4351	31514	1992,0119.324	4.17	16	1B	1b	1
4352	31517	1992,0119.224	4.10	17	1B	1b	11
4353*	31544	1922,0424.3949	4.10	17	1B	1b	12
4354	31547	1982,0626.50	4.02	15	1B	1b	12
4355	31550	1980,1005.36	3.94	18	1B	1b	12
4356	31560	1922,0213.8	3.93	16	1B	1b	10
4357	31569	1982,0626.52	3.89	15	1B	1b	11
4358	31696	1980,1005.37	3.84	17	1B	1b	12
4359	31600	1982,0626.51	3.88	15	1B	1b	1
4360	31606	1992,0119.256	3.87	17	1B	1b	12
4361	31616	1990,0921.96	3.84	16	1B	1b	12
4362	31622	1980,1006.8	3.83	15	1B	1b	11
4363	31624	1922,0424.3943	3.79	15	1B	1b	12
4364	31639	1922,0424.3945	3.75	15	1B	1b	12
4365	31643	1980,1005.38	3.77	16	1B	1b	12
4366	31671	1992,0119.325	3.76	15	1B	1b	1
4367*	31675	1990,0921.98	3.76	15	1B	1b	11

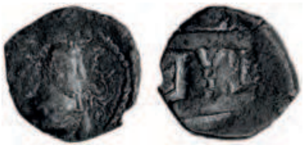
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Ax
4368	31677	1922,0213.6	3.76	16	1B	1b	1
4369	31694	1980,1005.39	3.73	16	1B	1b	12
4370	31700	1980,1005.40	3.73	16	1B	1b	11
4371*	31706	1980,1005.41	3.72	16	1B	1b	12
4372	31715	1980,1005.42	3.64	16	1B	1b	2
4373	31755	1992,0119.326	3.67	17	1B	1b	11
4374	31805	2001,1201.7690	3.67	16	1B	1b	12
4375	31806	1980,1005.43	3.67	16	1B	1b	12
4376	31811	1922,0424.3944	3.66	16	1B	1b	12
4377*	31836	1980,1005.44	3.64	17	1B	1b	11
4378	31837	1990,0921.94	3.63	17	1B	1b	1
4379	31838	2001,1201.7689	3.63	17	1B	1b	2
4380	31878	1922,0424.3941	3.61	15	1B	1b	12
4381	31899	1980,1005.45	3.60	15	1B	1b	10
4382	31902	1922,0213.7	3.60	17	1B	1b	11
4383	31931	1921,0331.49	3.59	15	1B	1b	12
4384	31942	1990,0921.91	3.59	18	1B	1b	10
4385	31964	1992,0119.327	3.57	15	1B	1b	1
4386	31965	1922,0424.3960	3.55	15	1B	1b	12
4387	32202	1982,0626.55	3.52	15	1B	1b	11
A*	ANS (1988.22.29)		3.51	19	1B	1b	-
B*	ANS (1987.46.118)		3.50	16	1B	1b	-
4388	32305	1980,1005.46	3.50	17	1B	1b	12
4389	32310	1980,1005.47	3.50	16	1B	1b	1
4390	32312	1922,0213.35	3.50	13	1B	1b	1
4391	32338	1992,0119.318	3.49	16	1B	1b	12
4392	32361	1844,0921.45	3.49	14	1B	1b	12
4393	32399	1980,1005.49	3.46	14	1B	1b	6
4394	32401	1922,0424.3956	3.46	13	1B	1b	1
4395	32404	1922,0213.31	3.45	16	1B	1b	12
4396	32406	1980,1005.50	3.43	13	1B	1b	8
4397	32501	1980,1005.51	3.43	16	1B	1b	12
4398	32559	1990,0921.87	3.42	16	1B	1b	11
4399	6548	1980,1005.1	3.42	13	1B	1b	-
4400	32688	1922,0424.3950	3.41	16	1B	1b	12
4401	32689	1980,1005.52	3.41	15	1B	1b	11
4402	32730	1990,0921.88	3.38	15	1B	1b	12
4403	32762	1980,1005.54	3.34	16	1B	1b	11
4404	32771	1990,0921.101	3.36	15	1B	1b	10
4405*	32798	1980,1005.55	3.34	17	1B	1b	10
4406	32980	1980,1005.56	3.32	16	1B	1b	11
4407	33041	1980,1005.57	3.32	16	1B	1b	12
4408	33086	1980,1005.58	3.30	15	1B	1b	10
4409	33456	1980,1005.60	3.28	15	1B	1b	10
4410*	33809	1990,0921.102	3.28	15	1B	1b	12
4411	33810	1990,0921.95	3.27	17	1B	1b	11
4412	34104	1980,1005.61	3.26	16	1B	1b	12
4413	34105	1845,0613.6	3.25	17	1B	1b	12
4414*	34106	1980,1005.62	3.24	16	1B	1b	12
4415	34107	1990,0921.89	3.23	15	1B	1b	12



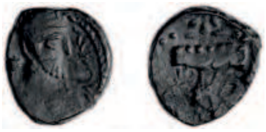
4368: U.C2-iv 1u (1B/1b)



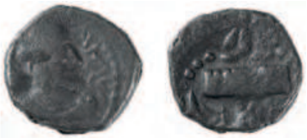
4374: U.C2-iv 1u (1B/1b)



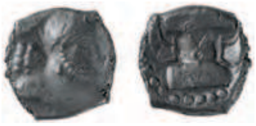
A: U.C2-iv 1u (1B/1b)



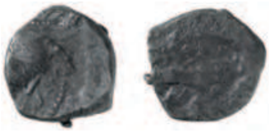
B: U.C2-iv 1u (1B/1b)



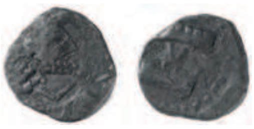
4402: U.C2-iv 1u (1B/1b)



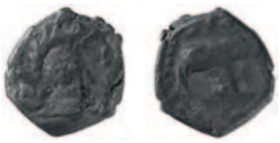
4407: U.C2-iv 1u (1B/1b)

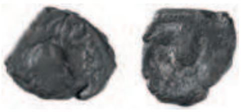


4411: U.C2-iv 1u (1B/1b)


4432: U.C2-iv-imit 1u (1A/1a)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Ax
4416	34108	1980,1005.63	3.23	15	1B	1b	1
4417	34109	1980,1005.64	3.21	18	1B	1b	11
4418	34110	1980,1005.33	3.19	15	1B	1b	12
4419	34111	1990,0921.92	3.18	16	1B	1b	12
4420	34112	1980,1006.9	3.17	16	1B	1b	11
4421	34113	1980,1005.66	3.17	16	1B	1b	11
4422	34114	2001,1201.7691	3.14	18	1B	1b	1
4423	34115	1922,0213.33	3.11	17	1B	1b	12
4424	34116	1980,1005.67	3.10	15	1B	1b	-
4425	34117	1980,1005.34	3.10	14	1B	1b	-
4426	34118	1980,1005.35	3.07	17	1B	1b	11
4427	34119	1980,1005.69	3.06	16	1B	1b	11
4428	34120	1980,1005.70	3.05	16	1B	1b	11
4429	34121	1980,1005.71	3.00	16	1B	1b	12
4430	34122	1982,0626.54	2.94	15	1B	1b	12
4431	34123	1990,0921.97	2.87	14	1B	1b	4
4432	34124	1980,1005.72	2.83	15	1B	1b	9
4433	34125	1980,1005.74	2.73	16	1B	1b	12
4434	34126	1990,0921.99	2.75	16	1B	1b	12


4435: U.C2-iv-imit 1u (1A/1b)


4437: U.C2-iv-imit 1u (1A/1b)

326 U.C2-iv-imit 1u Unofficial copies of Begram copper mint phase 4 units

Hormizd I (U), Begram copper mint (C2), fourth phase (iv), unofficial copies (imit) units (1u), *c.* 3.8g, lion head crown bust MHZH (Mēzē)/ divine bust on fire altar type.

Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed in bun (drawn as four rows of curls) at back, bearded (beard tied below with jewels), wearing lion head crown diadem with two rising ribbons behind, earring with single jewel, necklace (drawn as line) and tunic with buttons on chest. Bactrian inscription (clockwise from 1.00 to 4.00), blundered version of MHZH. All surrounded by dotted border.

1A bust facing right, with traces of inscription.

1B as 1A, but without trace of lion head crown.

1C as 1B, but without inscription.

2A as 1A, but bust facing left.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, bust facing, head to front, emerging from top of fire-altar/throne, hair in form of flames above and dressed as buns either sides of his face, bearded, wearing diadem, with ribbons, hanging beside his hair buns, and necklace. Fire altar/throne merged together, throne to front with oblong seat, resting on out-turned lion legs, with ribbons tied to tops and falling down, fire altar behind throne, with throne seat as slab or throne seat on top of slab on top of broad column standing on single or double step. Tamga on column of fire altar. All surrounded by dotted border.

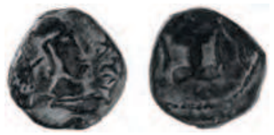
1a fire altar with tamga on column.

1b fire altar without tamga.

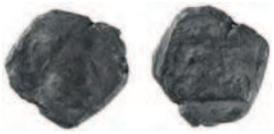
1c fire altar with tamga on its left.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Ax
4435*	34217	1980,1005.73	2.79	15	1A	1a	12
4436	34218	1980,1005.59	3.78	15	1A	1b	12
4437	34219	1990,0921.100	3.63	15	1A	1b	8
4438*	34130	1980,1005.53	3.38	17	1A	1b	12
4439	34131	1980,1005.68	3.09	17	1A	1b	3

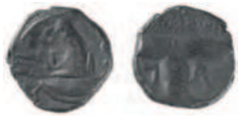
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Ax
4440*	34132	1974,0303.1	2.89	13	1A	1b	-
4441	34133	1980,1005.75	2.30	13	1A	1b	11
4442	34134	1981,0736.4	1.98	12	1A	1b	-
4443*	34135	1922,0213.66	3.70	16	1B	1b	12
4444*	34136	1980,1005.80	3.58	16	1C	1b	3
4445*	34137	1981,0120.6	3.12	14	2A	1c	11



4440: U.C2-iv-imit 1u (1B/1b)



4441: U.C2-iv-imit 1u (1C/1b)



4442: U.C2-iv-imit 1u (2A/1c)

Series V

Hormizd II

5th Sasanian Kushanshah *c.* AD 300–303

Gold and Copper Coins

Hormizd II's coinage

This reign's coinage is very scarce, with only three gold coins known, and a small series of copper coins. The same denominations were issued as in the previous reign for currency zones north and south of the Hindu Kush. Gold and copper coins have been recorded for the mints in Balkh and copper only for Begram. All issues featured the king wearing a winged crown, but otherwise their obverses retained the designs of the previous reign. The reverses, however, were different as the deity Oesho (high yazata) was replaced by a female deity identified in the inscriptions as the Iranian goddess Anahita. On the gold coinage the reverse showed Anahita enthroned investing the king with Pahlavi inscriptions identifying them. The goddess emerged from a fire altar on the northern copper coins. A few coins have Oesho (high yazata) emerging from the fire altar, but appear to be made with dies surviving from the previous reign. The southern copper coins were too badly made to recognise the deity emerging from the fire altar. The inscription on the southern copper coins features the king's subordinate Mēzē (MHZH) who had been named on the last phase of the previous reign's southern coinage and continued to be named on the coins into the next reign.

Gold issues

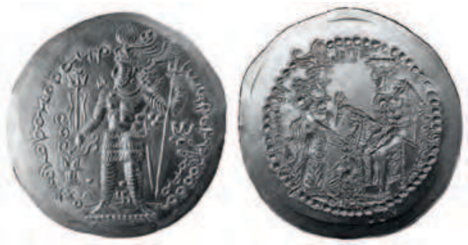
The gold dinars of this reign were struck on the same standard as the previous reign.

Copper issues

Two copper mints operated through the reign. The northern mint issued the same denomination as it had in the previous reign, weighing *c.* 2.1g. Forty six examples average 2.15g (range 1.83–2.97g). The southern mint continued the denomination used in the previous reign, but slighly reduced to *c.* 3.5g. Five examples of the southern mint average 3.39g (range 3.17–3.65g).

Main gold mint, Balkh (V.G1)

The gold coins of this reign has an unexpected reverse design, an investiture scene, based on the the previous reign's designs featuring Oesho investing the king used on Hormizd I's silver and phase 2 copper coins. It continued the standard Kushan dinar denomination of previous reigns.



4445: V.G1-i 1d (1A/1a)

327 V.G1-i 1d Main gold mint phase 1 dinars

Göbl 1993a: 143; Cribb 1990: 5

Hormizd II (V) main gold mint (G1), first phase (i), dinars (1d), *c.* 7.85g, winged crown standing king / king and Anahita investiture type.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, hair dressed in bun behind head, bearded (beard tied below with jewel), flames rising from shoulders, wearing winged crown, with pearls on rim, surmounted by striped globe, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons, earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of armour with smooth breastplate and plate-mail skirt, over leggings, tied at ankles, sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident in raised left hand (pointing with index finger) and making offering over fire altar with extended right hand, holding spoon. King standing on dotted ground line. Altar column-shaped with slab at top and bottom of column, with triangular projections at corners of top slab, curls of smoke rising above altar to either side of king's hand, trident with ribbons on shaft, surmounted by crescent, positioned above altar. Three dots under king's left arm, swastika and dot between king's legs, dot between king's right leg and altar, nandipada symbol in right field, control mark on only example. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00 to 11.00, with variant spellings): ΩΥΡΑΜΑΖΔΟ ΟΟΖ/ΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ (Hormizd Great Kushan King).

1A altar smoke with top curl facing towards king, Bactrian X control mark below dot next to altar, mint name ΒΑΧΛΟ clockwise, below nandipada.

Reverse: Anahita, Iranian goddess on right, seated on a backless throne to left, head to left, facing king on left, standing facing frontally, head to right. Goddess wearing flat-topped crown and diadem with two laddered ribbons over her shoulder, a single braid of hair between her ear and chin, ankle-length sleeved dress, with scarf draped over shoulders, holding bow in her left hand at hip level (with the top of the bow over her left shoulder and its string behind, and offering diadem, with two laddered ribbons hanging below, to king. The throne has knobbed feet and has two ball and point motifs in side panels. King, hair dressed in bun behind, wearing winged crown, surmounted by striped globe, with two laddered diadem ribbons behind shoulders, and Sasanian dress, thigh-length sleeved tunic with rounded hem over leggings, with scarf over shoulders hanging down back, holding spoon in right hand, making offering over small altar in the form of a crowned eagle facing right, head to left, with half opened wings, with curls of smoke rising above spoon, and raising right hand to receive diadem from goddess. Goddess and king have their feet on linear ground line. Inscription in Pahlavi (anticlockwise): *ʾnʾhytʾ/MROTA* (Lady Anahita) 4.00–11.00, *ʾwhrmzdy/MLKA* (King Hormizd), 11.00–6.00.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
4445*	25380	1986,0812.1	7.84	31	1A	1a

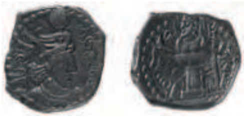
Copper coinage

Two copper mints operated through the reign. The northern mint issued the same denomination as it had in the previous reign *c.* 2.1g. 46 examples average 2.15g (range 1.83–2.97g). The southern mint continued the denomination used in the previous reign, but slightly reduced to *c.* 3.5g. 5 examples of the southern mint average 3.39g (range 3.17–3.65g).

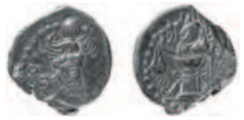
Northern copper mint, Balkh (V.C1)

The two phases of this mint are distinguished by their reverse designs. The first phase retains the previous reign's design featuring Oesho (exalted yazata) emerging from fire altar and the second phase replaces Oesho with the goddess Anahita.

328 V.C1-i 1u Balkh copper mint phase 1 units



4446: V.C1-i 1u



4447: V.C1-i 1u

Göbl 1984: 1091; Cribb 1990: 25

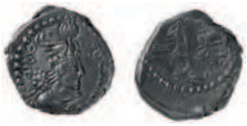
Hormizd II (V), Balkh copper mint (C1), first phase (i), units (1u), *c.* 2.1g, winged crown royal bust/ male divine bust on fire altar type.

Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed in bun (drawn as four rows of curls) at back, bearded (beard tied below with jewels), wearing winged crown with pearls on rim, surmounted by striped globe, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons behind, earring with single jewel, necklace (drawn as line) and tunic with buttons on chest. Inscription in Pahlavi (anti-clockwise from 4.00 to 7.00) *ʾwhrmzdy/MLKA* (King Hormizd). All surrounded by dotted border.

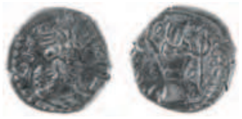
Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, bust emerging from top of fire altar, surrounded by flames. God wearing crown with high front surmounted by crescent, hair dressed in curls and wearing sleeved dress, holding spear in raised left hand (with pointed index finger) and offering diadem, with two laddered ribbons hanging below, with raised right hand. The fire altar has a trapezoid top slab on a round stem, tied with a diadem with loops and laddered ribbons to right and left, and a single stepped base. On some examples there is a dot on or above the line separating the top from the stem. Inscription in Pahlavi (anti-clockwise from 4.00 to 7.00) *bwrzʾndy yzty* (High Yazata).

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.
4446*	34186	1990,0921.66	2.40	14
4447*	34215	1847,0421.37	2.10	14

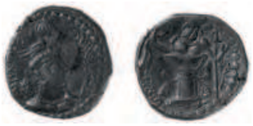
329 V.C1-ii 1u Balkh copper mint phase 2 units



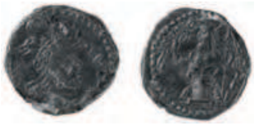
4448: V.C1-ii 1u (1A/1a)



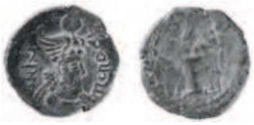
4449: V.C1-ii 1u (1A/1a)



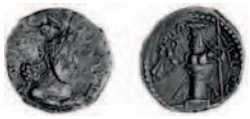
4450: V.C1-ii 1u (1A/1a)



4454: V.C1-ii 1u (1A/1b)



4455: V.C1-ii 1u (1A/1b)



A: V.C1-ii 1u (1A/1b)

Göbl 1984: 1091; Cribb 1990: 25

Hormizd II (V), Balkh copper mint (C1), second phase (ii), units (1u), *c.* 2.1g, winged crown royal bust/ female divine bust on fire altar type.

Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed in bun (drawn as four rows of curls) at back, bearded (beard tied below with jewels), wearing winged crown with pearls on rim, surmounted by striped globe, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons behind, earring with single jewel, necklace (drawn as line) and tunic with buttons on chest. Inscription in Pahlavi (anti-clockwise from 4.00 to 7.00) *ʾwhrmzdy/ MLKA* (King Hormizd). All surrounded by dotted border.

Reverse: Anahita, Iranian goddess, bust emerging from top of fire altar. Goddess wearing flat crown, hair dressed in single braid, holding spear in raised left hand (with pointed index finger) and offering diadem, with two laddered ribbons hanging below, with raised right hand. The fire altar has a trapezoid top slab on a round stem, tied with a diadem with loops and laddered ribbons to right and left, and a single stepped base. On some examples there is a dot on or above the line separating the top from the stem. Inscription in Pahlavi (anti-clockwise from 4.00 to 7.00 or 9.00) *ʾnʾhytʾ/ MROTA* (Lady Anahita).

1a inscription 4.00 to 7.00.

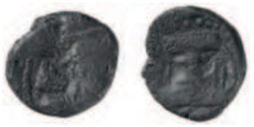
1b inscription 4.00 to 9.00.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Ax
4448*	34216	1990,0921.67	2.35	15	1A	1a	9
4449*	34486	1857,0813.98	2.20	14	1A	1a	12
4450*	34487	2001,1201.7681	2.16	15	1A	1a	9
4451	34488	OR.380	2.10	15	1A	1a	3

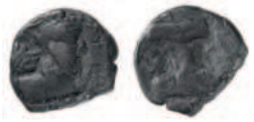
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Ax
4452	34489	1995,0507.14	2.02	14	1A	1a	3
4453	34490	1917,1103.32	1.88	14	1A	1a	9
4454*	34491	2001,1201.7680	2.67	15	1A	1b	9
4455*	34494	1982,0626.28	2.10	15	1A	1b	9
A*	ANS (1944.100.3610)		2.13	15	1A	1b	-

Southern copper mint, Begram

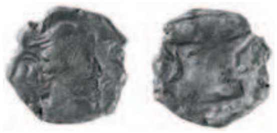
This mint operated for only one phase. It continued the issues of the previous reign with a change of royal portrait and restored the double step to the altar column.



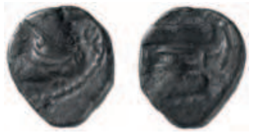
4456: V.C2-i 1u (1A/1a)



4457: V.C2-i 1u (1B/1b)



4458: V.C2-i 1u (1B/1a)



4459: V.C2-i 1u (1A or 1B/1a)

330 V.C2-i 1u Begram copper mint phase 1 units

Göbl 1984: 1127A; Cribb 1990: 36

Hormizd II (V), Begram copper mint (C2), first phase (i), units (1u), *c.* 3.5g, winged crown royal bust MHZH (Mēzē)/ divine bust on fire altar type.

Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed in bun (drawn as four rows of curls) at back, bearded (beard tied below with jewels), wearing winged crown diadem with two rising ribbons behind, earring with single jewel, necklace (drawn as line) and tunic with buttons on chest. Bactrian inscription (clockwise from 1.00 to 4.00) MHZH. All surrounded by dotted border.

1A crown surmounted by artichoke on some examples.

1B as 1A, but without artichoke.

Reverse: Deity, bust facing, head to front, emerging from top of fire-altar/throne, details unclear. Fire altar/throne merged together, throne to front with oblong seat, resting on out-turned lion legs, with ribbons tied to tops and falling down, fire altar behind throne, with throne seat on top of slab on top of broad column standing on double step. All surrounded by dotted border.

1a fire altar with throne seat on top of slab on top of broad column standing on or double step.

1b fire altar with throne seat as slab on top of broad column standing on single step.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Ax
4456*	34495	1981,0325.10	3.52	15	1A	1a	11
4457*	34496	1980,1005.76	3.41	15	1B	1b	2
4458*	34497	1980,1006.10	3.21	16	1B	1a	12
4459*	34498	1980,1005.77	3.17	16	?	1a	12

Series W

Peroz II
6th Sasanian Kushanshah *c.* AD 303–330
Gold and Copper Coins

Peroz II's coinage

Peroz II's coinage was the last to be issued by a Kushano-Sasanian king both north and south of the Hindu Kush. All issues show the king wearing a crown adorned with bull's horns. The crown was surmounted by a striped globe and on his gold coins the same device is also on both the king's shoulders. The designs were the same as on coins of Hormizd I's final issues: the gold coins showed the king making an offering on the obverse and Oesho (high yazata) with bull on reverse; the copper coins showed the king's bust on the obverse and Oesho emerging from top of fire altar on the reverse. Both gold and copper coins were issued at mints north and south of the Hindu Kush. Two different hair styles were used on the portraits of this coinage.

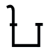
Gold coins

Two mints issued gold coins on the reduced Kushan dinar standard, but slightly heavier than those of the previous reign and the final phase of the reign before that. 5 examples average 7.91g (range 7.82–7.97g). The issues of the two mints were only distinguished by their style, which links them to the issues of these mints under Hormizd I.

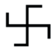
Copper coins

The northern copper coinage issued at the Balkh mint continued the denomination issued by previous rulers, maintaining the 2.1g standard established under Hormizd I. 70 examples average 2.1g (range 1.71–2.73g). The southern copper coinage also continued the *c.* 3.5g denomination of Hormizd II. 93 examples average 3.42g (range 2.57–4.19g).

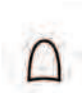
Control marks



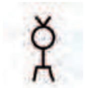
pe



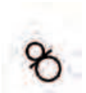
swastika



symbol 1



tamga



symbol 2

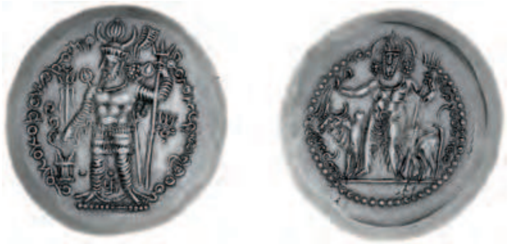
Main gold mint, Balkh (W.G1)

There is only one phase issued by this mint. Two different hair styles are used in the image of the king.

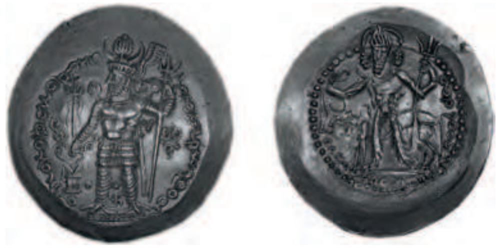
331 W.G1-i 1d Main gold mint phase 1 dinars

Göbl 1984: 712; Göbl 1993a: 89, 90; Cribb 1990: 6

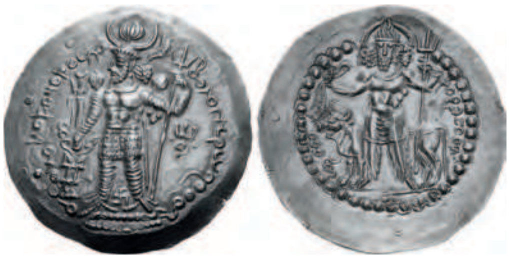
Peroz II (W) main gold mint (G1), first and only phase (i), dinars (1d) *c.* 7.9g, bull-horn crown standing king/ Oesho and bull type.



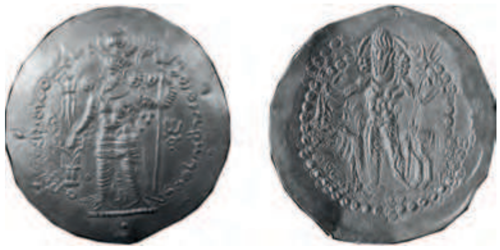
A: W.G1-i 1d (1A/1a)



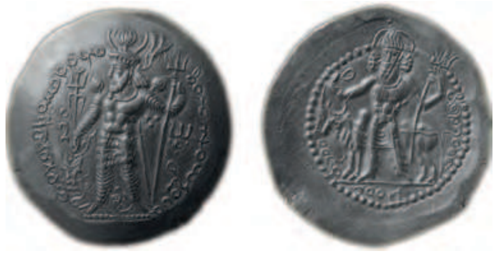
B: W.G1-i 1d (1A/1b)



C: W.G1-i 1d (1B/1c)



D: W.G1-i 1d (1B/1c)



4460: W.G1-i 1d (1C/1b)

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, hair dressed behind head, bearded (beard tied below with jewel), striped globes on stems on each shoulder, wearing bull-horn crown, with palmettes around rim, surmounted by striped globe, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons, earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of armour with smooth breastplate, and plate-mail skirt, over leggings, tied at ankles, sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident in raised left hand (pointing with index finger) and making offering over fire altar with extended right hand, holding dish. King standing on dotted ground line. Altar column-shaped with slab at top and bottom of column, with triangular projects at corners of top slab, curls of smoke rising above altar to either side of king's hand, trident with ribbons on shaft, surmounted by crescent, positioned above altar. Three dots under king's left arm, swastika and dot between king's legs, dot between king's right leg and altar, nandipada symbol in right field, control marks on some examples. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00 to 11.00): ΒΑΓΟ ΠΙΡΩΖΟ ΟΟΖ/ΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ (Lord Peroz Great Kushan King).

1A hair dressed in buns as four horizontal rows of curls, altar smoke with top curl facing towards king.

1B same as 1A, but added register mark dots around edge of design at 2.30, 3.30, 4.30, 6.00, 8.00, 9.00 and 10.30.

2A hair dressed as four downward diagonal rows of curls, altar smoke with top curl facing towards king, with symbol 1.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, head to front, slightly turned to left, surrounded by halo, hair in form of flames above and dressed in buns either side of head (drawn as three or four horizontal rows of curls), bearded, wearing necklace, earring and bracelets, thigh-length skirt over leggings, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left with strap across rump. God and bull standing on linear ground line. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 2.00 to 9.00): ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔΟ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ (High Yazata).

1a inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔΟ// ΙΑΖΑΔΟ.

1b inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟ/ΑΝΔΟ Ι/ΑΖΑΔ, with register mark dot at 12.00.

1c inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝ/ΔΟ/ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ and register mark dots around edge of design at 3.00, 6.00, 9.00 and 12.00.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	ANS (LAK.034)		7.93	31	-	1A	1a
B*	Private collection P		-	-	-	1A	1b
C*	CNG 99 (13.5.2015) lot 432		7.97	32	-	1B	1c
D*†	Private collection Q		7.91	-	-	1B	1c
4460*	189594	1982,0626.2	7.92	32	15.49	2A	1b

† Same die as A and B recut.

Subsidiary gold mint, Begram? (W.G2)

There is only one phase issued by this mint. Two different hair styles are used on the portraits of this coinage.

332 W.G2-i 1d Subsidiary gold mint phase 1 dinars

Göbl 1984: 711; Göbl 1993a: 88; Cribb 1990: 6

Peroz II (W) subsidiary gold mint (G2), first and only phase (i), dinars (1d) *c.* 7.8g, bull-horn crown standing king/ Oesho and bull type.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, hair dressed in bun, bearded (beard tied below with jewel), striped globes on stems on each shoulder, wearing bull-horn crown, with palmettes around rim, surmounted by striped globe, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons, earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of armour with smooth breastplate, and plate-mail skirt, over leggings, tied at ankles, sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident in raised left hand (pointing with index finger) and making offering over fire altar with extended right hand, holding dish. King standing on dotted ground line. Altar column-shaped with slab at top and bottom of column, with triangular projects at corners of top slab, curls of smoke rising above altar to either side of king's hand, trident with ribbons on shaft, positioned above altar. Three dots under king's left arm, swastika and dot between king's legs, dot between king's right leg and altar, nandipada symbol in right field, control marks on some examples. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00 to 11.00): ΒΑΓΟ ΠΙΡΩΖΟ ΟΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ (Lord Peroz Great Kushan King).

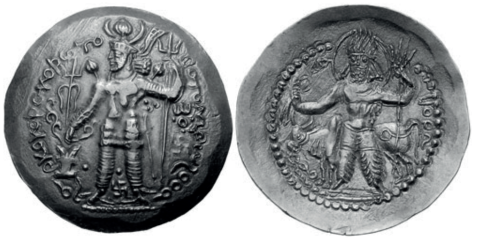
1A hair dressed as four horizontal rows of curls, altar smoke with top curl facing towards king, swastika in left field below nandipada, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΠΙΡΩΖΟ ΟΟ/ΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ.

1B as 1A, but Brahmi *pe* in left field below nandipada, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΠΙΡΩΖΟ ΟΟΖ/ΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ.

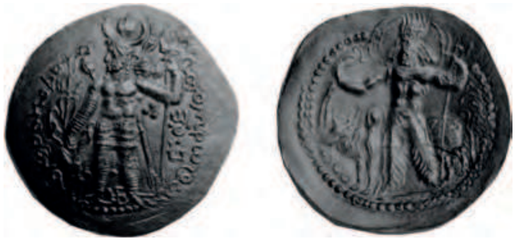
Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, head to front, slightly turned to left, surrounded by halo, hair in form of flames above and dressed in downward diagonal rows of curls either side of head, bearded, wearing necklace, earring and bracelets, thigh-length skirt over leggings, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left with strap across rump. God and bull standing on linear ground line. Inscription in Bactrian: incomplete versions of ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔΟ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ (High Yazata).

1a inscription (clockwise from 3.00 to 11.00): ΒΟΡΖ//ΑΟΑ/ΝΔ.

1b inscription (clockwise from 11.00 to 11.00): ΒΟ/ΡΖΑΟ/ΑΝ//ΔΟ ΙΑ.



A: W.G2-i 1d (1A/1a)



B: W.G2-i 1d (1B/1b)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	CNG mail bid 64 (24.9.2003) 560		7.82	-	1A	1a
B*	Kabul Museum; Göbl 1984: 711.1		-	-	1B	1b

Northern copper mint, Balkh (W.C1)

There is only one phase issued by this mint.

333 W.C1-i 1u Balkh copper mint phase 1 units

Göbl 1984: 1081–5, 1090; Cribb 1990: 26

Peroz II (W), Balkh copper mint (C1), first and only phase (i), units (1u), *c.* 2.1g, bull-horn crown bust type/ male divine bust on fire altar type.

Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed as four downward diagonal rows of curls at back, bearded (beard tied below with jewels), wearing bull-horn crown with palmettes around rim, surmounted by striped globe, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons behind, earring with single jewel, necklace (drawn as line) and tunic with buttons on chest. Inscription in Pahlavi (anti-clockwise from 4.00 to 7.00) *pylwzy kwšʾ* [sic]/ *MLKA* (Peroz Kushan king). All surrounded by dotted border.

1A no symbols.

1B three dots behind crown.

1C three dots in diagonal row behind crown.

1D two dots behind crown.

1E one dot behind crown.

1F dot, triangle and crescent behind crown.

4463: W.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)

4464: W.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)

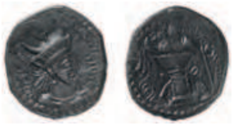
4466: W.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)

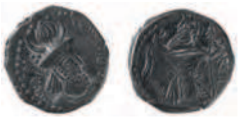
1G symbol 2 behind crown.

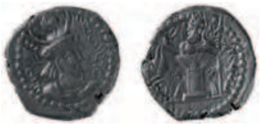
2A bust facing left, with retrograde inscription from 7.00 to 4.00.

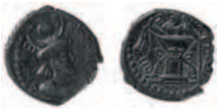
Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, bust emerging from top of fire altar, surrounded by flames. God wearing crown with high front surmounted by crescent, hair dressed in curls and wearing sleeved dress, holding spear in raised left hand (with pointed index finger) and offering diadem, with two laddered ribbons hanging below, with raised right hand. The fire altar has a trapezoid top slab on a round stem, tied with a diadem with loops and laddered ribbons to right and left, and a single stepped base. On most examples there is a dot on or above the line separating the top from the stem. Inscription in Pahlavi (anti-clockwise from 4.00 to 7.00) *bwrz'ndy yzty* (High Yazata).

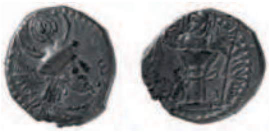
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
4461	34499	OR.379	2.33	14	1A	1a
4462	34500	1859,0220.145	2.32	16	1A	1a
4463*	34502	1862,1004.85	2.30	13	1A	1a
4464*	34503	1990,0921.73	2.21	15	1A	1a
4465	34504	1990,0921.70	2.20	14	1A	1a
4466*	34506	OR.376	2.19	15	1A	1a
4467	34507	1894,0506.129	2.17	14	1A	1a
4468*	34510	1982,0626.30	2.11	15	1A	1a
4469	34511	1990,0921.72	2.10	15	1A	1a
4470	34512	OR.377	2.08	14	1A	1a
4471	34513	OR.378	2.07	16	1A	1a
4472	34514	1982,0626.29	1.97	14	1A	1a
4473	34515	1990,0921.71	1.95	16	1A	1a
4474*	34516	1982,0626.31	2.26	14	1B	1a
4475*	34517	1990,0921.68	2.14	15	1C	1a
4476*	34518	1917,1103.31	2.05	13	1C	1a
4477*	34519	2001,1201.7682	2.36	16	1D	1a
4478*	34520	1995,0507.15	2.21	16	1E	1a
4479*	34521	1990,0921.69	1.99	15	1F	1a
4480*	34522	2001,1201.7683	2.20	16	1G	1a
4481*	34523	1995,0507.16	1.98	15	2A	1a
A*	Private collection Q		1.85	13	2A	1a

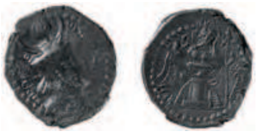

4468: W.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)

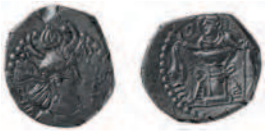

4474: W.C1-i 1u (1B/1a)

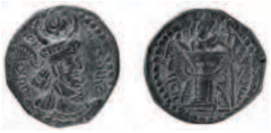

4475: W.C1-i 1u (1C/1a)

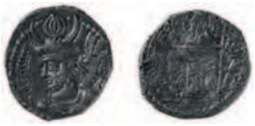

4476: W.C1-i 1u (1C/1a)

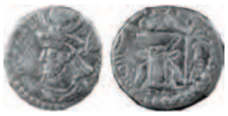

4477: W.C1-i 1u (1D/1a)


4478: W.C1-i 1u (1E/1a)


4479: W.C1-i 1u (1F/1a)


4480: W.C1-i 1u (1G/1a)


4481: W.C1-i 1u (2A/1a)


A: W.C1-i 1u (2A/1a)

Southern copper mint, Begram (W.C2)

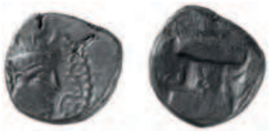
There is only one phase issued by this mint. Two different hair styles are used on the portraits of this coinage.

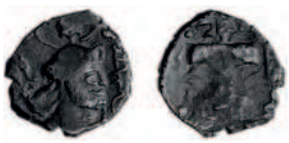
334 W.C2-i 1u Begram copper mint phase 1 units

Göbl 1984: 1127; Cribb 1990: 37

Peroz II (W), Begram copper mint (C2), first and only phase (i), units (1u), *c.* 3.5g, bull horn crown royal bust MHZH (Mēzē)/ divine bust on fire altar type.

Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed at back, bearded (beard tied below with jewels), wearing bull-horn crown, surmounted by striped globe, diadem with two rising ribbons behind, earring with single jewel, necklace (drawn as line) and tunic with buttons on chest. Bactrian inscription (clockwise from 1.00 to 4.00) MHZH. All surrounded by dotted border.


4484: W.C2-i 1u (1A/1a)


A: W.C2-i 1u (1A/1a)

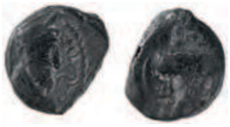
1A hair dressed as bun, drawn as four rows of curls.

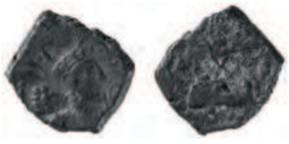
1B as 1A, but hair dressed as four downward diagonal rows of curls.

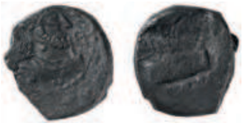
1C as 1B, but two dots behind crown.

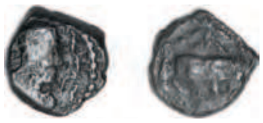
Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, bust facing, head to front, emerging from top of fire-altar/throne, hair in form of flames above and dressed as buns either sides of his face, bearded, wearing diadem, with ribbons, hanging beside his hair buns, and necklace. Fire altar/throne merged together, throne to front with oblong seat, resting on out-turned lion legs, with ribbons tied to tops and falling down, fire altar behind throne, with throne seat as top slab on top of broad column standing on single step. Tamga on altar column. All surrounded by dotted border.

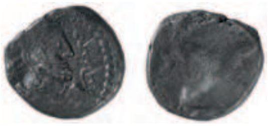
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
4482	34524	1990,0921.103	3.85	16	1A	1a
4483	34529	1922,0424.3959	3.78	14	1A	1a
4484*	34530	1990,0921.10	3.76	16	1A	1a
A*	ANS (1987.46.70)		3.74	17	1A	1a
4485	34873	1980,1006.11	3.73	17	1A	1a
4486	34879	1922,0424.3952	3.70	16	1A	1a
4487*	34885	1859,0220.148	3.69	15	1A	1a
4488	34908	OR.9147	3.58	15	1A	1a
4489	34909	1922,0424.3942	3.64	19	1A	1a
4490	36671	1922,0213.30	3.55	21	1A	1a
4491*	36674	1922,0424.3951	3.54	17	1A	1a
4492	35262	1922,0424.3955	3.51	16	1A	1a
4493	35294	1922,0424.3954	3.46	13	1A	1a
4494*	35386	1980,1006.12	3.42	15	1A	1a
4495*	35387	1982,0626.57	3.41	14	1A	1a
4496	35388	1894,0506.1286	3.39	15	1A	1a
4497	35392	1922,0424.4498	3.38	15	1A	1a
4498	35393	1980,1006.13	3.37	18	1A	1a
4499	35394	1980,1006.14	3.31	16	1A	1a
4500	35395	1922,0424.3946	3.27	17	1A	1a
4501	35396	1980,1005.78	3.16	16	1A	1a
4502	36675	1922,0424.3947	3.08	14	1A	1a
4503	35397	1922,0424.3948	3.01	15	1A	1a
4504	35398	1981,0120.7	3.00	15	1A	1a
4505	35399	1922,0213.34	3.00	14	1A	1a
4506	35400	OR.9148	2.93	17	1A	1a
4507	35401	1922,0424.3958	2.91	16	1A	1a
4508	35402	1980,1005.79	2.87	14	1A	1a
4509*	35403	1990,0921.90	2.88	15	1A	1a
4510*	35404	1995,0507.17	4.19	18	1B	1a
B*	ANS (1987.46.71)		3.80	17	1B	1a
4511	35405	1981,0325.11	3.49	16	1B	1a
4512	35406	1992,0119.328	3.33	15	1B	1a
4513*	35407	1889,0105.1556	3.22	14	1B	1a
4514*	35408	1990,0921.105	3.55	16	1C	1a

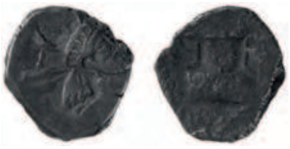

4487: W.C2-i 1u (1A/1a)

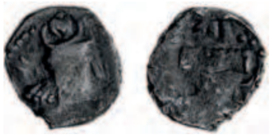

4491: W.C2-i 1u (1A/1a)

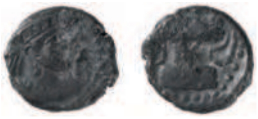

4494: W.C2-i 1u (1A/1a)

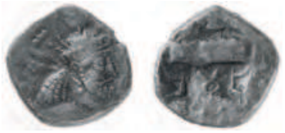

4495: W.C2-i 1u (1A/1a)


4509: W.C2-i 1u (1A/1a)


4510: W.C2-i 1u (1B/1a)


B: W.C2-i 1u (1B/1a)


4513: W.C2-i 1u (1B/1a)


4514: W.C2-i 1u (1C/1a)

Series X

Shapur II
Sasanian Emperor of Iran *c.* AD 309–79
Copper Coins

tamga

Shapur II's Kushano-Sasanian coinage

After the reign of the Kushano-Sasanian king Peroz II, his southern mint at Begram was taken over by an administration which acknowledged the Sasanian emperor Shapur II. The mint continued to issue the Kushano-Sasanian copper denomination and designs current south of the Hindu Kush but with the bust of the Sasanian emperor, wearing his crenellated crown. Only copper coins were issued at the mint, although standard silver drachms were also issued in the name of Shapur Ii for this region. Phase 1 coins were issued with the name of a local subordinate Kavad (KABAΔ), but the other issues name Shapur II, in Pahlavi *šhpwry* or more commonly Bactrian þABOPO. There appear to be two mints involved in this coinage, distinguished by the presence or absence of the figure of Oesho emerging from the fire altar on the reverse.

It seems likely that the Shapur II phase 2 issues continued beyond the end of his reign as there are no more copper coins issued under his successors at Begram until it was taken over by the Huns before 388.

Copper coins

The copper coins were issued at two mints and continue the southern Kushano-Sasanian unit denomination, but a gradual decline took place in the weight standard dropping from *c.* 3.5g to below 1g by the end of the issue, but phase 1 of the second mint (Taxila?) reasserted the original 4.0g weight standard of the denomination, but later issued smaller coins similar in weight to the later coins at Begram. From the Begram mint 29 examples phase 1 average 3.45g (range 2.33–4.76g); 40 examples of phase 2 average 2.65g (range 1.23–3.59g). 102 illegible examples from this mint average 1.72g (range 0.56–3.78g) suggesting that as the coins became more illegible (with the name off the edge of the flan) the weight standard continued to drop. From the Taxila? mint phase 1 27 examples average 4.02g (range 3.30–5.29g); 5 examples of phase 2 average 1.77g (range 0.67–2.34g). In the later stages of issue at Begram, the reverse dies were often so overused that their designs were obliterated.

Begram copper mint (X.C1)

Two phases at this mint are distinguished by the name inscribed on the obverse: Kavad (KABAΔ) on phase 1 and Shapur (ÞABOPO) on phase 2, but the majority of the surviving coins are illegible.

335 X.C1-i 1u Begram copper mint phase 1 units

Göbl 1984: 1126; Cribb 1990: 38

Shapur II (X), Begram copper mint (C1) first phase 1 (i), units (1u), *c.* 3.5g, crenellated crown royal bust KABAΔ (Kavad)/ divine bust on fire altar type.

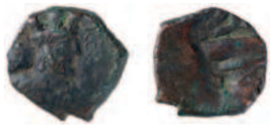
Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed at back as bun, drawn as four rows of curls, bearded (beard tied below with jewels), wearing crown with three crenellations above a row of jewels, surmounted by hair ball outlined in jewels, diadem with two rising ribbons behind, earring with single jewel, necklace (drawn as line) and tunic with buttons on chest. Bactrian inscription (clockwise from 1.00 to 4.00) KABAΔ. All surrounded by dotted border.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, bust facing, head to front, emerging from top of fire-altar/throne. Fire altar/throne merged together, throne to front with oblong seat, resting on out-turned lion legs, with ribbons tied to tops and falling down, fire altar behind throne, with throne seat as slab on top of slab on top of broad column standing on double step. Tamga on column of fire altar. All surrounded by dotted border.

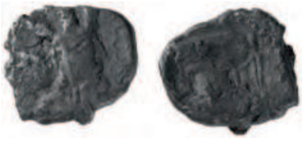
1a as above.

1b obscured design.

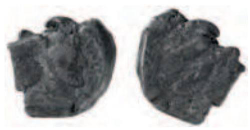
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Ax
4515*	35409	1981,0120.8	3.83	15	1A	1a	11
4516	35410	1922,0424.3940	3.78	14	1A	1a	-
4517	35411	1894,0506.1288	3.69	15	1A	1a	-
4518	35412	1922,0213.32	3.57	16	1A	1a	11
4519*	35414	1980,1005.81	3.53	17	1A	1a	12
4520	35415	1980,1005.82	3.41	15	1A	1a	11
4521	35416	1980,1005.83	3.40	14	1A	1a	2
4522*	35418	1980,1005.84	3.06	15	1A	1a	-
A*	ANS (1988.22.42)		2.95	17	1A	1a	-
4523	35420	1980,1005.85	2.80	14	1A	1a	12
B*	ANS (1987.46.76)		2.58	16	1A	1a	-
4524	35421	1980,1005.86	2.53	15	1A	1a	11
4525	35422	1980,1005.91	2.33	14	1A	1a	11
C*	ANS (1988.22.48)		4.44	18	1A	1b	-
4526*	35424	1922,0424.3940	3.78	14	1A	1b	-
D*	ANS (1987.46.75)		3.60	15	1A	1b	-
4527*	35413	1980,1005.87	3.56	15	1A	1b	-
4528	35417	1980,1005.88	3.36	16	1A	1b	-
4529	35419	OR.444	3.13	13	1A	1b	-



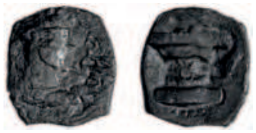
4515: X.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)



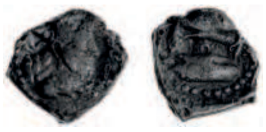
4519: X.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)



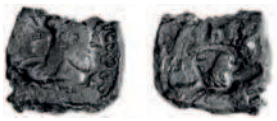
4522: X.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)



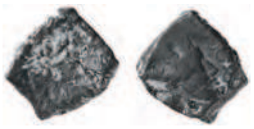
A: X.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)



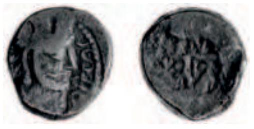
B: X.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)



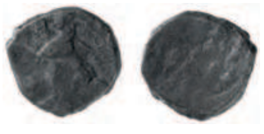
C: X.C1-i 1u (1A/1b)



4526: X.C1-i 1u (1A/1b)



D: X.C1-i 1u (1A/1b)

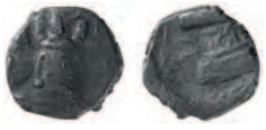


4527: X.C1-i 1u (1A/1b)

336 X.C1-ii 1u Begram copper mint phase 2 units

Cribb 1990: 39

Shapur II (X), Begram copper mint (C1) second phase (ii), units (1u), *c.* 1.5–2.5g, crenellated crown royal bust þABOPO (Shapur)/ divine bust on fire altar type.



4531: X.C1-ii 1u (1A/1a)

Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed at back as bun, drawn as four rows of curls, bearded (beard tied below with jewels), wearing crown with three crenellations above a row of jewels, surmounted by hair ball outlined in jewels, diadem with two rising ribbons behind, earring with single jewel, necklace (drawn as line) and tunic with buttons on chest. Bactrian inscription (clockwise from 1.00 to 4.00) ÞΑΒΟΡΟ. All surrounded by dotted border.

1A design as above, large flan.

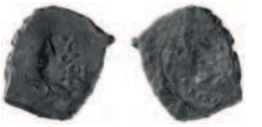
1B as 1A, small flan.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, bust facing, head to front, emerging from top of fire-altar/throne. Fire altar/throne merged together, throne to front with oblong seat, resting on out-turned lion legs, with ribbons tied to tops and falling down, fire altar behind throne, with throne seat as slab on top of slab on top of broad column standing on double step. Tamga on column of fire altar. All surrounded by dotted border.

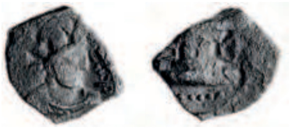
1a design as above.

1b detail obliterated.

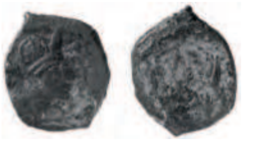
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Ax
4530	35432	1980,1005.89	3.58	20	1A	1a	11
4531*	35433	1981,0120.9	3.57	15	1A	1a	12
4532	35434	1980,1005.111	3.22	16	1A	1a	12
4533	35435	1844,0921.44	3.14	14	1A	1a	7
4534*	35436	1980,1005.90	2.65	15	1A	1a	12
4535	35423	1980,1005.106	2.52	15	1A	1a	-
4536	35437	1980,1005.107	2.49	17	1A	1a	-
A*	ANS (1944.100.64033)		2.46	17	1A	1a	-
4537	35438	1992,0232.3	2.17	14	1A	1a	-
4538*	35439	1992,0232.6	2.09	17	1A	1a	-
4539*	35440	1980,1005.114	1.86	16	1A	1a	-
4540	35441	2001,1201.7687	3.59	15	1A	1b	-
4541*	35442	1980,1005.92	3.53	17	1A	1b	-
4542	35443	1980,1005.93	3.36	16	1A	1b	-
4543*	35444	1980,1005.94	3.33	17	1A	1b	-
4544	35445	1980,1004.10	3.28	14	1A	1b	-
4545	35446	2001,1201.7692	3.13	15	1A	1b	-
4546	35447	1980,1005.95	3.10	16	1A	1b	-
4547*	35448	1992,0232.7	3.05	17	1A	1b	-
4548	35449	1980,1005.96	3.00	18	1A	1b	-
4549	35450	2001,1201.7693	2.99	19	1A	1b	-
4550*	35451	1980,1005.97	2.92	16	1A	1b	-
4551	35452	1980,1005.99	2.90	16	1A	1b	-
4552	35453	1980,1005.100	2.83	17	1A	1b	-
4553	35454	1982,0626.58	2.81	18	1A	1b	-
4554	35455	1980,1005.101	2.81	16	1A	1b	-
4555	35456	1980,1005.102	2.79	20	1A	1b	-
4556*	35457	1980,1005.104	2.63	15	1A	1b	-
4557	35458	1980,1005.103	2.62	17	1A	1b	-
4558	35459	1980,1005.105	2.57	15	1A	1b	-
4559	35460	1980,1004.13	2.28	17	1A	1b	-
4560	35461	1992,0232.5	2.20	15	1A	1b	-
4561	35462	1980,1004.16	1.90	15	1A	1b	-
4562	35463	1980,1005.109	1.75	15	1A	1b	-
4563	35464	1980,1004.31	1.41	14	1A	1b	-
4564*	35465	1982,0226.59	2.59	13	1B	1a	-
4565	35466	1992,0232.2	2.43	13	1B	1a	-
4566*	35467	1894,0506.1289	2.22	13	1B	1a	-
4567*	35468	1980,1004.14	2.14	12	1B	1a	-
4568	35469	1980,1004.44	1.23	10	1B	1a	-



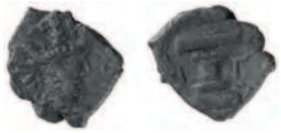
4534: X.C1-ii 1u (1A/1a)



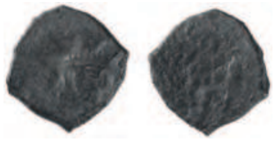
A: X.C1-ii 1u (1A/1a)



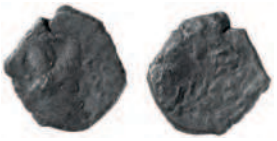
4538: X.C1-ii 1u (1A/1a)



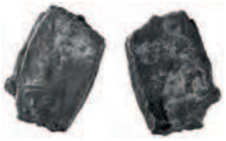
4539: X.C1-ii 1u (1A/1a)



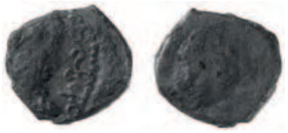
4541: X.C1-ii 1u (1A/1b)



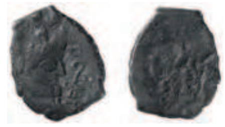
4543: X.C1-ii 1u (1A/1b)



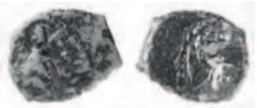
4547: X.C1-ii 1u (1A/1b)



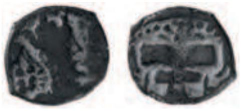
4550: X.C1-ii 1u (1A/1b)



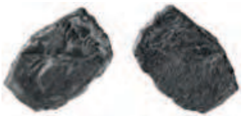
4556: X.C1-ii 1u (1A/1b)



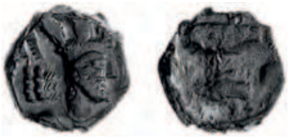
4564: X.C1-ii 1u (1B/1a)

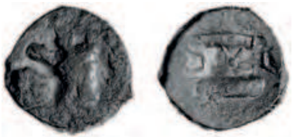


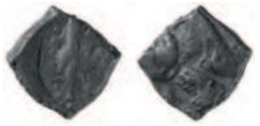
4566: X.C1-ii 1u (1B/1a)

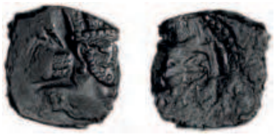


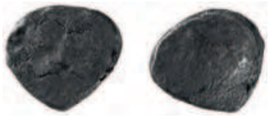
4567: X.C1-ii 1u (1B/1a)

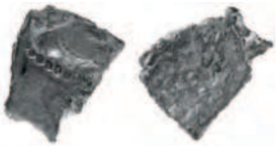

A: X.C1-i or ii 1u (1A/1a)

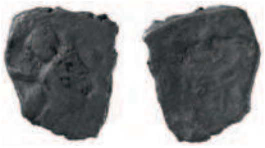

B: X.C1-i or ii 1u (1A/1a)

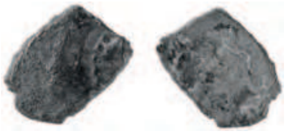

4569: X.C1-i or ii 1u (1A/1a)

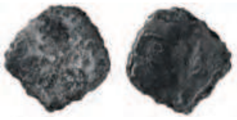

C: X.C1-i or ii 1u (1A/1b)

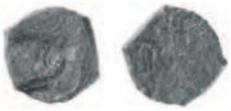

4578: X.C1-i or ii 1u (1A/1b)


4585: X.C1-i or ii 1u (1A/1b)


4587: X.C1-i or ii 1u (1A/1b)


4593: X.C1-i or ii 1u (1A/1b)


4595: X.C1-i or ii 1u (1B/1a)


4599: X.C1-i or ii 1u (1B/1b)

337 X.C1-i or ii 1u Begram copper mint phase 1 or 2 units

Göbl 1984: 1126; Cribb 1990: 40

Shapur II (X), Begram copper mint (C1) first or second phase (i or ii), units (1u), *c.* 1.0 – 3.5g, crenellated crown royal bust, illegible/ divine bust on fire altar type.

Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed at back as bun, drawn as four rows of curls, bearded (beard tied below with jewels), wearing crown with three crenellations above a row of jewels, surmounted by hair ball outlined in jewels, diadem with two rising ribbons behind, earring with single jewel, necklace (drawn as line) and tunic with buttons on chest. Bactrian inscription illegible. All surrounded by dotted border.

1A design as above, large flan.

1B as 1A, small flan.

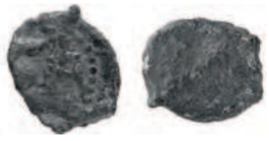
Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, bust facing, head to front, emerging from top of fire-altar/throne. Fire altar/throne merged together, throne to front with oblong seat, resting on out-turned lion legs, with ribbons tied to tops and falling down, fire altar behind throne, with throne seat as slab on top of slab on top of broad column standing on double step. Tamga on column of fire altar. All surrounded by dotted border.

1a design as above.

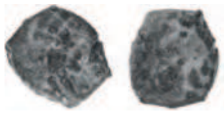
1b detail obliterated.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	ANS (1988.22.37)		3.76	17	1A	1a
B*	ANS (1988.22.55)		3.69	18	1A	1a
4569*	35470	1980,1005.112	3.05	15	1A	1a
4570	35471	1980,1005.113	2.89	14	1A	1a
4571	35472	1992,0119.307	2.87	14	1A	1a
4572	35473	1980,1005.115	2.64	16	1A	1a
4573	35474	1992,0119.329	2.63	15	1A	1a
4574	35475	1992,0119.334	2.37	16	1A	1a
4575	35476	1980,1004.64	1.18	15	1A	1a
C*	ANS (1988.22.36)		3.78	18	1A	1b
4576	35477	1980,1004.2	3.20	15	1A	1b
4577	35478	1992,0119.332	3.08	15	1A	1b
4578*	35479	1992,0119.333	2.99	14	1A	1b
4579	35480	1980,1005.116	3.24	18	1A	1b
4580	35481	1980,1005.117	3.24	16	1A	1b
4581	35482	1980,1005.118	3.17	17	1A	1b
4582	35483	1980,1005.119	3.12	16	1A	1b
4583	35484	1980,1005.120	3.08	17	1A	1b
4584	35485	1980,1005.121	2.90	15	1A	1b
4585*	35486	1980,1004.11	2.84	18	1A	1b
4586	35487	1980,1005.122	2.80	15	1A	1b
4587*	35488	1980,1005.123	2.79	18	1A	1b
4588	35489	1994,0707.28	2.55	14	1A	1b
4589	35490	1980,1004.12	2.41	14	1A	1b
4590	35491	1992,0119.335	2.28	14	1A	1b
4591	35492	1994,0911.6	2.13	14	1A	1b
4592	35493	1980,1004.15	2.08	15	1A	1b
4593*	35494	1980,1004.17	1.85	14	1A	1b
4594	35495	1980,1004.18	1.72	16	1A	1b
4595*	35496	1992,0232.4	2.18	13	1B	1a
4596	35497	1980,1004.6	1.60	12	1B	1a
4597	35498	1980,1004.8	1.49	11	1B	1a
4598	35499	1980,1004.63	1.02	12	1B	1a
4599*	35500	1980,1005.108	2.33	13	1B	1b
4600	35501	1980,1004.3	2.21	10	1B	1b
4601	35502	1980,1004.5	1.62	12	1B	1b
4602	35503	1980,1004.7	1.51	13	1B	1b
4603	35504	1992,0119.340	1.37	13	1B	1b
4604	35505	1980,1004.9	1.02	12	1B	1b
4605	35506	1980,1004.72	0.99	11	1B	1b

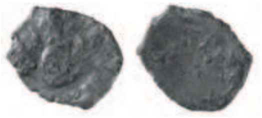
4606	35507	1992,0119.336	2.16	15	1B	1b
4607	35508	1992,0119.337	2.11	14	1B	1b
4608	35509	1980,1004.66	1.92	15	1B	1b
4609	35510	1992,0119.338	1.88	15	1B	1b
4610	35511	1992,0119.339	1.85	16	1B	1b
4611	35512	1980,1004.4	1.72	15	1B	1b
4612	35513	1980,1004.19	1.64	14	1B	1b
4613	35514	1980,1004.20	1.64	16	1B	1b
4614*	35515	1980,1004.21	1.61	14	1B	1b
4615	35516	1980,1004.22	1.58	12	1B	1b
4616	36154	1980,1004.23	1.57	13	1B	1b
4617	35517	1980,1004.24	1.57	17	1B	1b
4618	35518	1980,1004.25	1.52	14	1B	1b
4619	35519	1980,1004.26	1.50	13	1B	1b
4620	35520	1980,1004.27	1.47	16	1B	1b
4621	35521	1980,1004.28	1.47	13	1B	1b
4622	35522	1980,1004.29	1.47	14	1B	1b
4623	35523	1980,1004.30	1.44	17	1B	1b
4624	35524	1980,1004.32	1.41	14	1B	1b
4625	35525	1980,1004.33	1.39	14	1B	1b
4626	35526	1980,1004.34	1.37	15	1B	1b
4627	35527	1980,1004.35	1.36	14	1B	1b
4628	35528	1980,1004.36	1.34	13	1B	1b
4629	35529	1980,1004.37	1.33	15	1B	1b
4630	35530	1980,1004.38	1.27	12	1B	1b
4631	35531	1980,1004.39	1.27	12	1B	1b
4632	35532	1980,1004.67	1.26	14	1B	1b
4633	35533	1980,1004.40	1.26	14	1B	1b
4634	35534	1980,1004.41	1.24	15	1B	1b
4635	35535	1980,1004.42	1.24	14	1B	1b
4636	35536	1980,1004.43	1.24	15	1B	1b
4637	35537	1980,1004.45	1.23	13	1B	1b
4638	35538	1980,1004.65	1.23	14	1B	1b
4639	35539	1980,1004.46	1.22	13	1B	1b
4640	35540	1980,1004.47	1.21	12	1B	1b
4641	35541	1980,1004.48	1.19	13	1B	1b
4642	35542	1980,1004.49	1.19	11	1B	1b
4643	35543	1980,1004.68	1.18	13	1B	1b
4644	35544	1980,1004.50	1.18	13	1B	1b
4645	35545	1980,1004.51	1.18	13	1B	1b
4646*	35546	1980,1004.52	1.12	13	1B	1b
4647	35547	1992,0119.341	1.14	12	1B	1b
4648	35548	1980,1004.69	1.11	15	1B	1b
4649	35549	1980,1004.53	1.11	14	1B	1b
4650	35550	1980,1004.54	1.10	11	1B	1b
4651	35551	1980,1004.55	1.07	12	1B	1b
4652	35552	1980,1004.70	1.05	14	1B	1b
4653*	35553	1980,1004.56	1.03	14	1B	1b
4654	35554	1992,0119.343	1.00	12	1B	1b
4655	35555	1992,0119.342	1.00	13	1B	1b
4656	35556	1980,1004.71	1.00	12	1B	1b
4657	35557	1980,1004.73	0.97	12	1B	1b
4658	35558	1980,1004.57	0.96	12	1B	1b
4659	35559	1992,0119.344	0.91	12	1B	1b
4660	35560	1980,1004.58	0.88	12	1B	1b
4661	35561	1992,0119.345	0.88	12	1B	1b
4662*	35562	1980,1004.59	0.82	14	1B	1b
4663	35563	1980,1004.60	0.76	13	1B	1b
4664	35564	1980,1004.61	0.65	12	1B	1b
4665	35565	1980,1004.62	0.63	12	1B	1b
4666	35566	1980,1004.75	0.62	14	1B	1b
4667*	35567	1980,1004.76	0.56	11	1B	1b



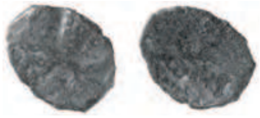
4614: X.C1-i or ii 1u (1B/1b)



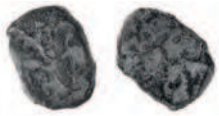
4646: X.C1-i or ii 1u (1B/1b)



4653: X.C1-i or ii 1u (1B/1b)



4662: X.C1-i or ii 1u (1B/1b)



4667: X.C1-i or ii 1u (1B/1b)

Taxila copper mint (X.C2)

Two phases were issued at this mint. The two phases are distinguished by their weight standard and style. Phase 1 coins re-establish the full *c.* 4.0g standard of the southern copper denomination, but phase 2 coins are at the lower standard represented by the collapse of the standard to below 1.0g at the Begram mint.

338 X.C2-i 1u Taxila copper mint phase 1 units

Göbl 1984: 1120, 1121; Cribb 1990: 41

Shapur II (X), Taxila copper mint (C1) first phase (i), units (1u), *c.* 4.0g, crenellated crown royal bust *šhpwry* or ÞABOPO (Shapur)/ flames on fire altar type.

Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed at back as bun, drawn as four rows of curls, bearded (beard tied below with jewels), wearing crown with three crenellations above a row of jewels, surmounted by hair ball outlined in jewels, diadem with two rising ribbons behind, earring with single jewel, necklace (drawn as line) and tunic with buttons on chest. Pahlavi or Bactrian inscription naming king. All surrounded by dotted border.

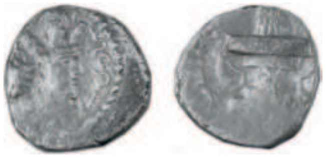
1A inscription in Pahlavi (anticlockwise from 4.30 to 1.00) *šhpwry*.

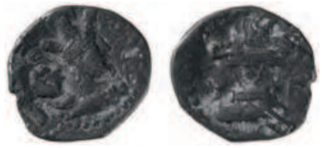
2A inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 2.00 to 5.00) ÞABOPO

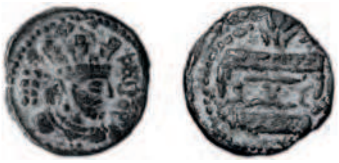
2B as 2A with dot behind crown.

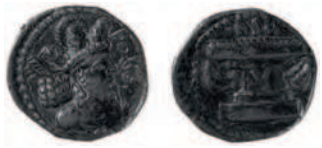
Reverse: Fire altar/throne merged together, with flames emanating from top, throne to front with oblong seat, resting on out-turned lion legs, with ribbons tied to tops and falling down, fire altar behind throne, with throne seat as top slab above slab on top of broad column standing on double step. Tamga on column of fire altar. All surrounded by dotted border.

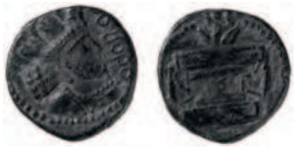
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Private collection Q		3.84	-	1A	1a
4668*	35604	OR.55	3.60	18	1A	1a
4669	35605	OR.372	4.53	20	2A	1a
B*	ANS (1944.100.64031)		4.41	20	2A	1a
4670*	35606	1894,0506.125	4.28	18	2A	1a
4671*	35607	1845,0613.70	4.20	18	2A	1a
4672	35608	OR.9141	4.10	16	2A	1a
4673	35609	IOC.2393	3.99	19	2A	1a
4674	35610	1995,0935.78	3.97	20	2A	1a
4675	35611	1889,0716.1	3.96	20	2A	1a
C*	ANS (1987.46.73)		3.87	19	2A	1a
4676	35612	OR.373	3.86	19	2A	1a
4677	35613	1981,0110.1	3.84	20	2A	1a
4678*	35614	1862,1004.72	3.82	18	2A	1a
4679	35615	IOC.2392	3.78	17	2A	1a
4680	35616	1922,0116.43	3.69	19	2A	1a
4681*	35617	1982,0626.61	3.57	19	2A	1a
4682	35618	1982,0626.62	3.30	21	2A	1a
4683	35619	1982,0626.60	4.35	19	2B	1a
4684*	35620	1894,0506.1284	4.04	19	2B	1a
4685	35621	1980,1005.110	3.51	17	2B	1a

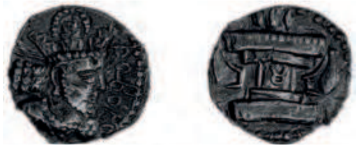

A: X.C2-i 1u (1A/1a)

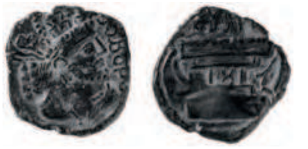

4668: X.C2-i 1u (1A/1a)

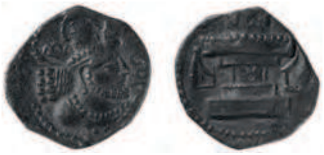

B: X.C2-i 1u (2A/1a)

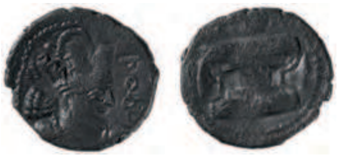

4670: X.C2-i 1u (2A/1a)


4671: X.C2-i 1u (2A/1a)


C: X.C2-i 1u (2A/1a)


4678: X.C2-i 1u (2A/1a)


4681: X.C2-i 1u (2A/1a)


4684: X.C2-i 1u (2B/1a)

339 X.C2-ii 1u Taxila copper mint phase 2 units

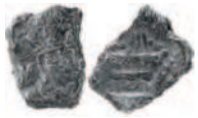
Göbl 1984: S1126

Shapur II (X), Taxila copper mint (C1) second phase (ii), units, *c.* 1.0 – 2.0g, crenellated crown royal bust illegible (Shapur)/ flames on fire altar type.

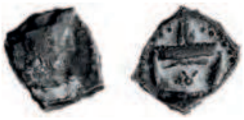
Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed at back as bun, drawn as four rows of curls, bearded (beard tied below with jewels), wearing crown with three crenellations above a row of jewels, surmounted by hair ball outlined in jewels, diadem with two rising ribbons behind, earring with single jewel, necklace (drawn as line) and tunic with buttons on chest. Without inscription. All surrounded by dotted border.

Reverse: Fire altar/throne merged together, with flames emanating from top, throne to front with oblong seat, resting on out-turned lion legs, with ribbons tied to tops and falling down, fire altar behind throne, with throne seat as top slab above slab on top of broad column standing on double step. Tamga on column of fire altar. All surrounded by dotted border.

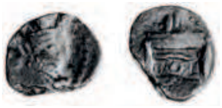
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
4686*	35622	1982,1117.14	2.34	13	1A	1a
A*	ANS (1990.9.2)		2.27	12	1A	1a
B*	ANS (1944.100.64032)		2.01	13	1A	1a
4687*	35623	1980,1004.74	0.67	10	1A	1a



4686: X.C2-ii 1u (1A/1a)



A: X.C2-ii 1u (1A/1a)



B: X.C2-ii 1u (1A/1a)

4687: X.C2-ii 1u (1A/1a)

Y Varahran, coins without a tamga

7th Kushanshah ruler, *c.* 330–345 AD

The coinage of the reign of Varahran was only issued north of the Hindu Kush and appears to be contemporary with that issued under the authority of the Sasanian emperor Shapur II south of the Hindu Kush. The king was represented wearing a flat crown decorated with floral motifs: rows of florets or petals.

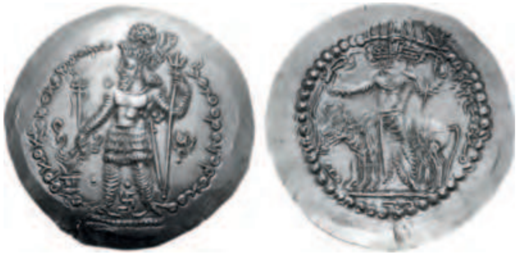
Gold and copper coins following the model of the northern Kushano-Sasanian coinage continued through this period, but the copper coinage of this reign and the next (series Y-O) cannot be distinguished as the same crown type was used, and the tamga, marking the authority of the Huns, did not featured on the copper coins. The copper coins of this reign and series Y-O are therefore all listed here under Varahran (Y).

Gold coins

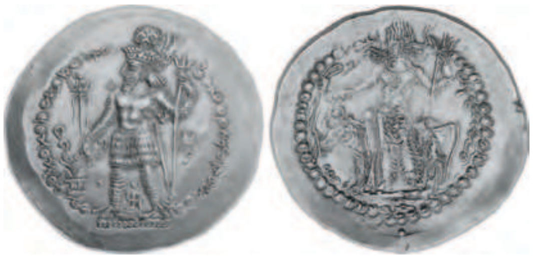
The gold coins of this reign continue to be issued on the reduced Kushan dinar standard. There appears to be a small drop in the weight standard from phase 1 to phase 2: 9 examples of phase 1 average 7.91 g (range 7.69–8.21 g); 16 examples of phase 2 average 7.81 g (range 7.62–7.79 g). This is the beginning of a gradual reduction in weight standard for the following issues of the Balkh mint.

Main gold mint, Balkh (Y.G1)

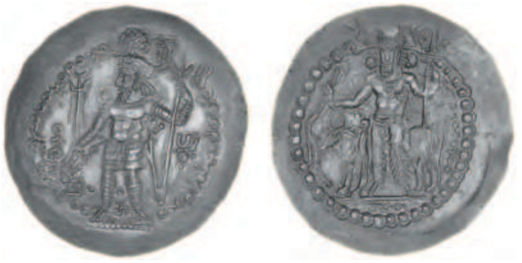
The northern gold mint at Balkh issued coins in two phases, distinguished by the treatment of the god's diadem ribbons on the reverse, with phase 1 having ribbons rising to both sides of the god's head and phase 2 having them both to the right. All succeeding series maintain the version on phase 2.



A: Y.G1-i 1d (1A/1a)



B: Y.G1-i 1d (1A/1a)



C: Y.G1-i 1d (1B/1a)

340 Y.G1-i 1d Main gold mint phase 1 dinars

Göbl 1984: 752; Göbl 1993a: 91; Cribb 1990: 7: Cribb 2010: 1A

Varahran (Y) main gold mint (G1), first phase (i), dinars (1d) *c.* 7.9g, flat crown royal bust nandipada/ Oesho and bull type.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, hair dressed as four downwards diagonal rows of curls, bearded, flames rising from shoulders, wearing flat crown, with two rows of florets or a row of petals beneath a row of dots around rim, surmounted by artichoke, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons, earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of armour with smooth breastplate, and plate-mail skirt, over leggings, tied at ankles, sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident in raised left hand (pointing with index finger) and making offering over fire altar with extended right hand, holding spoon or dish. King standing on dotted ground line. Altar column-shaped with slab at top and bottom of column, with triangular projects at corners of top slab, curls of smoke rising above altar to one or both sides of king's right hand, trident with ribbons on shaft, surmounted by crescent, positioned above altar. Three dots under king's left arm, swastika and dot between king's legs, dot between king's right leg and altar, nandipada symbol in right field, control marks on some examples. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00 to 11.00, sometimes blundered): [ΒΑΓΟ] Ο[Α]ΡΑΥ[Α]ΡΑΝΟ ΟΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ (Lord Varahran, Great Kushan king).

1A king wearing crown with two rows of florets, holding spoon in right hand, but curls of smoke on both sides of king's right hand, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΡΑΥΑΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ.

1B as 1A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΡΑΥΑΡΑΝΟ/ ΟΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ

1C as 1B, but curls of smoke only on left of altar.

2A king wearing crown with two rows of florets, holding dish in right hand, curls of smoke on both sides of king's right hand, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΡΑΥΑΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, mint name ΒΑΧΛΟ in right field next to nandipada and control mark Bactrian X above.

3A king wearing crown with row of petals below row of dots, holding dish in right hand, inscription: ΟΑΡΑΑΥΡΑΝΟ ΟΟΖ/ΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ and register mark dots on edge at 3.00 and 9.00.

4A king wearing crown with row of petals below row of dots, king holding dish in right hand, curls of smoke on both sides of king's right hand, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ/ ΟΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control mark Bactrian X above nandipada.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, head to front, slightly turned to left, hair in form of flames above and dressed in buns either side of head (drawn as three or four horizontal rows of curls), bearded, wearing diadem with laddered ribbons rising above to right and left, necklace, earring and bracelets, thigh-length skirt over leggings, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left with strap across rump. God and bull standing on linear ground line. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 2.00 to 7.00 or 8.00): ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔΟ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ (High Yazata).

1a inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔ/ ΙΑΖ/ΑΔΟ and register mark dots on edge at 3.00, 6.00 and 9.00.

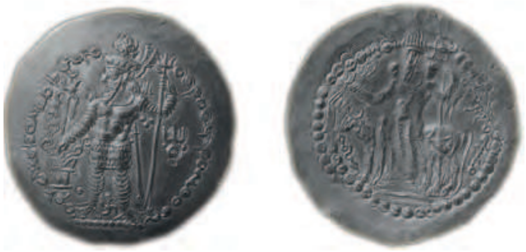
1b inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔ/ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ/.

1c inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔ// ΙΑΖΑΔΟ.

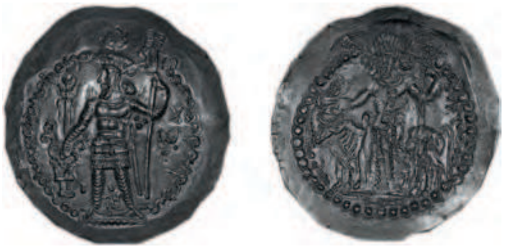
1d inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔ/ ΙΑΖΑ/ΔΟ.

1e inscription ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΟ/ΝΔΟ/ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ.

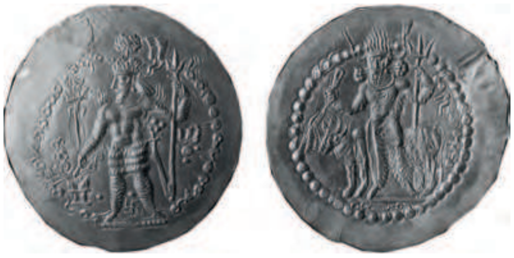
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Classical Numismatic Group mailbid 72, 14 June 2006: 1100		7.88	-	-	1A	1a
B*	Heritage Auction 3040, 9 Apr. 2015: 29160		8.06	32	-	1A	1a
C*	ANS (LAK055)		7.80	33	-	1B	1a
D*	Private collection Q		7.85	-	-	1B	1b
E*	Private collection B		-	-	-	1C	1b
F*	Private collection Q		7.95	-	-	1C	1c
4688*	189630	1893,0204.3	7.82	33	15.76	2A	1d
4689*	189632	1983,0528.1	7.69	32	15.39	3A	1c
G*	Private collection Q		7.96	-	-	3A	1c
H*	Private collection P		-	-	-	4A	1e



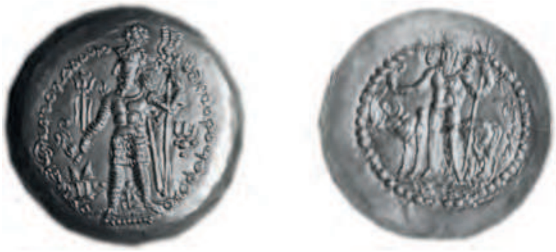
4689: Y.G1-i 1d (3A/1c)



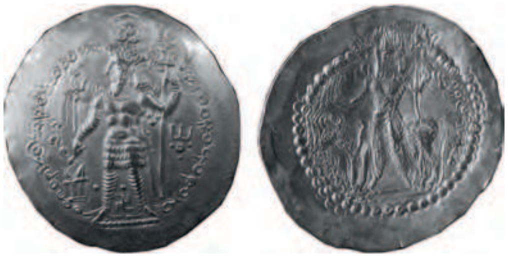
H: Y.G1-i 1d (4A/1e)



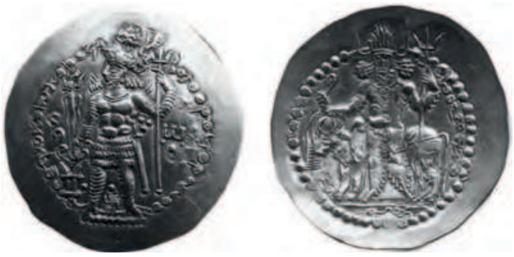
D: Y.G1-i 1d (1B/1b)



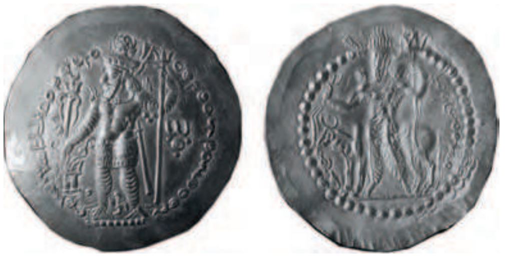
E: Y.G1-i 1d (1C/1b)



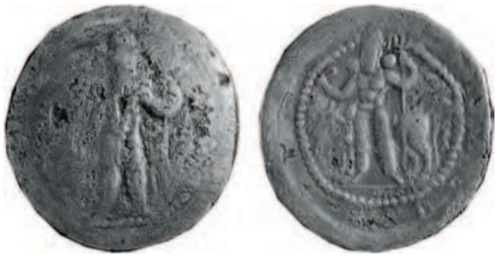
F: Y.G1-i 1d (1C/1c)



4688: Y.G1-i 1d (2A/1d)



G: Y.G1-i 1d (3A/1c)



A: Y.G1-i-imit 1d

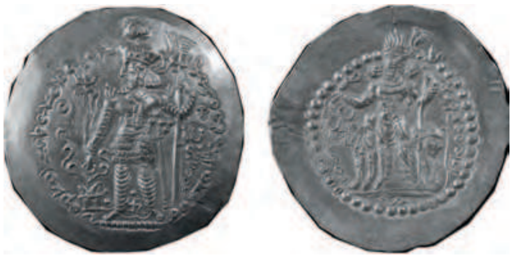
341 Y.G1-i-imit 1d Imitation of main gold mint phase 1 dinars

Varahran (Y) main gold mint (G1), first phase (i) imitiation (imit), dinars (1d) *c.* 7.9g, flat crown royal bust nandipada/ Oesho and bull type, god with ribbons to left and right.

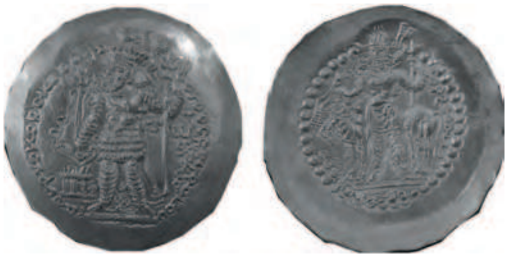
Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, hair dressed as four downwards diagonal rows of curls, bearded, flames rising from shoulders, wearing flat crown, surmounted by artichoke, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons, earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of armour with smooth breastplate, and plate-mail skirt, over leggings, tied at ankles, sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident in raised left hand (pointing with index finger) and making offering over fire altar with extended right hand, holding spoon or dish. King standing on dotted ground line. Altar column-shaped with slab at top and bottom of column, with triangular projects at corners of top slab, curls of smoke rising above altar to both sides of king's right hand (occasionally on left only), trident with ribbons on shaft, surmounted by crescent, positioned above altar. Three dots under king's left arm, swastika and dot between king's legs, dot between king's right leg and altar, nandipada symbol in right field, control marks on some examples. Inscription in Bactrian illegible.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, head to front, slightly turned to left, hair in form of flames above and dressed in buns either side of head (drawn as three or four horizontal rows of curls), bearded, wearing diadem with laddered ribbons rising above to right and left, necklace, earring and bracelets, thigh-length skirt over leggings, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left with strap across rump. God and bull standing on linear ground line. Inscription in Bactrian illegible.

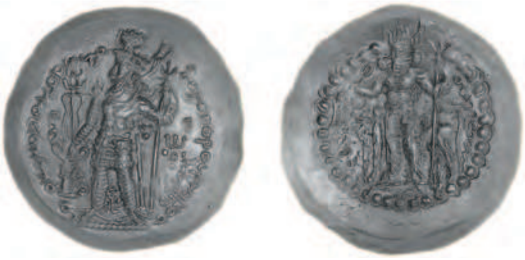
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Private collection E		7.40	-	-	-



A: Y.G1-ii 1d (1A/1a)



B: Y.G1-ii 1d (1B/1a)



C: Y.G1-ii 1d (1C/1a)

342 Y.G1-ii 1d Main gold mint phase 2 dinars, flat crown

Göbl 1984: 748, 750, 752, 753; Göbl 1993a: 92, 144–50; Cribb 1990: 7; Cribb 2010: 1B, 1C

Varahran (Y) main gold mint (G1), second phase (ii), dinars (1d) *c.* 7.8g, flat crown royal bust nandipada/ Oesho and bull type, god with diadem ribbons to right.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, hair dressed as four downwards diagonal rows of curls, bearded, flames rising from shoulders, wearing flat crown, with a row of petals below a row of dots or two rows of dots around rim, surmounted by artichoke, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons, earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of armour with smooth breastplate, and plate-mail skirt, over leggings, tied at ankles, sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident in raised left hand (pointing with index finger) and making offering over fire altar with extended right hand, holding dish. King standing on dotted ground line. Altar column-shaped with slab at top and bottom of column, with triangular projects at corners of top slab, curls of smoke rising above altar to both sides of king's right hand, trident with ribbons on shaft, surmounted by crescent, positioned above altar. Three dots under king's left arm, swastika and dot between king's legs, dot between king's right leg and altar, nandipada symbol in right field, control marks on some examples. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00 to 11.00, often misspelt): ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΑΡΑΝΟ ΟΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ (Lord Varahran, Great Kushan King); with or without mint name ΒΑΧΛΟ in right field below nandipada.

1A king wearing crown with row of petals below row of dots, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ ΟΟ/ΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, with mint name ΒΑΧΛΟ, control mark Bactrian Τ above nandipada and Bactrian Ο in left field above smoke.

1B as 1A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control mark Bactrian Τ above nandipada.

1C as 1A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control mark Bactrian Λ above nandipada.

1D as 1C, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ.

1E as 1C, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ ΟΟ/ΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ.

1F as 1A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, no control mark (trace of Bactrian X? above nandipada).

1G as 1A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ/ ΟΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥ, control mark Bactrian numeral ϙ above nandipada.

1H as 1A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ ΟΖ/ΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control mark Bactrian X above nandipada, mint name ΒΑΧΛΟ only shows as faint trace.

1I as 1A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control mark Bactrian T (rotated to right) above nandipada, mint name missing.

2A king wearing crown with two rows row of dots, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΡΥΡΑΝΟ ΟΟΖ/ΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, with mint name, no control mark; register mark dots on edge at 9.00.

2B as 2A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ.

2C as 2A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ ΟΖ/ΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control mark Bactrian Λ above nandipada.

2D as 2A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control mark Bactrian X above nandipada; smoke above altar without curls.

2E as 2A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΟΟ, control mark Bactrian X above nandipada.

2F as 2E, but no control mark.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, head to front, slightly turned to left, hair in form of flames above and dressed in buns either side of head (drawn as three or four horizontal rows of curls), bearded, wearing diadem with laddered ribbons rising above both to right, necklace, earring and bracelets, thigh-length skirt over leggings, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left with strap across rump. God and bull standing on linear ground line. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 2.00 to 7.00 or 8.00): ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔΟ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ (High Yazata).

1a inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔ/ ΙΑΖ/ΑΔΟ.

1b inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟ/ΑΝ/ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ (central portion of inscription between god's legs above ground line).

1c inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔ/Ο ΙΑΖ/ΑΔΟ; register mark dots on edge at 2.30, 6.00 and 9.00.

1d inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑ/ΝΔΟ ΙΑΖΑ/ΔΟ.

1e inscription ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΟΝ/ΔΟ ΙΑΖ/ΑΔΟ.

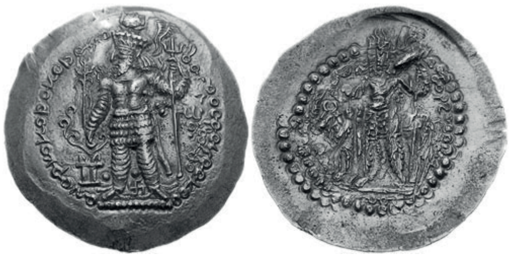
1f inscription ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΟΝ/ΔΟ ΙΑ/ΖΑΔΟ.

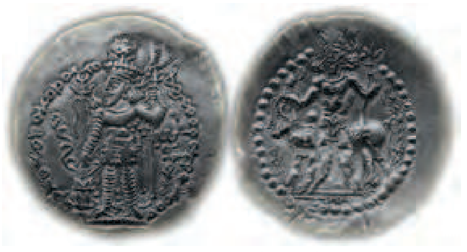
1g inscription ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΟΝΔΟ// ΙΑΖΑΔΟ.

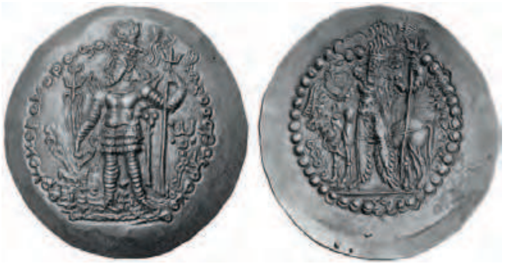
1h inscription ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΟΝ/ΔΟ/ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ.

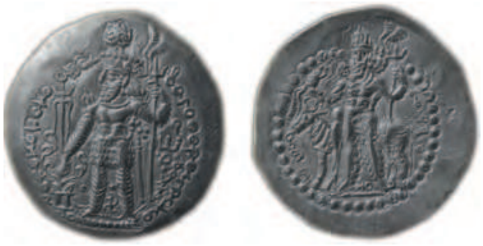
1i inscription ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΟΝ/ΔΟ Ι/ΑΖΑΔΟ.

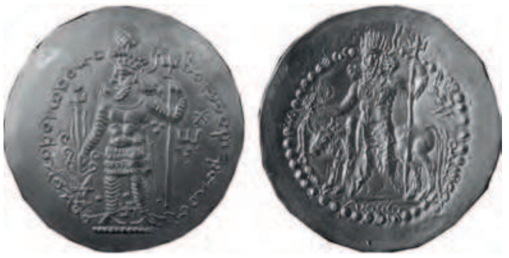
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Private collection Q		7.79	-	-	1A	1a
B*	Private collection Q		7.83	-	-	1B	1a
C*	ANS (LAK.053)		7.89	33	-	1C	1a
D*	Classical Numismatic Group mailbid 66, 19 May 2004: 981		7.85	-	-	1D	1a
E*	Private collection M; http://grifterrec.rasmir.com		7.65	31	-	1E	1a
F*	Numismatica Ars Classica 33, 6 Apr. 2006: 180		7.81	-	-	1F	1a
4690*	189631	1860,1220.218	7.62	31	14.89	1G	1b
G*	Private collection Q		7.93	-	-	1H	1c

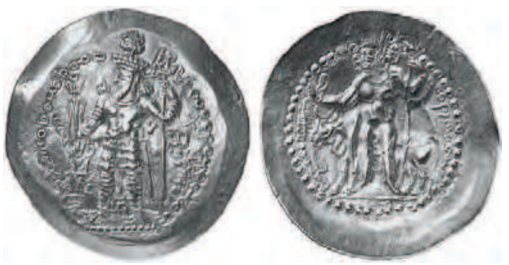

D: Y.G1-ii 1d (1D/1a)


E: Y.G1-ii 1d (1E/1a)

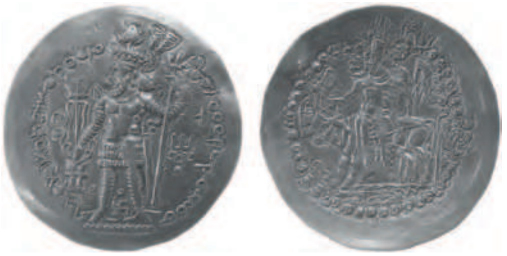

F: Y.G1-ii 1d (1F/1a)

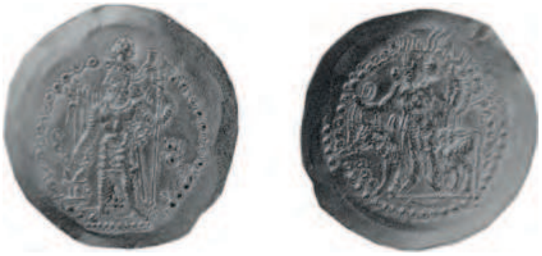

4690: Y.G1-ii 1d (1G/1b)

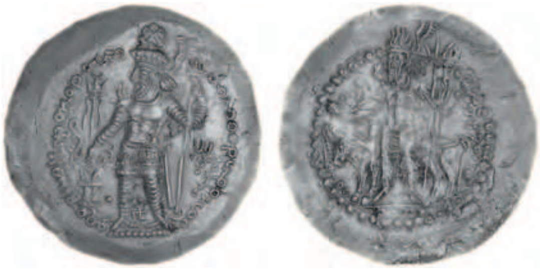

G: Y.G1-ii 1d (1H/1c)

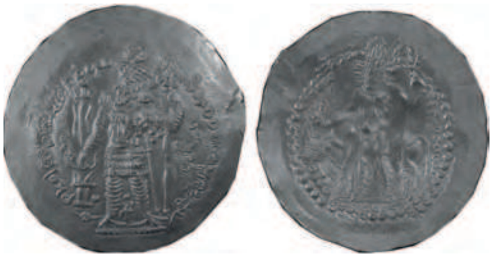

H: Y.G1-ii 1d (1H/1c)

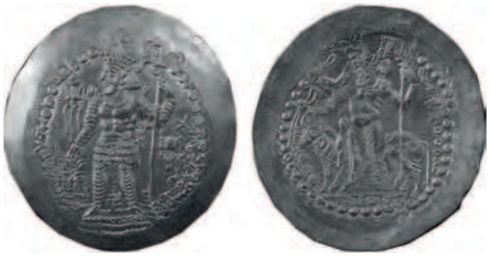
H*	Künker 216 (08.10.2012) 1596; Peus 284		7.99	-	-	1H	1c
I*	Bern; Göbl 1993a: 830		7.70	32	-	1I	1d
J*	Private collection F; Tanabe, 1992: no. 241		-	-	-	2A	1e
K*	ANS (LAK.052)		7.77	34	-	2B	1e
L*	Private collection Q		7.83	-	-	2C	1f
M*	Private collection Q		7.80	-	-	2D	1c
4691*	189629	1894,0506.173	7.85	32	-	2E	1g
N*	Kunker Auction 89, 8 Mar. 2004: 3022		7.68	-	-	2E	1h
O*	Herzfeld 1930: 7b		-	-	-	2F	1i

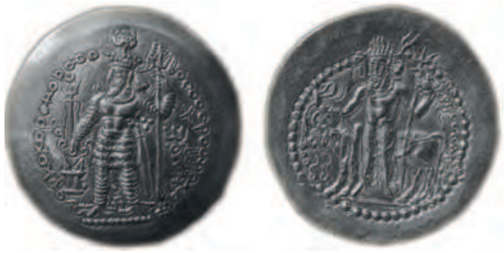

I: Y.G1-ii 1d (1I/1d)

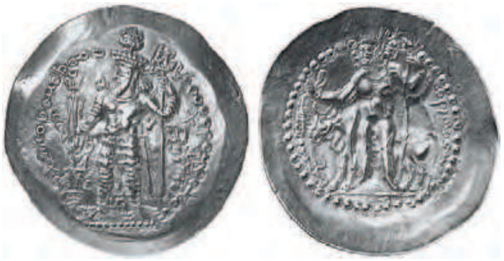

J: Y.G1-ii 1d (2A/1e)

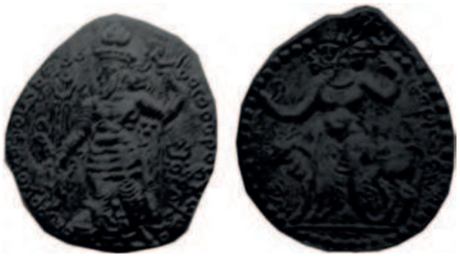

K: Y.G1-ii 1d (2B/1e)


L: Y.G1-ii 1d (2C/1f)


M: Y.G1-ii 1d (2D/1c)

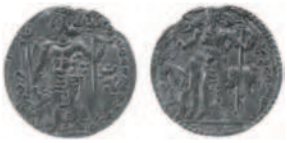

4691: Y.G1-ii 1d (2E/1g)


N: Y.G1-ii 1d (2E/1h)

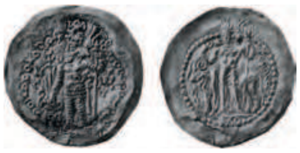

O: Y.G1-ii 1d (2F/1i)

343 Y.G1-ii ¼d Gold mint phase 2 quarter dinars, flat crown

Göbl 1984: 749, 751; Göbl 1993a: 151, 152; Cribb 2010: 1B, 1C
Varahran (Y) main gold mint (G1), second phase (ii), quarter dinars (1/4d), *c.* 1.8g, flat crown royal bust nandipada/ Oesho and bull type, god with diadem ribbons to right.



A: Y.G1-ii 1/4d (1A/1a)



B: Y.G1-ii 1/4d (1B/1b)

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, hair dressed as four downwards diagonal rows of curls, bearded, flames rising from shoulders, wearing flat crown, with a row of petals below a row of dots or two rows of dots around rim, surmounted by artichoke, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons, earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of armour with smooth breastplate, and plate-mail skirt, over leggings, tied at ankles, sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident in raised left hand (pointing with index finger) and making offering over fire altar with extended right hand, holding dish. King standing on dotted ground line. Altar column-shaped with slab at top and bottom of column, with triangular projects at corners of top slab, curls of smoke rising above altar to both sides of king's right hand, trident with ribbons on shaft, surmounted by crescent, positioned above altar. Three dots under king's left arm, swastika and dot between king's legs, dot between king's right leg and altar, nandipada symbol in right field, control marks on some examples. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00 to 11.00): ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΑΡΑΝΟ ΟΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ (Lord Varahran, Great Kushan King).

1A king wearing crown with two rows row of dots, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/[ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ], no control mark.

1B as 1A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ/ [ΟΟΖ]ΟΡΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥ, control mark Bactrian X above nandipada.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, head to front, slightly turned to left, hair in form of flames above and dressed in buns either side of head (drawn as three or four horizontal rows of curls), bearded, wearing diadem with laddered ribbons rising above both to right, necklace, earring and bracelets, thigh-length skirt over leggings, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left with strap across rump. God and bull standing on linear ground line. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 2.00 to 7.00 or 8.00): ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔΟ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ (High Yazata).

1a inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔΟ/ ΙΑΖ/ΑΔΟ.

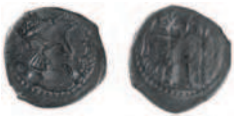
1b inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔ/ ΙΑΖ/ΑΔΟ.

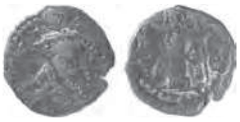
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*†	Bern; Göbl 1993a: 829		1.29	17	1A	1a
B*	Göbl 1984: 749		1.76	-	1B	1b

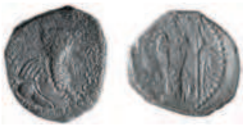
† This coin has been clipped

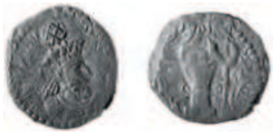
Copper coins

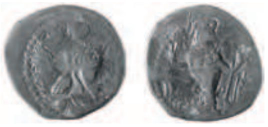
The copper coins of this reign continue the northern Kushano-Sasanian denomination, but the two phases (which probably cover this reign and the next series Y-O) show a drop to weight standards lower than the *c.* 2.1g standard of the previous reigns: phase 1 seems to have a standard falling to *c.* 1.7g with 16 examples averaging 1.85g (range 0.95–3.27g) and phase 2 to *c.* 1.5g with 16 examples averaging 1.64g (range 1.05–2.13g). The coins can be divided into two phases distinguished by an ornament surmounting the king's crown, an artichoke in phase 1 and a striped globe in phase 2.

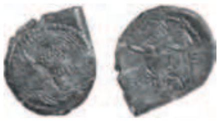

4692: Y.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)

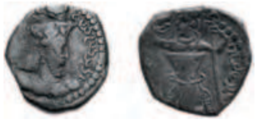

4693: Y.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)

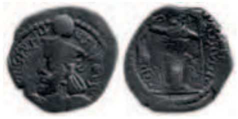

A: Y.C1-i 1u (1B/1a)

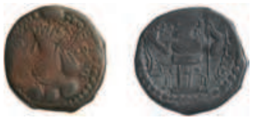

B: Y.C1-i 1u (1B/1a)

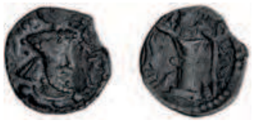

C: Y.C1-i 1u (1C/1a)

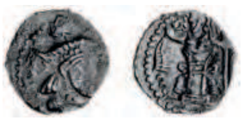

D: Y.C1-i 1u (1C/1a)


E: Y.C1-i 1u (1D/1a)


F: Y.C1-i 1u (1E/1b)


G: Y.C1-i 1u (1F/1b)


H: Y.C1-i 1u (2A/1a)


I: Y.C1-i 1u (2B/1a)

344 Y.C1-i 1u First copper mint phase 1 units

Göbl 1984: 1092; Cribb 1990: 27

Varahran (Y), Balkh copper mint (C1), first phase (i), units (1u), *c.* 1.7g, flat crown with artichoke royal bust/ male divine bust on fire altar type.

Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed as four downward diagonal rows of curls at back, bearded, wearing flat crown with two rows of florets or a row of petals below a row of dots, surmounted by artichoke, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons behind, earring with single jewel, necklace (drawn as line) and tunic with buttons on chest. Inscription in Pahlavi (anti-clockwise from 4.00 to 7.00): *wrhrʾn RBA kwšʾn MLKA* (Varahran Kushan King). All surrounded by dotted border.

1A crown with two rows of florets, inscription: *wrhrʾn RBA kwšʾ/n ML/KA*.

1B as 1A, but inscription: *wrh[rʾn RBA] kwš/ʾn/ MLKA*.

1C as 1A, but inscription: *wrhrʾn kw/šʾn/ MLKA*.

1D as 1A, but single row of florets, inscription: *wrhrʾn RBA k/wšʾn/ MLKA*.

1E as 1A, but bust facing left and retrograde inscription (clockwise from 7.00 to 4.00): *w[rhrʾ]n kw/šʾn MLKA*.

1F as 1E, but with dot behind head.

2A crown with row of petals below row of dots, inscription: *wrhrʾn RBA [kwšʾn ML/KA]*.

2B as 2A, but inscription illegible.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, bust emerging from top of fire altar, surrounded by flames. God wearing crown with high front surmounted by crescent, hair dressed in curls and wearing sleeved dress, holding spear in raised left hand (with pointed index finger) and offering diadem, with two laddered ribbons hanging below, with raised right hand. The fire altar has a trapezoid top slab on a round stem, tied with a diadem with loops and laddered ribbons to right and left, and a single stepped base. On most examples there is a dot on or above the line separating the top from the stem. Inscription in Pahlavi (anti-clockwise from 4.00 to 7.00) *bwrzʾndy yzty* (High Yazata).

1a as above

1b as 1a, but inscription blundered (anticlockwise from 2.00 to 4.00): bwady

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Ax
4692*	35624	1906,1103.5323	1.75	14	1A	1a	2
4693*	35625	1990,0921.109	0.95	14	1A	1a	3
A*	Bern; Göbl 1993a: 1028		1.93	15	1B	1a	-
B*	Bern: Göbl 1993a: 1029		1.70	16	1B	1a	-
C*	Bern: Göbl 1993a: 1030		1.55	15	1C	1a	-
D*	Private collection Q		3.27	-	1C	1a	-
E*	Shown to authors		-	-	1D	1a	-
F*	Zeno (75473)		1.42	14	1E	1b	-
G*	ANS (2012.31.10)		1.71	14	1F	1b	-
H*	ANS (1987.46.82)		1.72	14	2A	1a	-
I*	ANS (1987.46.80)		1.53	15	2B	1a	-

345 Y.C1-ii 1u First copper phase 2 units, striped globe

Göbl 1984: 1093, 1094; Cribb 1990: 27

Y.C1-ii 1u Varahran (Y), Balkh copper mint (C1) second phase (ii) units (1u) *c.* 1.5g, flat crown with striped globe royal bust/ divine bust on fire altar type.

Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed as four downward diagonal rows of curls at back, bearded, wearing flat crown with two rows of florets or a row of petals below a row of dots on rim, surmounted by striped globe, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons behind, earring with single jewel, necklace (drawn as line) and tunic with buttons on chest. Inscription in Pahlavi (anti-clockwise from 4.00 to 7.00) *wrhrʾn RBA kwšʾn MLKA* (Varahran Great Kushan King). All surrounded by dotted border.

1A crown with two rows of florets, inscription: *wrhrʾn RBA kw/šʾn [MLKA].*

1B as 1A, but inscription: *wrhrʾn RBA kwš/ʾn/ MLKA.*

2A crown with row of petals below row of dots, inscription: *wrhrʾn RBA kw/šʾn/ [ML]KA.*

2B as 2A, but without diadem ribbons and inscription: *wrhrʾn kwš/ʾn/ MLKA.*

2C as 2A, but inscription: *wrhrʾn RBA kwšʾ/n/ ML/KA.*

2D as 2A, but inscription: *wrhrʾn RBA kwš/ʾn/ ML/KA.*

2E as 2A, but inscription: *wrhrʾn kwšʾn M/[LKA].*

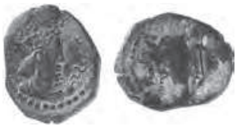
2F as 2A, but inscription: *wrhrʾn // MLKA*, dot behind crown.

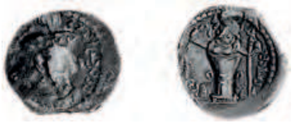
Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, bust emerging from top of fire altar, surrounded by flames. God wearing crown with high front surmounted by crescent, hair dressed in curls and wearing sleeved dress, holding spear in raised left hand (with pointed index finger) and offering diadem, with two laddered ribbons hanging below, with raised right hand. The fire altar has a trapezoid top slab on a round stem, tied with a diadem with loops and laddered ribbons to right and left, and a single stepped base. On most examples there is a dot on or above the line separating the top from the stem. Inscription in Pahlavi (anti-clockwise from 4.00 to 7.00) *bwrzʾndy yzty* (High Yazata).

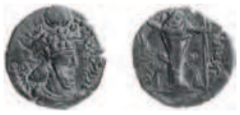
1a as above

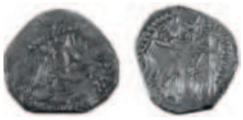
1b as 1a, but inscription partly retrograde (clockwise from 2.00 to 4.00): *bwrzandy* (anticlockwise from 7.30 to 8.30): yzty.

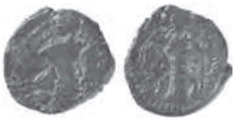
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Ax
4694*	35562	1992,0605.4	1.70	15	1A	1a	9
A*	ANS (1987.46.81)		1.54	15	1A	1a	-
B*	ANS (2012.31.9)		1.44	14	1B	1b	-
C*	Private collection Q		1.96	-	2A	1a	-
4695*	35627	1937,1001.1	1.92	14	2A	1a	10
4696	35628	1982,0626.32	1.38	15	2A	1a	3
4697*	35629	1894,0506.132	1.61	15	2B	1a	3
D*	ANS (1989.15.2)		1.53	16	2B	1a	-
E*	ANS (1990.9.3)		1.68	15	2C	1a	-
F*	CNG e369 (24.2.2016) 334		1.52	14	2D	1a	9
4698*	36630	1894,0506.130	1.76	14	2E	1a	3
G*	ANS (1987.46.83)		1.54	15	2E	1a	-
H*	Zeno 57468		1.47	13	2E	1a	-
I*	Private collection Q		2.07	-	2F	1a	-

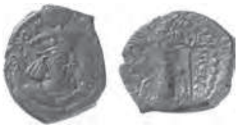

4694: Y.C1-ii 1u (1A/1a)

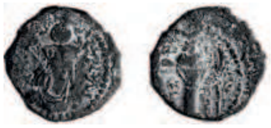

A: Y.C1-ii 1u (1A/1a)

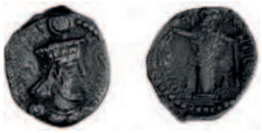

B: Y.C1-ii 1u (1B/1a)

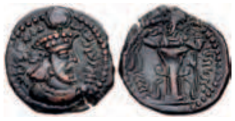

C: Y.C1-ii 1u (2A/1a)

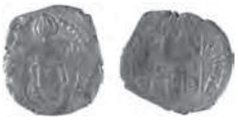

4695: Y.C1-ii 1u (2A/1a)

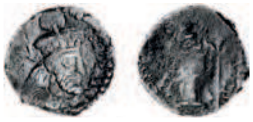

4697: Y.C1-ii 1u (2B/1a)

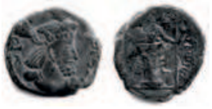

D: Y.C1-ii 1u (2B/1a)

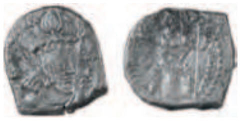

E: Y.C1-ii 1u (2C/1a)


F: Y.C1-ii 1u (2D/1a)


4698: Y.C1-ii 1u (2E/1a)


G: Y.C1-ii 1u (2E/1a)


H: Y.C1-ii 1u (2E/1a)


I: Y.C1-ii 1u (2E/1a)

Y-O Kirada, 'Varahran' with Kidarite tamga

1st Kidarite ruler *c.* AD 345–50

This appears to represent a change of authority with the royal image identical to that of the reign of Varahran (Y), but a Hun tamga associated with the king Kidara is introduced replacing the nandipada emblem which had been a feature of the gold coinage of the Balkh mint since the reign of the Kushan king Vasudeva I. These coins appear to be contemporary with the copper coins of Shapur II south of the Hindu Kush (X) and the gold coins of the Kidarite Hun ruler Kirada in Gandhara (O). The gold coins feature three variations of the flat crown with florets or petals of Varahran. Two of these variations appear again in series Y-Q, so it seems likely that they could also be allocated to that series, but they are listed here.

Gold coins

The first phase of coins of this series appear to follow the coins of Varahran and share with its second phase the same *c.* 7.8 g weight standard, representing a reduced version of the Kushan dinar denomination. The second phase which appears to have been issued after the next series (Y-P) and continue the same weight standard as the first series. The third series represent a drop in the weight standard to *c.* 7.6g, as used in series Y-Q. The swastika emblem between the king's legs, which had been featured on Kushano-Sasanian gold coins since their first issues (F-imit) disappears during the first phase of this coinage. A quarter dinar has been recorded for phase 1.

Gold mint (Y-O.G1)

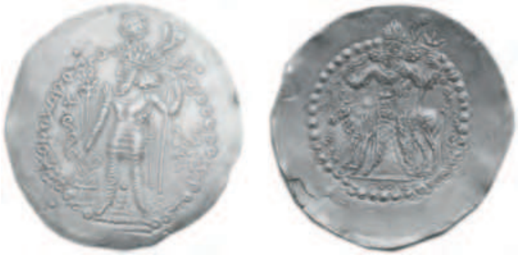
The three phases of this series are distinguished by the crowns worn by the king:

Phase 1 crown decorated with row of florets.

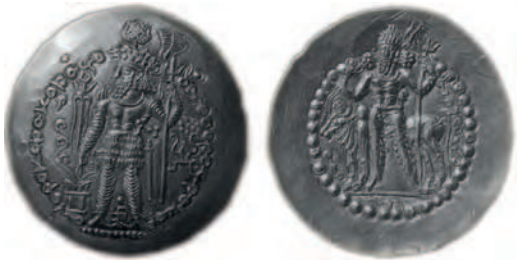
Phase 2 crown with row of petals surmounted by line with two projections, are also distinguished by the poor quality of the engraving.

Phase 3 with row of petals surmounted by row of dots.

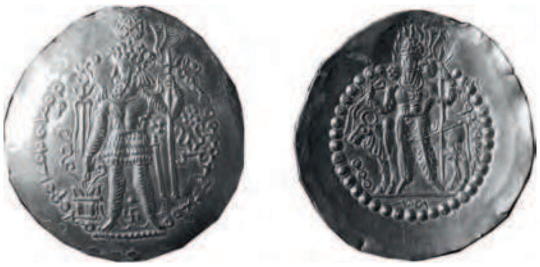
346 Y-O.G1-i 1d Main gold mint phase 1 dinars



A: Y-O.G1-i 1d (1A/1a)



4699: Y-O.G1-i 1d (1B/1b)



B: Y-O.G1-i 1d (1B/1c)

Göbl 1984: 713, 713A, 718–20, 754; Göbl 1993a: 93, 94, 102–4, 106, 153, 157; Cribb 1990: 8; Cribb 2010: 2A, 2B, 4A

Kidarite 'Varahran' (Y-O) main gold mint (G1), first phase (i), dinars (1d), *c.* 7.8g, floriated flat crown standing king with tamga/ Oesho and bull type.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, hair dressed as four downwards diagonal rows of curls, bearded, flames rising from shoulders, wearing flat crown, with double row of florets, surmounted by artichoke, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons, earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of armour with smooth breastplate, and plate-mail skirt, over leggings, tied at ankles with ribbons, normally drawn as dots (normally with ribbon on right leg raised towards altar), sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident in raised left hand (pointing with index finger) and making offering over fire altar with extended right hand, holding dish. King standing on dotted ground line. Altar column-shaped with slab at top and bottom of column, with triangular projects at corners of top slab, curls of smoke rising above altar to both sides of king's right hand, trident with ribbons on shaft, surmounted by crescent, positioned above altar. Normally with three dots under king's left arm, normally missing swastika and dot between king's legs, with tamga in right field, control marks on most examples. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00 to 11.00, often misspelt): ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥ[Α]ΡΑΝΟ [Ο]ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ (Lord Varahran, Great Kushan King); with or without mint name ΒΑΧΛΟ in right field below tamga.

1A Three dots under arm missing, flames on left shoulder partially obscured by king's hair; inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, without mint name, control mark Bactrian X between trident and inscription; swastika (symbol 7) and dot between legs; register mark dots at 1.30, 5.30, 7.30 and 10.30.

1B as 1A, but three dots under arm, control mark Bactrian ϙ between trident and inscription, seven-dot rosette (plant 2) above tamga; register mark dots at 1.30, 5.30, 7.30 and 10.30.

1C as 1B, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control mark Bactrian Λ between trident and inscription, mint mark ΒΑΧΛΟ below tamga; register mark dots at 1.30, 5.30, 7.30 and 10.30.

2A as 1B, but no dot between legs, legging ribbon not raised, double curl in smoke to right of king's hand; inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ ΟΟ/ ΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control marks crescent on stand (symbol 1) between trident and inscription, Bactrian ϙ above tamga.

3A as 2A, but flames on left shoulder more distinct and no swastika or dot between legs; inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control marks crescent on stand between trident and inscription, Bactrian Χ above tamga; register mark dots at 1.30, 5.00, 7.00 and 10.30.

3B as 3A, but legging ribbons drawn as lines, no register marks, control mark Bactrian Χ to left of trident, and mint mark ΒΑΧΛΟ below tamga.

4A as 2A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control mark Bactrian Χ between trident and inscription.

4B as 4A, but control mark Bactrian Χ miswritten (one line cutting through other twice).

4C as 4A, but control mark Bactrian Χ above tamga. The control mark is not certain but is faintly visible on high resolution photographs.

4D as 4C, but second control mark Pahlavi *b* below tamga.

4E as 4A, but control marks swastika (symbol 7) above tamga, inverted Bactrian ϙ between trident and inscription and Pahlavi *b* below tamga.

4F as 4A, but control mark inverted Bactrian ϙ between trident and inscription.

4G as 4A, but no control marks.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, head to front, slightly turned to left, hair in form of flames above and dressed in buns either side of head (drawn as three or four horizontal rows of curls), bearded, wearing diadem with laddered ribbons rising above both to right, necklace, earring and bracelets, thigh-length skirt over leggings, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left with strap across rump. God and bull standing on linear ground line. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 2.00 to 7.00 or 8.00): ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔΟ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ (High Yazata).

1a inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔ/Ο ΙΑΖ/ΑΔΟ.

1b inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔ/ ΙΑΖ/ΑΔΟ.

1c as 1b, but god shown with different style of headdress, a dotted cap with a frontal triangular peak surmounted by a crescent, all surrounded by flames, with the usual diadem ribbons rising to the right (compare this headdress with that worn by the god on the reverse of Hormizd I's silver (U.S1-i and U.S2-i) and copper coins (U.C1).

1d as 1a, but inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔ/ ΙΑΖ/ΑΔΟ, with the central portion ΙΑΖ above the ground line, between the god's feet.

2a inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑ/ /ΝΔΟ ΙΑΖ.

2b inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑ/ /ΝΔΟ.

2c inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝ/ /ΔΟ Α.

2d inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑ/ /ΝΔ.

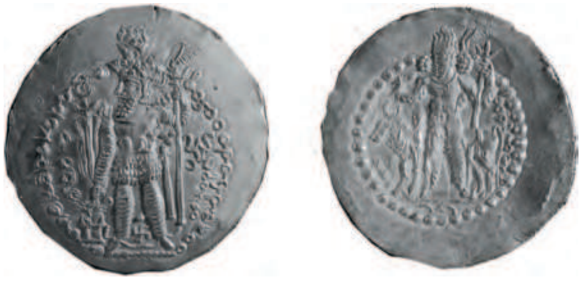
2e inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝ/ /ΔΟ.

3a inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔΟ/ ΙΑΖ/ΑΔΟ, with the central portion ΙΑΖ still legible, but written as a squiggle.

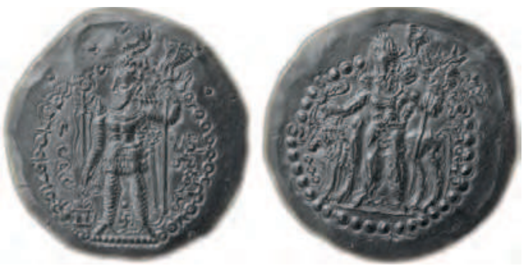
3b inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑ/ squiggle /ΝΔΟ.

3c inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑ/ squiggle /ΝΔΟ.

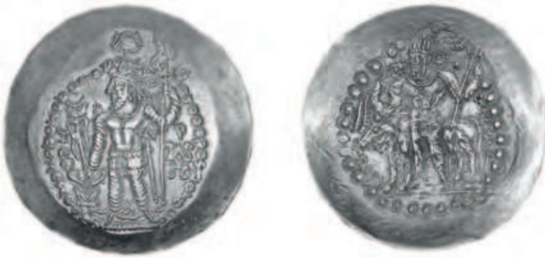
3d inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟ/ squiggle /ΝΔ.



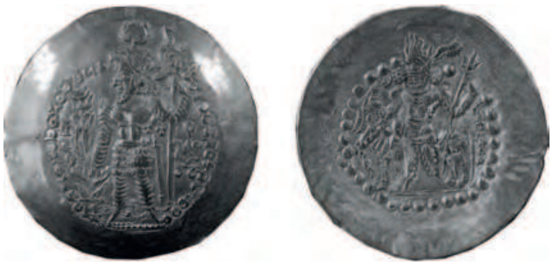
C: Y-O.G1-i 1d (1C/1b)



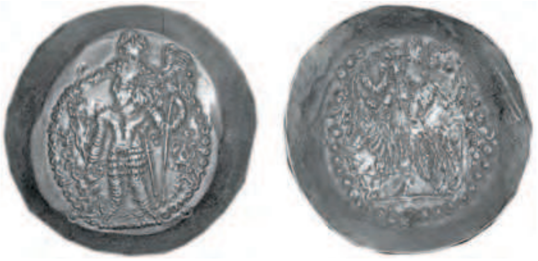
4700: Y-O.G1-i 1d (1C/1d)



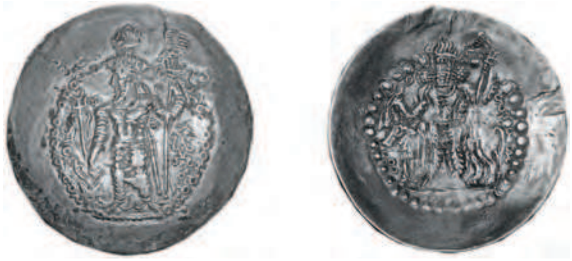
D: Y-O.G1-i 1d (2A/2a)



E: Y-O.G1-i 1d (2A/2b)



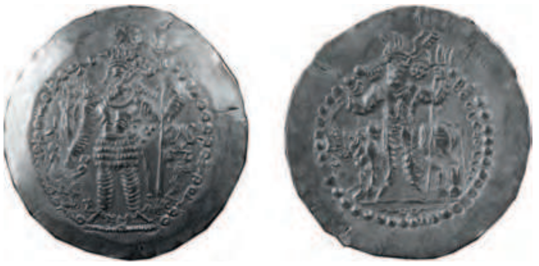
F: Y-O.G1-i 1d (3A/2a)

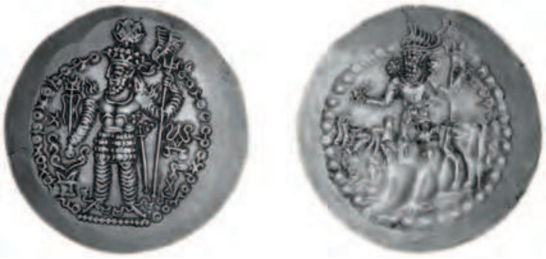


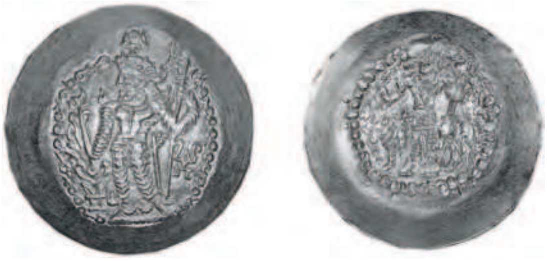
G: Y-O.G1-i 1d (3A/2c)

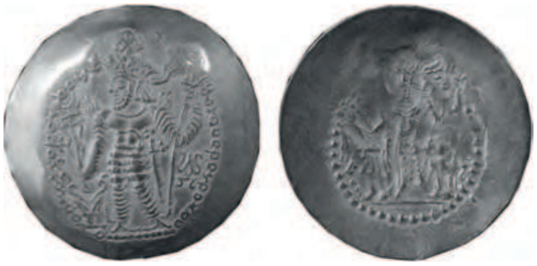
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Paris; Hackin 1926, Y.6421		7.58	32	-	1A	1a
4699*	189638	1893,0204.4	7.86	33	15.76	1B	1b

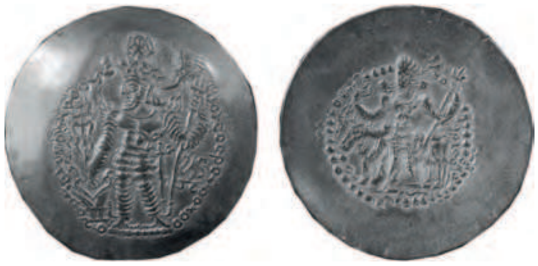
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
B*	Private collection Q		7.85	-	-	1B	1c
C*	Private collection E		7.87	35	-	1C	1b
4700*	189633	1888,1208.561	7.80	33	16.31	1C	1d
D*	Private collection P		-	-	-	2A	2a
E*	Private collection Q		7.65	-	-	2A	2b
F*	Private collection P		-	-	-	3A	2a
G*	Private collection P		7.50	-	-	3A	2c
H*	Private collection Q		7.64	-	-	3B	3a
I*	ANS (LAK.054)		7.80	33	-	3B	3a
J*	Private collection P		-	-	-	4A	2c
K*	Private collection Q		7.88	-	-	4A	2d
L*	Private collection Q		7.85	-	-	4A	3b
M*	Tepe Maranjan hoard ('Varahran 1')		7.81	36	-	4A	3b
N*	Shown to authors (trade 1995)		7.65	-	-	4B	2a
O*	Private collection Q		7.54	-	-	4B	2b
P*	Künker Auction 216, 8 Oct. 2012: 1595		7.64	-	-	4C	3c
Q*	Private collection Q		7.74	-	-	4D	3b
R*	Gemini XI, 12 Jan. 2014: 324		7.71	-	-	4E	2c
S*	ANS (LAK.036)		7.72	35	-	4F	2e
T*	Shown to authors (trade 1995)		7.68	-	-	4G	3d

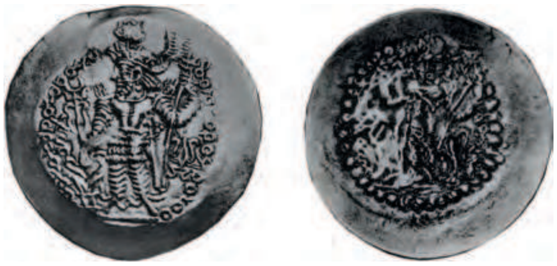

H: Y-O.G1-i 1d (3B/3a)

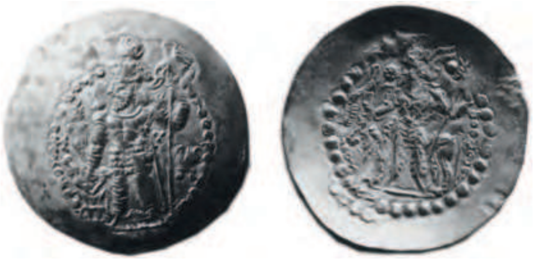

I: Y-O.G1-i 1d (3B/3a)

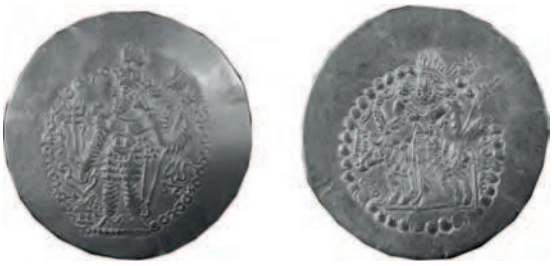

J: Y-O.G1-i 1d (4A/2c)

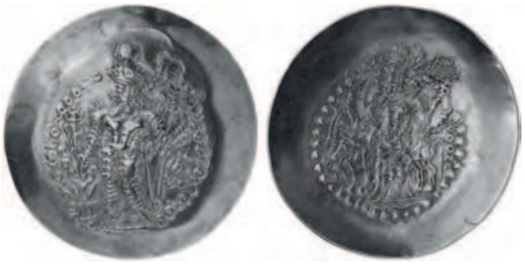

K: Y-O.G1-i 1d (4A/2d)

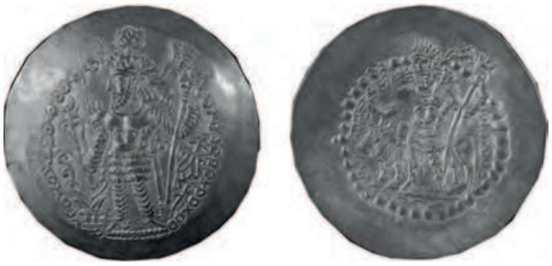

L: Y-O.G1-i 1d (4A/3b)


M: Y-O.G1-i 1d (4A/3b)

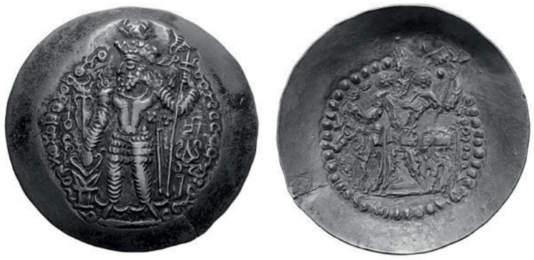

N: Y-O.G1-i 1d (4B/2a)


O: Y-O.G1-i 1d (4B/2b)

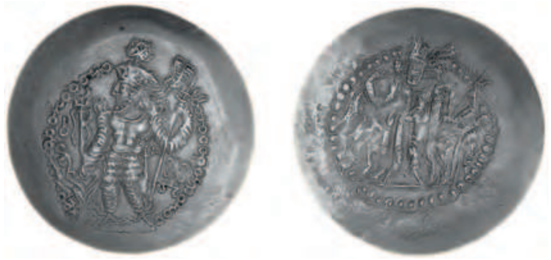

P: Y-O.G1-i 1d (4C/3c)



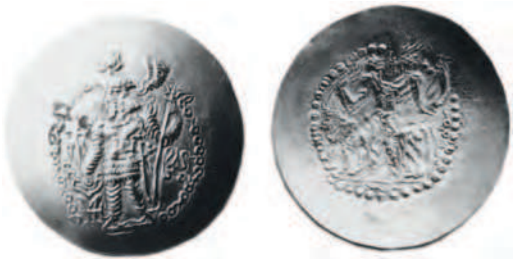
Q: Y-O.G1-i 1d (4D/3b)



R: Y-O.G1-i 1d (4E/2c)



S: Y-O.G1-i 1d (4F/2e)



T: Y-O.G1-i 1d (4G/3d)

347 Y-O.G1-i ¼d Main gold mint phase 1 quarter dinars

Göbl 1993a: 112

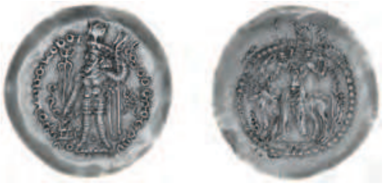
Kidarite 'Varahran' (Y-O) main gold mint (G1), first phase (i), quarter dinars (¼d) *c.* 1.9g, floriated flat crown standing king with tamga/ Oesho and bull type.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, hair dressed as four downwards diagonal rows of curls, bearded, flames rising from shoulders (not very clear), wearing flat crown, with simplified double row of florets, surmounted by artichoke, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons, earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of armour with smooth breastplate, and plate-mail skirt, over leggings, tied at ankles with ribbons, drawn as dots with ribbon on right leg raised towards altar, sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident in raised left hand (pointing with index finger) and making offering over fire altar with extended right hand, holding dish. King standing on dotted ground line. Altar column-shaped with slab at top and bottom of column, with triangular projects at corners of top slab, curls of smoke rising above altar to both sides of king's right hand, trident with ribbons on shaft, surmounted by crescent, positioned above altar. Three dots under king's left arm, dot between king's legs, with tamga in right field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00 to 11.00, often misspelt): ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ/ ΟΖΟΡΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥ (Lord Varahran, Great Kushan King).

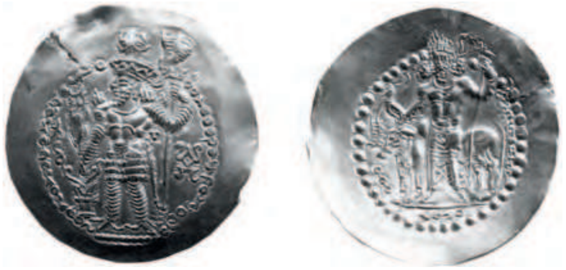
Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, head to front, slightly turned to left, hair in form of flames above and dressed in buns either side of head (drawn as three or four horizontal rows of curls), bearded, wearing diadem with laddered ribbons rising above both to right, necklace, earring and bracelets, thigh-length skirt over leggings, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left with strap across rump. God and bull standing on linear ground line. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 2.00 to 7.00 or 8.00): ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔ/ ΙΑΖ/ΑΔΟ (High Yazata).

(Style of engraving links this issue with dinar types Y-O.G1-i 1d :1B/1b)

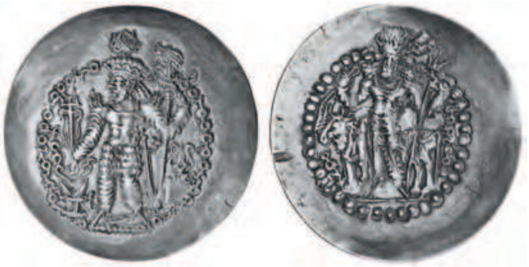
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	ANS (LAK.056)		1.95	23	1A	1a



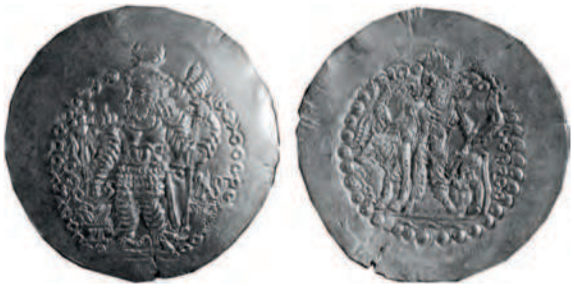
A: Y-O.G1-i 1/4d (1A/1a)



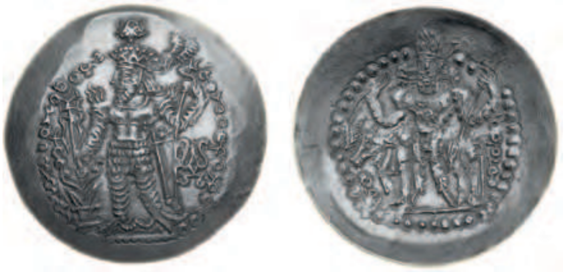
4703: Y-O.G1-iii 1d (1B/3a)



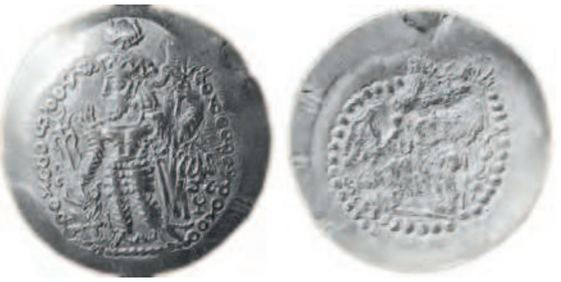
C: Y-O.G1-iii 1d (1C/1b)



D: Y-O.G1-iii 1d (1C/2b)



E: Y-O.G1-iii 1d (1D/1a)



4704: Y-O.G1-iii 1d (1E/1a)

1D as 1C, but legging ribbon down.

1E Legging ribbon raised, only single dot below king's arm; inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control marks Bactrian X above and crescent on stand (symbol 1) below tamga.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, head to front, slightly turned to left, hair in form of flames above and dressed in buns either side of head (drawn as three or four horizontal rows of curls), bearded, wearing diadem with laddered ribbons rising above both to right, necklace, earring and bracelets, thigh-length skirt over leggings, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left with strap across rump. God and bull standing on linear ground line. Inscription in Bactrian (normally blundered, clockwise from 2.00 to 7.00 or 8.00): version of ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔΟ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ (High Yazata).

1a inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟ//ΝΔΟ.

1b inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑ//ΝΔΟ.

2a inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔΟ/ squiggle/ ΙΑΖΑ.

2b inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟ/ squiggle/ΝΔΟ.

3a inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔ/Ο ΙΑΖ/ΑΔΟ

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
4702*	189637	1894,0506.174	6.80	34	13.55	1A	1a
A*	Heritage Auction 3010, 12 Aug. 2010: 20160		7.73	36	-	1A	1a
B*	Ponteiro Auction 146, 25 Apr. 2008: 1372		7.63	-	-	1B	2a
4703*	189634	1906,1103.5316	7.78	34	14.48	1B	3a
C*	Spink Auction 15007, 2 Dec. 15: 761		7.65	-	-	1C	1b
D*	Private collection E		7.75	36	-	1C	2b
E*	Goldberg Auction 44, 10 Feb. 2008: 3680		7.66	-	-	1D	1a
4704*	189635	1894,0506.127	7.46	35	13.57	1E	1a

Y-P Peroz, ‘Varahran’ with Kidarite Tamga and Ram Horn Crown
2nd Kidarite ruler *c.* AD 350–355

While retaining the inscription of the Kushano-Sasanian king Varahran, this group feature the tamga of the previous series and the king wears a ram horn crown which is associated on Gandharan silver and copper Kidarite coins with a ruler called Peroz (P), who also issued Kushan style coins. They continue the denominations used by the Kushano-Sasanians, and were probably issued by the Kidarite Hun ruler Peroz (P).

Gold coins

Only one phase of coinage has been recorded struck on the reduced Kushan dinar standard, conforming to the *c.* 7.8g weight standard set in the first phase of the previous series; 24 examples average 7.80g (range 7.52–8.22g). Two quarter dinars have been recorded.

Gold Mint (Y-P.G1)

Only one phase of issue is recorded for this mint.

350 Y-P.G1-i 1d Main gold mint phase 1 dinars

Göbl 1984: 714–17, 756, 757; Göbl 1993a: 95–100, 154, 155; Cribb 1990: 10; Cribb 2010: 3A–C

Kidarite ‘Varahran’ (Y-P) main gold mint (G1), first and only phase (i), dinars (1d), *c.* 7.8g, ram horn crown standing king with tamga/ Oesho and bull type.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, hair dressed as four downwards diagonal rows of curls, bearded, flames rising from shoulders, wearing ram horn crown, surmounted by artichoke, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons, earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of armour with smooth breastplate, and plate-mail skirt, over leggings, tied at ankles with ribbons, drawn as dots (normally with ribbon on right leg raised towards altar), sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident in raised left hand (pointing with index finger) and making offering over fire altar with extended right hand, holding dish. King standing on dotted ground line. Altar column-shaped with slab at top and bottom of column, with triangular projects at corners of top slab, curls of smoke rising above altar to both sides of king’s right hand, trident with ribbons on shaft, surmounted by crescent, positioned above altar. With three dots under king’s left arm, with or without dot between king’s legs, and with tamga in right field, control marks on most examples. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00 to 11.00): ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ ΟΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ (Lord Varahran, Great Kushan King), sometimes with mint name ΒΑΧΛΟ or ΟΥΡΟ below tamga.

1A inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ ΟΟΖ/ΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, mint name ΟΥΡΟ, control marks Bactrian Ϙ inverted between trident and inscription, and rosette with six pointed petals (plant 2) and central dot above tamga.

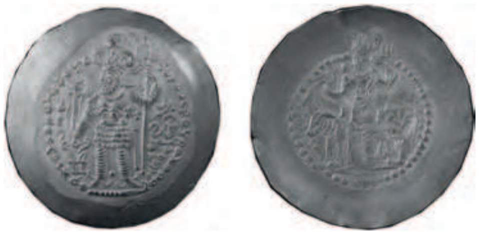
1B inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ ΟΟΖ/ΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟΟ, mint name ΒΑΧΛΟ, control marks Bactrian Χ between trident and inscription, and rosette with six pointed petals (plant 2) and central dot above tamga.

2A inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control marks Bactrian Χ between trident and inscription, and crescent above (symbol 4) and symbol 9 below tamga.

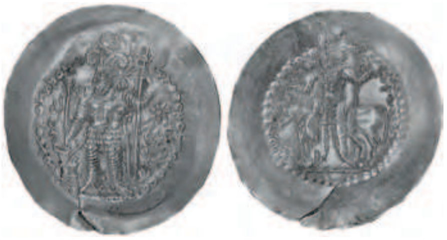
2B legging ribbon down; inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ ΟΟ/ΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control marks Bactrian Ϙ inverted between trident and inscription, and crescent above (symbol 4) and symbol 9 below tamga.

3A no dot between legs, but dot between fire altar and inscription; inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ ΟΟ/ΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, mint name ΒΑΧΛΟ, control marks Bactrian Χ between trident and inscription, and rosette with six pointed petals and central dot (plant 1) above tamga.

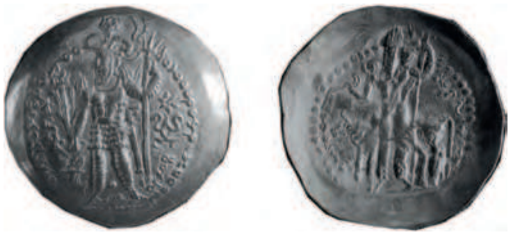
3B no dot between legs, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, mint name ΒΑΧΛΟ, control marks Bactrian Χ



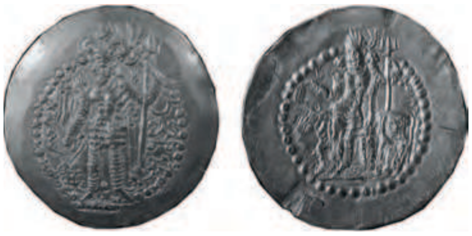
A: Y-P.G1-i 1d (1A/1a)



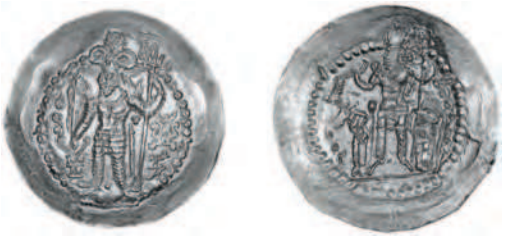
B: Y-P.G1-i 1d (1A/2a)



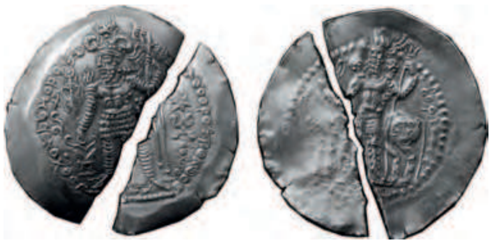
C: Y-P.G1-i 1d (1B/2a)

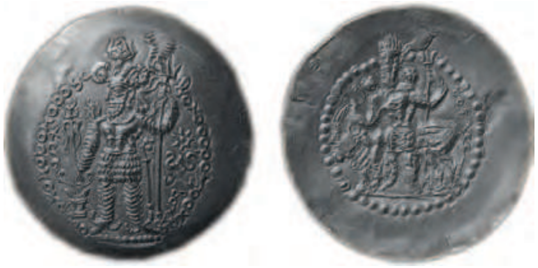


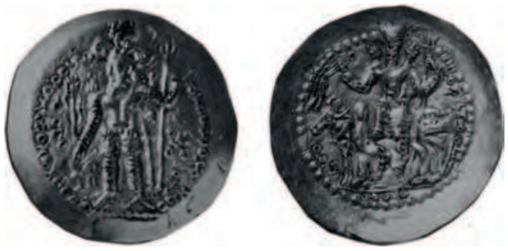
D: Y-P.G1-i 1d (2A/2a)

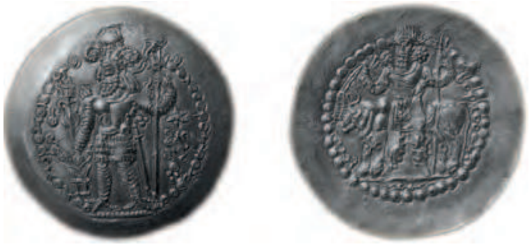


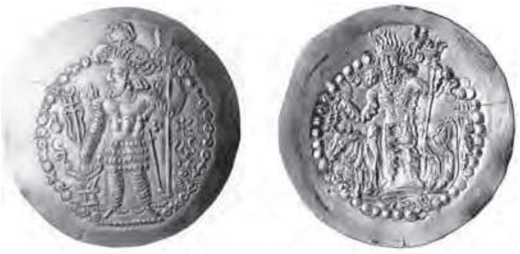
E: Y-P.G1-i 1d (2B/2b)

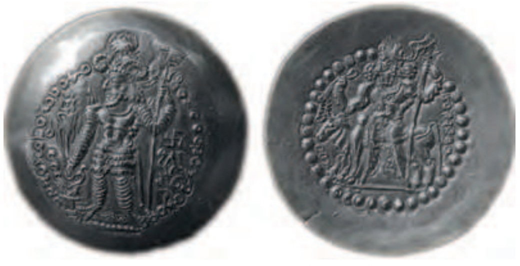

F: Y-P.G1-i 1d (3A/1b)


4705: Y-P.G1-i 1d (3B/2c)


G: Y-P.G1-i 1d (3C/1c)


4706: Y-P.G1-i 1d (3D/3a)


H: Y-P.G1-i 1d (3E/1d)


4707: Y-P.G1-i 1d (4A/2b)

between trident and inscription, and rosette with seven pointed petals and central dot (plant 1) above tamga.

3C legging ribbon down; inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, mint name ΒΑΧΛΟ, control marks Bactrian Ϙ inverted between trident and inscription, and rosette with six pointed petals and central dot (plant 1) above tamga.

3D legging ribbon down; inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ ΟΟΖ/ΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control marks Bactrian Ϙ inverted between trident and inscription, and rosette with six pointed petals and central dot (plant 1) above and circle with three dots (symbol 6) below tamga.

3E as 3D, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ ΟΟ/ΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ

4A legging ribbon down; inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ ΟΟΖ/ΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control marks Bactrian Ϙ inverted between trident and inscription, and swastika (symbol 7) above and Pahlavi *b* below tamga.

4B inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ/ [ΟΟ]ΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control marks Bactrian Ϙ inverted (circle filled in) above and Pahlavi *b* below tamga.

4C legging ribbon down; inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ ΟΟ/ΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control marks Bactrian Ϙ inverted above and Pahlavi *b* below tamga.

4D inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control marks Bactrian Ϙ inverted above and Pahlavi *b* below tamga.

4E inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control marks Bactrian Χ above and Pahlavi *b* below tamga.

4F inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΑΡΑΥ[ΡΑΝΟ ΟΟΖΟ]ΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control marks Bactrian Χ inverted above and Pahlavi *b* below tamga.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, head to front, slightly turned to left, hair in form of flames above and dressed in buns either side of head (drawn as three or four horizontal rows of curls), bearded, wearing diadem with laddered ribbons rising above both to right, necklace, earring and bracelets, thigh-length skirt over leggings, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left with strap across rump. God and bull standing on linear ground line. Inscription in Bactrian (normally blundered, clockwise from 2.00 to 7.00 or 9.00): version of ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔΟ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ (high yazata).

1a inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑ/ΝΔΟ/ ΙΑΖ/ΑΔΟ (last three letters of inscription above bull's nose).

1b inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑ/ΝΔΟ ΙΑ/[ΖΑΔΟ]

1c inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝ/ΔΟ ΙΑ/ΖΑΔ

1d inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔ/Ο ΙΑΖΑ/ΔΟ.

2a inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝ//ΔΟ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ (last three letters of inscription above bull's nose).

2b inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑ//ΝΔΟ.

2c inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑ//.

3a inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔ/Ο ΙΑ/ΖΑΔΟ, with the central portion Ο ΙΑ still legible, but written as a squiggle.

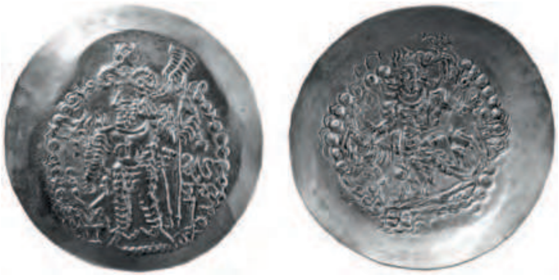
3b inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑ/ squiggle/ ΝΔΟ.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Private collection Q		7.81	-	-	1A	1a
B*	Stack Auction, 22 Apr 2009: 1167; Stack Auction 18 Aug 2009: 4193		7.86	-	-	1A	2a
C*	Private collection E		8.14	29	-	1B	2a
D*	Private collection Q		-	-	14.56	2A	2b
E*	Private collection P		7.96	-	-	2B	2b
F*	Berlin (Guthrie 1878)		7.75	-	-	3A	1b
4705*	189639	1982,1108.1	7.68	34	-	3B	2c
G*	Vienna		-	-	14.39	3C	1c
4706*	189640	1982,0626.4	7.67	33	-	3D	3a

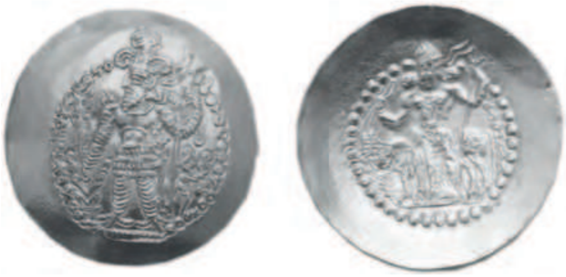
H*	Moscow, State Historical Museum (GIM 91546.50)		7.71	-	13.59	3E	1d
4707*	189641	1894,0506.126	7.78	33	-	4A	2b
I*	Shanghai: Wang 805 79770		7.80	35	-	4B	?
J*	Paris; Widemann 1973.153		7.77	34	-	4C	2b
K*	ANS (LAK.035)		7.79	35	-	4D	3b
L*	Künker Auction 89, 8 Mar. 2004: 3024		7.61	-	-	4E	2b
M*	Private collection E		7.70	35	-	4E	2c
N*	Bern; Göbl 1993a: 816		7.72	34	-	4E	3b
O*†	Herzfeld 1930, pl III, no. 18a		-	-	-	4F	3b

? Design is illegible

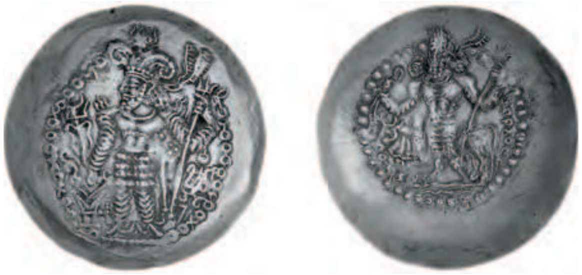
† Clipped



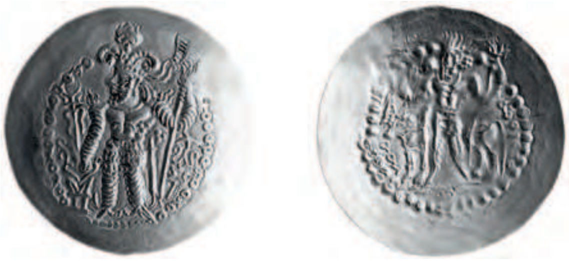
I: Y-P.G1-i 1d (4B/?)



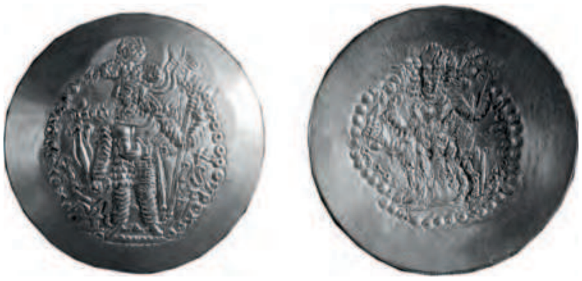
J: Y-P.G1-i 1d (4C/2b)



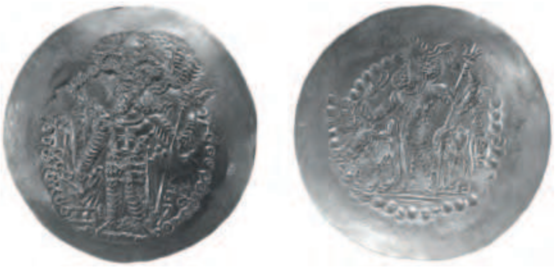
K: Y-P.G1-i 1d (4D/3b)



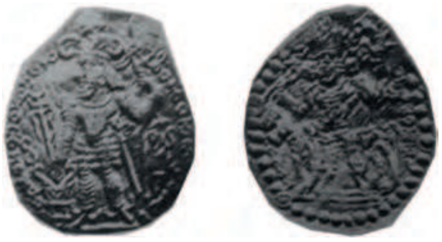
L: Y-P.G1-i 1d (4E/2b)



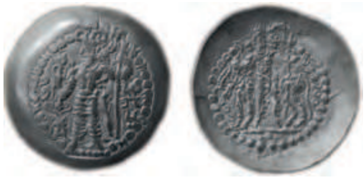
M: Y-P.G1-i 1d (4E/2c)



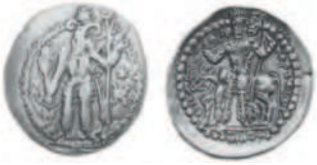
N: Y-P.G1-i 1d (4E/3b)



O: Y-P.G1-i 1d (4F/3b)



4708: Y-P.G1-i 1/4d (1A/1a)



A: Y-P.G1-i 1/4d (1B/1b)

351 Y-P.G1-i ¼d Main gold mint phase 1 quarter dinars

Göbl 1984: 758; Göbl 1993a: 101, 156; Cribb 2010: 3A

Kidarite 'Varahran' (Y-P) main gold mint (G1), first and only phase (i), quarter dinars (¼d), *c.* 1.9g, ram horn crown standing king with tamga/ Oesho and bull type.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, hair dressed as indistinct downwards diagonal rows of curls, bearded, flames rising from shoulders, wearing ram horn crown, surmounted by artichoke, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons, earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of armour with smooth breastplate, and plate-mail skirt, over leggings, tied at ankles with ribbons, drawn as dots (normally with ribbon on right leg raised towards altar), sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident in raised left hand (pointing with index finger) and making offering over fire altar with extended right hand, holding dish. King standing on dotted ground line. Altar column-shaped with slab at top and bottom of column, with triangular projects at corners of top slab, curls of smoke rising above altar to both sides of king's right hand, trident with ribbons on shaft, surmounted by crescent, positioned above altar. With three dots under king's left arm and with tamga in right field, control marks on most examples. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00 to 11.00): ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ ΟΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ (Lord Varahran Great Kushan King).

1A inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ/ ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑ, control marks Brahmi *pe* below tamga.

1B inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ ΟΟΖ/ΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control mark rosette with six pointed petals and central dot (plant 1, obscured by wear) above tamga.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, head to front, slightly turned to left, hair in form of flames above and dressed in buns either side of head (drawn as three or four horizontal rows of curls), bearded, wearing diadem with laddered ribbons rising above both to right, necklace, earring and bracelets, thigh-length skirt over leggings, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left with strap across rump. God and bull standing on linear ground line. Inscription in Bactrian (normally blundered, clockwise from 2.00 to 7.00 or 9.00): version of ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔΟ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ (High Yazata).

1a inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑ/ ΙΑΖ/ΑΔΟ.

1b inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝ/ΔΟ ΙΑΖ/ΑΔΟ.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
4708*	189642	1991,0101.1	1.78	22	1A	1a
A*	Paris (979.100)		1.76	20	1B	1b

Copper coins

Although issued to represent the same Kushano-Sasanian denomination as earlier reigns, the only phase of this series represents a continuing drop in weight standard from *c.* 1.5g to *c.* 1.2g; 25 examples average 1.37g (range 0.77–1.99g).

Copper mint (Y-P.C1)

Only one phase of issue is recorded for this mint.

A: Y-P.C1-i 1u (1A/1b)

4709: Y-P.C1-i 1u (1A/1b)

352 Y-P.C1-i 1u Balkh copper mint phase 1 units

Göbl 1984: 1096, 1097; Cribb 1990: 28

Kidarite 'Varahran' (Y-P), Balkh copper mint (C1), first phase (i), units (1u), c. 1.2–1.5g, ram horn crown royal bust/ male divine bust on fire altar type.

Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed as four downward diagonal rows of curls at back, bearded, wearing ram horn crown, with dotted rim, surmounted by artichoke, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons behind, earring with single jewel, necklace (drawn as line) and tunic with buttons on chest. Inscription in Pahlavi (anti-clockwise from 4.00 to 7.00) *wrhr'n kwš'n MLKA* (Varahran Kushan King). All surrounded by dotted border.

1A inscription: *wrhr'n k/wš'n ML/KA*.

1B inscription: *wrhr'n k/ M*

1C inscription: *wrhr'n kw/š'n/ MLKA*, control mark crescent (symbol 4) over dot behind head.

1D inscription: *wrhr'n k/*, control mark crescent (symbol 4) over dot behind head.

1E inscription: wrhr'n k/, control mark three dots behind head.

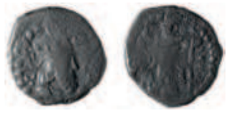
2A bust left, inscription (from 10.30 to 1.00): *wrhr'n kwš/'n/ ML/KA*, crescent(symbol 4) over dot behind head.

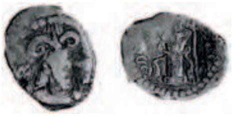
Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, bust emerging from top of fire altar, surrounded by flames. God wearing crown with high front surmounted by crescent, hair dressed in curls and wearing sleeved dress, holding spear in raised left hand (with pointed index finger) and offering diadem, with two laddered ribbons hanging below, with raised right hand. The fire altar has a trapezoid top slab on a round stem, tied with a diadem with loops and laddered ribbons to right and left, and a single stepped base. On most examples there is a dot on or above the line separating the top from the stem. Inscription in Pahlavi (anti-clockwise from 4.00 to 7.00) *bwrz'ndy yzty* (High Yazata).

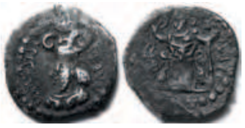
1a inscription: *bwrz'ndy/ yzty.*

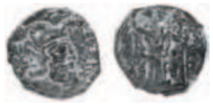
1b inscription: *bwrz'ndy yz.*

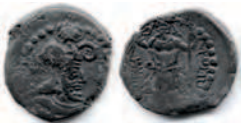
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Ax
A*	Zeno.ru (103438)		-	13	1A	1b	-
4709*	35631	1982,0626.35	1.20	14	1A	1b	7
4710*	35632	1992,0605.5	0.88	12	1B	1a	9
4711	35633	1990,0921.111	1.14	12	1B	1a	9
4712	35634	1982,0626.34	0.77	11	1B	1a	3
B*	Zeno.ru (80901)		1.99	15	1B	1a	9
C*	Zeno.ru (57469)		1.25	13	1B	1b	12
D*	Zeno.ru (66647)		1.39	12	1B	1b	9
4713*	35635	1906,1103.5324	1.64	14	1B	1b	3
4714	35636	1906,1103.5325	1.42	14	1B	1b	9
E*	ANS (2012.31.11)		1.69	16	1B	1b	12
4715	35637	1894,0506.131	1.47	13	1B	1a/b?	9
4716*	35638	1990,0921.110	1.11	13	1B	1a/b?	9
4717	35639	OR.363	1.46	12	1B	1a/b?	9
4718*	35640	1982,0626.33	1.65	12	1B	1a/b?	12
4719*	35641	1894,0506.128	1.27	13	1C	1b	2
F*	Bern: Göbl 1993a:1033		1.23	13	1D	1a/b?	12
4720*	35659	1983,0120.1	1.19	13	1E	1a/b?	3
G*	ANS (1952.112.151)		1.11	15	1E	1a/b?	9
H*	Zeno.ru (#80900)		1.59	14	2A	1b	3
I*	Zeno.ru (#135287)		1.23	15	2A	1b	-

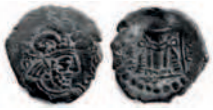

F: Y-P.C1-i 1u (1D/?)

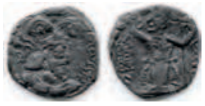

G: Y-P.C1-i 1u (1E/?)

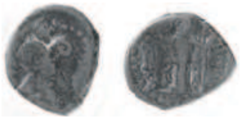

I: Y-P.C1-i 1u (2A/1b)

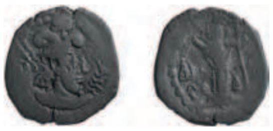

4710: Y-P.C1-i 1u (1B/1a)

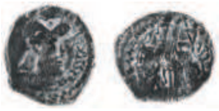

B: Y-P.C1-i 1u (1B/1a)

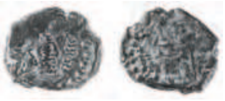

C: Y-P.C1-i 1u (1B/1b)

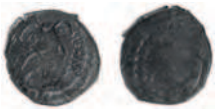

D: Y-P.C1-i 1u (1B/1b)

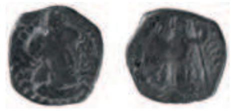

4713: Y-P.C1-i 1u (1B/1b)

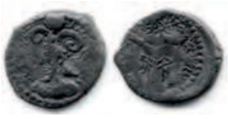

E: Y-P.C1-i 1u (1B/1b)

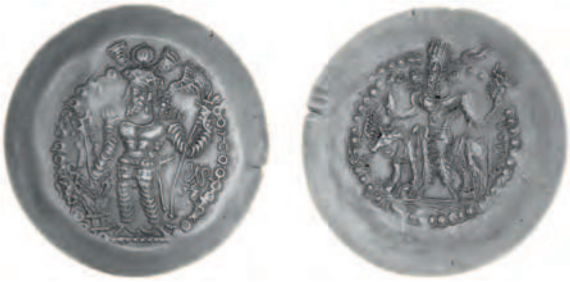

4716: Y-P.C1-i 1u (1A/?)


4718: Y-P.C1-i 1u (1A/?)

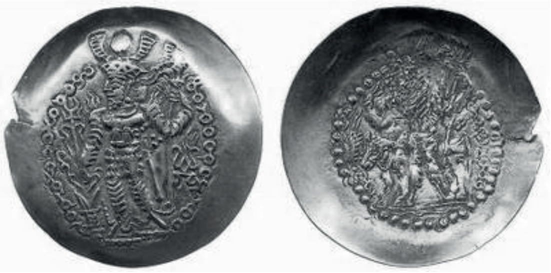

4719: Y-P.C1-i 1u (1C/1b)


4720: Y-P.C1-i 1u (1E/?)

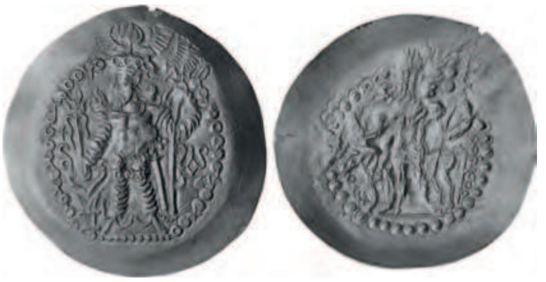

H: Y-P.C1-i 1u (2A/1b)



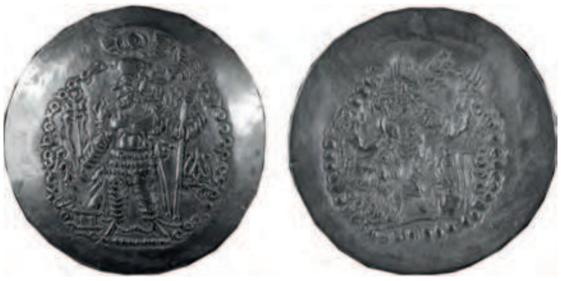
A: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (1A/1a)



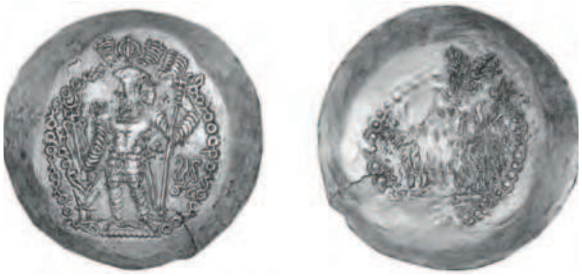
B: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (2A/1a)



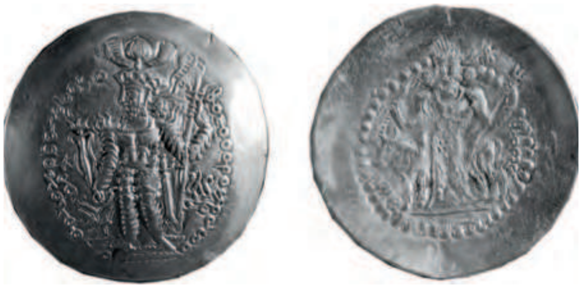
C: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (2A/2a)



D: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (2A/2b)



E: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (2B/1a)



F: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (2B/2a)

Y-Q Kidara, ‘Varahran’ with Kidarite tamga, flat crown with raised ribbons

3rd Kidarite ruler *c.* AD 355–359

Like its two predecessors, this series retains the name of the last Kushano-Sasanian king Varahran, but in addition to the Kidarite tamga the king now has a flat crown decorated with two rows of petals and with two raised ribbons flanking its artichoke ornament. The same crown has been found on a seal identifying its owner as Kushan and Hun king. The raised ribbons also appear on the following series of coins in the name of the Kidarite Hun king Kidara (Z), so this series is probably issued by him.

Although the majority of the coins were denominated for the northern currency zone, there are two recorded examples attributable to the Begram mint and struck on the reduced standard of the Kushano-Sasanian series issued under Shapur II (X). The northern copper coins of this series are also relatively common at Begram collected by Charles Masson, suggesting that during this period that Hun authority extended into the region previously under the authority of Shapur II and his immediate successors south of the Hindu Kush.

Gold coins

Only one phase of coinage has been recorded struck on the reduced Kushan dinar standard, falling slightly to 7.7g from the c. 7.8g weight standard set in the two previous reigns; 61 examples average 7.67g (range 7.05–7.85g). Seven quarter dinars have been recorded.

Gold mint (Y-Q.G1)

Although the surviving examples of this mint suggest an extensive coinage, there is only a single discernable phase, with a gradually deteriorating quality of die engraving as the phase progressed.

353 Y-Q.G1-i 1d Main gold mint phase 1 dinars

Göbl 1984: 724–5, 727–30; Göbl 1993a: 113, 114, 116–25, 127; Cribb 1990: 11; Cribb 2010: 5A–B

Kidarite ‘Varahran’ (Y-Q) main gold mint (G1), first phase (i), dinars (1d), *c.* 7.7g, petalled flat crown with raised ribbons standing king with tamga/Oesho and bull type.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, hair dressed as four horizontal rows of curls, bearded (beard tied below with jewel), flames rising from shoulders, wearing flat crown, with double row of petals, surmounted by striped globe, flanked by two rising laddered ribbons, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons, earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of armour with smooth breastplate, and plate-mail skirt, over leggings, tied at ankles with ribbons, normally drawn as dots (often with ribbon on right leg raised towards altar), sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident in raised left hand (pointing with index finger) and making offering over fire altar with extended right hand, holding dish. King standing on dotted ground line. Altar column-shaped with slab at top and bottom of column, with triangular projects at corners of top slab, curls of smoke rising above altar to both sides of king’s right hand, trident with ribbons on shaft (normally drawn as lines to right and left of the shaft), surmounted by crescent, positioned above altar. With or without three dots under king’s left arm, control marks on most examples. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00 to 11.00, often misspelt and ill-formed letters): ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥ[Α]ΡΑΝΟ [Ο]ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ (Lord Varahran, Great Kushan King).

1A ribbons on trident over altar looped and laddered, legging ties all down, no dots under king’s arm, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ.

2A legging tie by altar up, three dots under king’s arm, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control mark Bactrian X between trident and inscription.

2B legging ties down, three dots under king’s arm, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ

ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control mark Bactrian X between trident and inscription.

2C as 2B, but with parts of the letters in the inscription missing.

2D legging tie by altar up, no dots under king's arm, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control mark Bactrian X between trident and inscription.

2E legging ties down, no dots under king's arm, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control mark Bactrian X between trident and inscription.

2F as 2D, but the control mark Bactrian X between trident and inscription is written as a crescent without a cross bar.

3A legging tie by altar up, three dots under king's arm, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control mark Bactrian Ϙ inverted between trident and inscription.

4A legging tie by altar up, three dots under king's arm, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control mark Bactrian Ϙ inverted between trident and inscription, and symbol 9 below tamga.

4B legging tie by altar up, three dots under king's arm, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control marks Bactrian X between trident and inscription, and dot above and symbol 9 below tamga.

4C as 4B, but vertical line above tamga.

4D legging ties down, no dots under king's arm, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control marks Bactrian X (very faint) between trident and inscription, and symbol 9 below tamga.

4E legging ties down, no dots under king's arm, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control marks Bactrian X between trident and inscription, and symbol 10 below tamga.

5A legging tie by altar up, three dots under king's arm, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control marks Bactrian X between trident and inscription, and crescent on stand (symbol 1) below tamga.

5B as 5A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥ.

5C as 5A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ

6A legging tie by altar up, three dots under king's arm, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control marks Bactrian Ϙ inverted between trident and inscription, and crescent on stand (symbol 1) below tamga.

6B as 6A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control marks ill-formed: Bactrian Ϙ inverted as crescent between trident and inscription, and crescent on sloping-stemmed stand (symbol 1) below tamga.

6C legging ties down, no dots under king's arm, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ /ΟΟΖΟΡΟ ΚΟÞΑΟΝΟΟ ÞΑΟ, control marks Bactrian X between trident and inscription, and crescent on stand (symbol 1) below tamga.

7A legging tie by altar up, three dots under king's arm, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control marks Bactrian X above and crescent on stand (symbol 1) below tamga.

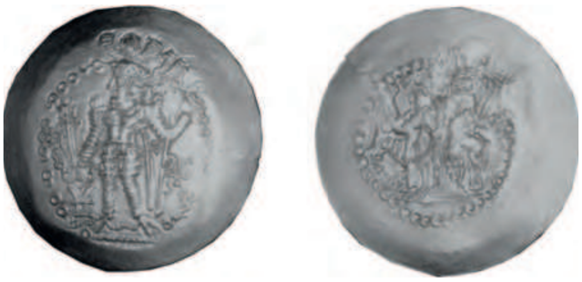
7B as 7A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ /ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ.

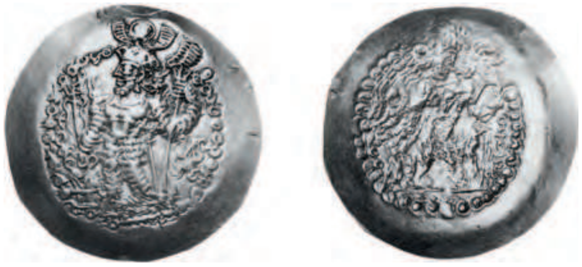
7C legging ties down, three dots under king's arm, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control marks Bactrian X above and crescent on stand (symbol 1) below tamga.

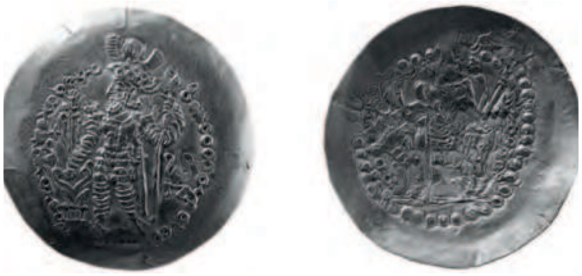
7D as 7C, but extra control mark Bactrian X between trident and inscription.

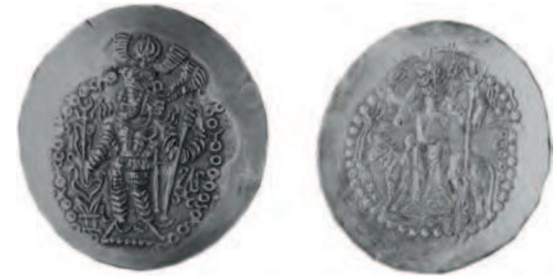
8A legging tie by altar up, three dots under king's arm, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control marks Bactrian Ϙ inverted above and crescent on stand (symbol 1) below tamga.

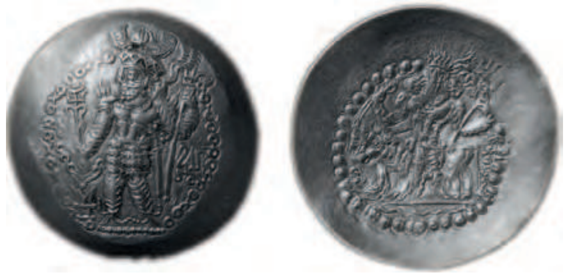
8B legging ties down, no dots under king's arm, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞ ÞΑΥΟ, control marks ill-formed: Bactrian Ϙ inverted as crescent above and crescent on stand (symbol 1) below tamga.

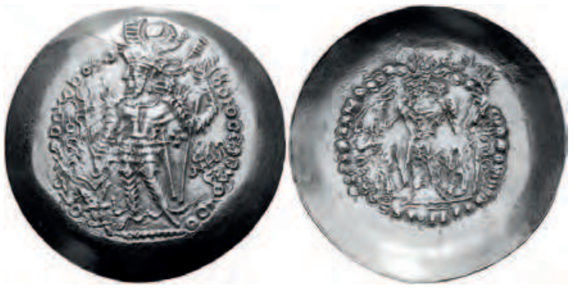

G: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (2C/2b)

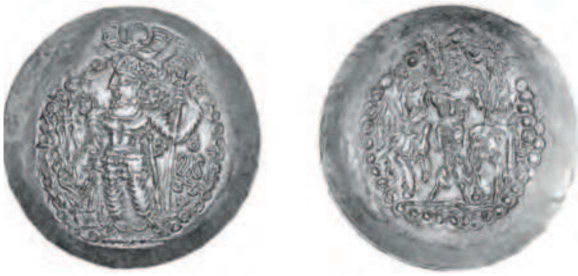

H: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (2D/1b)


I: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (2E/2b)

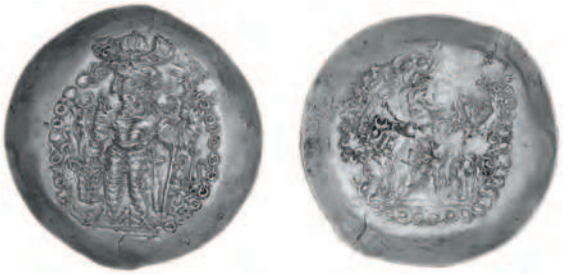

J: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (2F/3a)


4721: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (3A/1b)

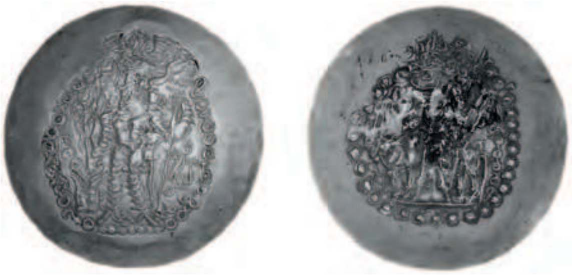

K: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (3A/1b)



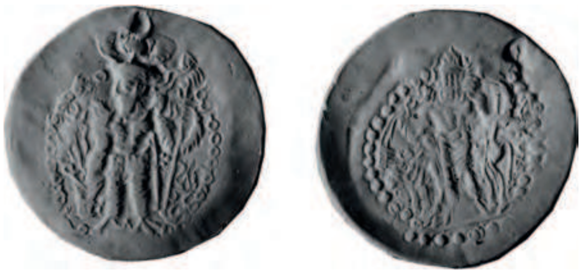
AD: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (8A/1a)



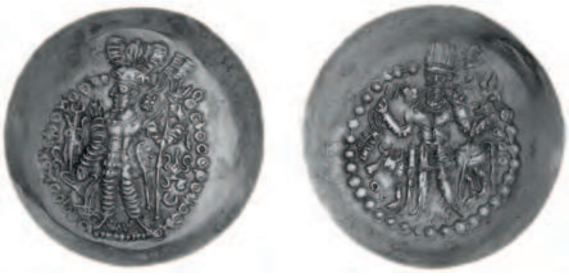
AE: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (8B/1b)



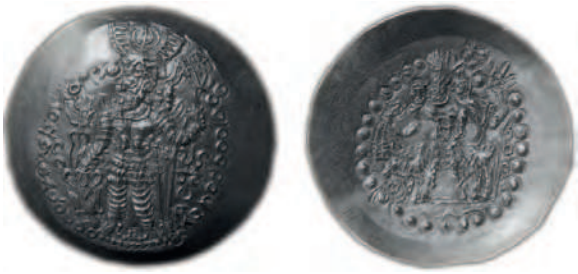
AF: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (8C/1c)



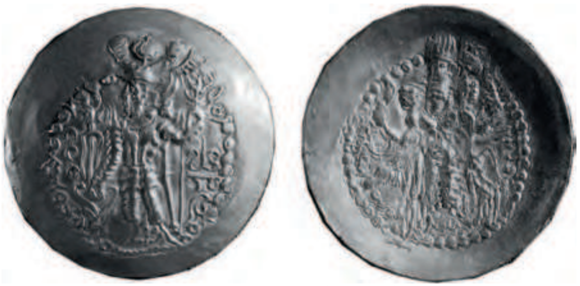
AG: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (9A/2d)



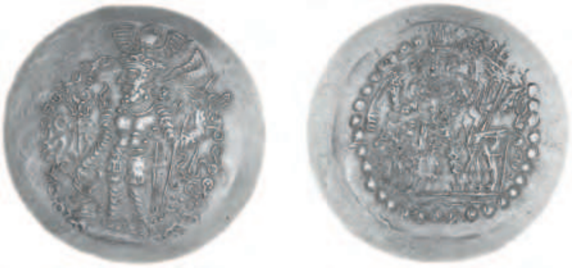
AH: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (10A/4a)



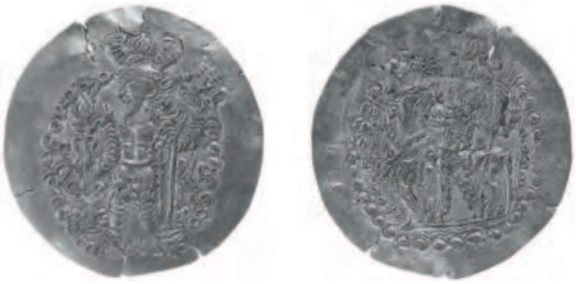
4722: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (10B/1d)



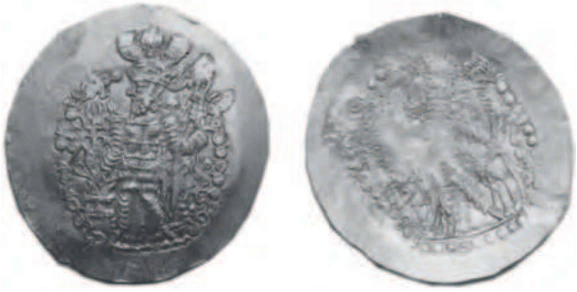
AI: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (11A/4b)



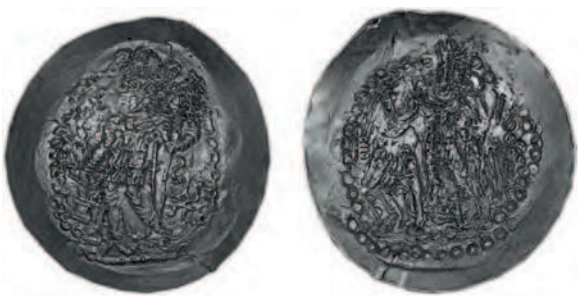
AJ: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (12A/1c)



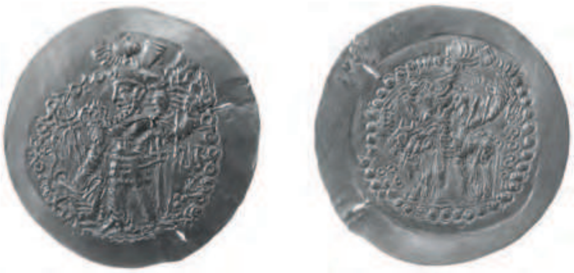
AK: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (12B/1c)



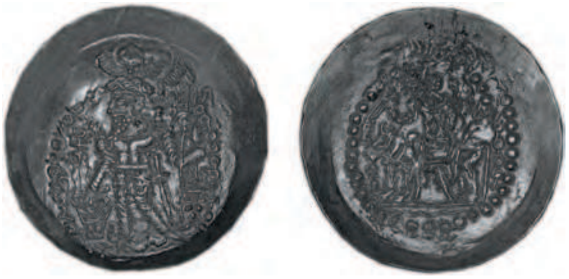
AL: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (12B/2d)



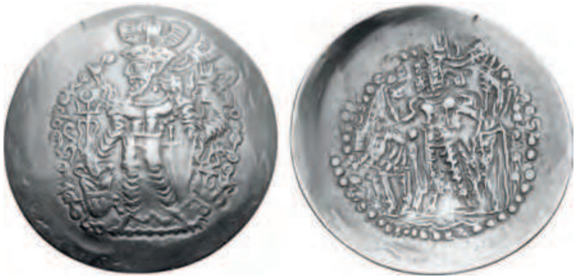
AM: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (12C/1c)



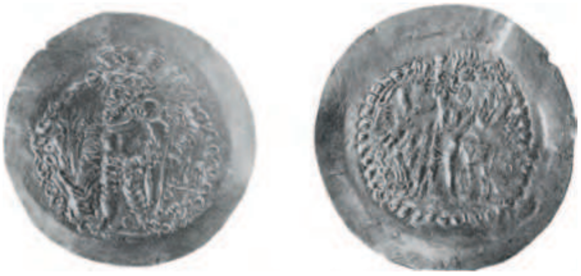
AN: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (13A/1c)



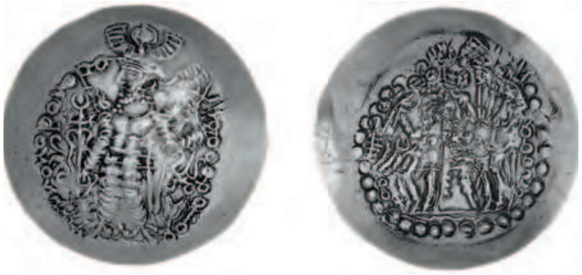
AO: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (13B/1e)



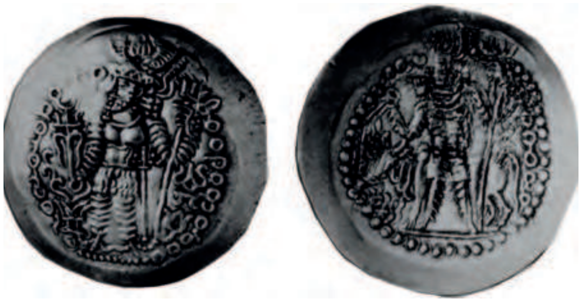
AQ: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (13D/1e)



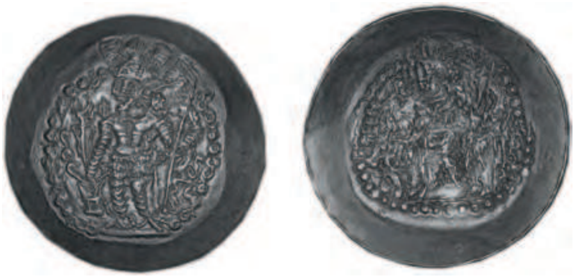
AP: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (13C/1e)



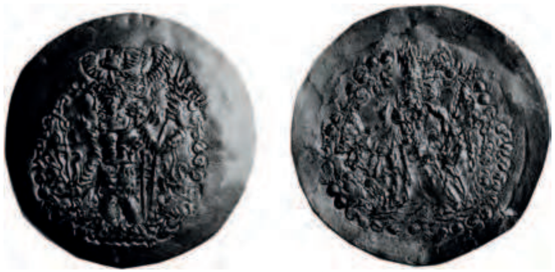
AR: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (14A/1e)



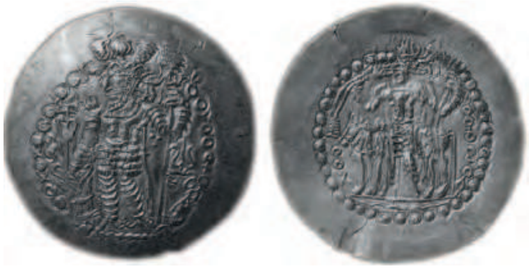
AS: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (14B/1c)



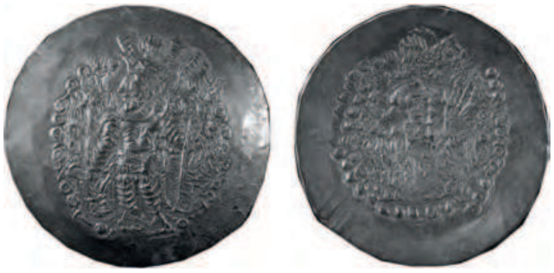
AT: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (15A/1f)



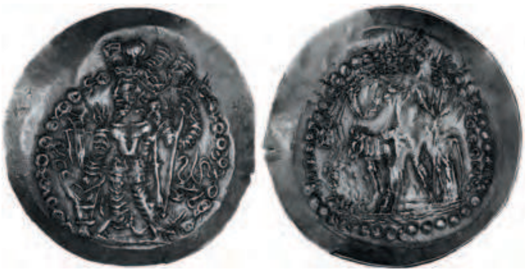
AU: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (15B/1f)



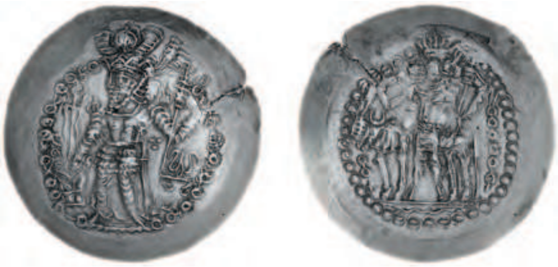
4723: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (16A/1a)



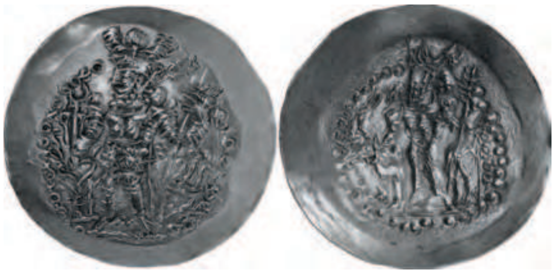
AV: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (16A/1c)



AW: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (16B/1c)



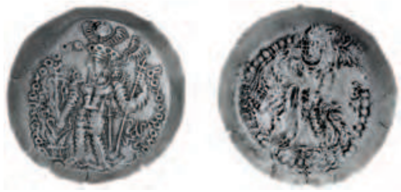
AX: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (17A/1g)

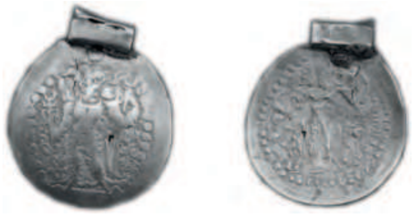


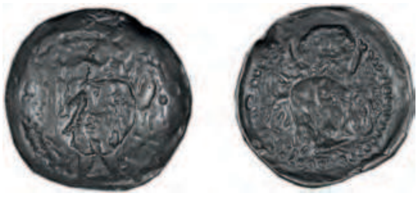
AY: Y-Q.G1-i 1d (17B/1d)

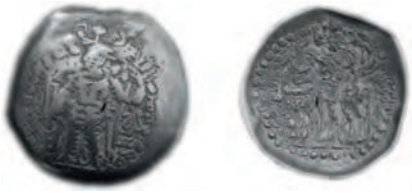
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Private collection P		7.74	-	1A	1a
4724*	189645	2000,0408.2	4.25	35	1B	1b

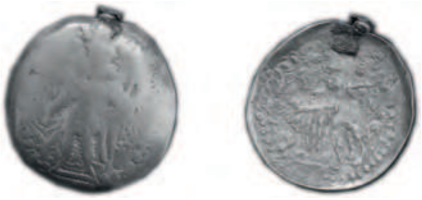
Both coins are copper and the second has traces of a gold coating

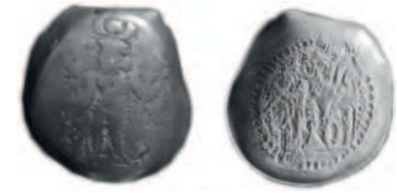

A: Y-Q.G1-i ¼d (1A/1a)


B: Y-Q.G1-i ¼d (2A/1a)


C: Y-Q.G1-i ¼d (2A/2a)


D: Y-Q.G1-i ¼d (3A/2a)


E: Y-Q.G1-i ¼d (4A/1a)


F: Y-Q.G1-i ¼d (4A/2b)

355 Y-Q.G1-i ¼d Main gold mint phase I quarter dinars

Göbl 1984: 726; Göbl 1993a: 126; Cribb 2010: 5A

Kidarite 'Varahran' (Y-Q) main gold mint (G1), first phase (i), quarter dinars (¼d), *c.* 1.9g, petalled flat crown with raised ribbons standing king with tamga/ Oesho and bull.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, hair dressed as four horizontal rows of curls, bearded (beard tied below with jewel), flames rising from shoulders, wearing flat crown, with double row of petals, surmounted by striped globe, flanked by two rising laddered ribbons, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons, earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of armour with smooth breastplate, and plate-mail skirt, over leggings, tied at ankles with ribbons, normally drawn as dots (often with ribbon on right leg raised towards altar), sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident in raised left hand (pointing with index finger) and making offering over fire altar with extended right hand, holding dish. King standing on dotted ground line. Altar column-shaped with slab at top and bottom of column, with triangular projects at corners of top slab, curls of smoke rising above altar to both sides of king's right hand, trident with ribbons on shaft (normally drawn as lines to right and left of the shaft), surmounted by crescent, positioned above altar. Three dots under king's left arm, control marks in field. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00 to 11.00): ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΝΟ ΟΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ (Lord Varahran Great Kushan King).

1A legging tie by altar up, three dots under king's arm, legging inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟþΑΝΟ þΑΥΟ, control mark Bactrian X between trident and inscription.

2A legging ties down, three dots under king's arm, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΑΡΑΥΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟþΑΝΟ þΑΥΟ, control marks Bactrian X between trident and inscription and symbol 9 below tamga.

3A legging tie by altar up, three dots under king's arm, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΡΥΡΑΝΟ Ο/ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟþΑΝΟ þΑΥΟ, control mark crescent on stand (symbol 1) below tamga.

4A legging tie by altar up, no dots under king's arm, inscription illegible, control mark(s) illegible.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, head to front, slightly turned to left, hair in form of flames above and dressed in buns either side of head (drawn as three or four horizontal rows of curls), bearded, wearing diadem with laddered ribbons rising above both to right, necklace, earring and bracelets, thigh-length skirt over leggings, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left with strap across rump. God and bull standing on linear ground line. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 2.00 to 7.00 or 8.00), blundered version of: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔΟ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ (High Yazata).

1a inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟ/ squiggle/ ΔΟ.

2a inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑΟ// ΝΔΟ.

2b inscription: ΒΟΡΖΑ// ΑΝΔ.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	ANS (LAK.038)		1.72	24	1A	1a
B*	Shown to authors (trade 2013) §		-	-	2A	1a
C*	Private collection P		-	-	2A	2a
D*	Shown to authors (trade 2013)		-	-	3A	2a
E	Shown to authors (trade 2013)		-	-	4A	1a
F*	Shown to authors (trade 2013)		1.3	-	4A	2b

§ Four of six coins found together in Pakistan in 2013, all with evidence of mounts for suspension, presumably on the same ornament (no. 2 same as no. 1, no. 4 same as no. 3).

Copper coins

Continuing the same Kushano-Sasanian denomination as earlier reigns, the only phase of the northern currency issue of this series also continues the drop in weight standard from the *c.* 1.2g standard of the previous series to a new low of *c.* 0.6g; 42 examples averaging 0.99g (range 0.37–2.60g). Only two examples of the southern coinage of this series have been recorded. Their weights 2.76g and 1.45g place them in the same period as Shapur II's Begram mint phase 2 coinage (X.C1-ii)

Main copper mint (Y-Q.C1)

The coins of this mint show a rapidly deteriorating weigh standard and quality of production, the coins appear to be of a single phase, but have a large number of left facing busts, which were previously exceptional.

356 Y-Q.C1-i 1u First copper mint phase 1 units

Cribb 1990: 29

Kidarite 'Varahran' (Y-Q), Balkh copper mint (C1), first phase (i), units (1u), *c.* 0.6–1.2g, flat floral raised ribbon crown royal bust/ male divine bust on fire altar type.

Some examples may be contemporary imitations, but their condition does not allow certainty.

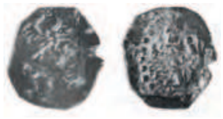
Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed as four horizontal rows of curls at back, bearded, wearing flat floral crown with raised ribbons, surmounted by striped globe, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons behind, earring with single jewel, necklace (drawn as line) and tunic with buttons on chest. Inscription in Pahlavi (anti-clockwise from 4.00 to 7.00) *wrhr'n RBA kwš'n MLKA* (Varahran Great Kushan King). All surrounded by dotted border.

1A bust right, inscription: *wrhr'n RBA/ [kwš]'/n M[L/KA].*

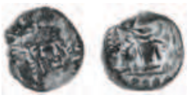
2A bust left, inscription illegible.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, bust emerging from top of fire altar, surrounded by flames. God wearing crown with high front surmounted by crescent, hair dressed in curls and wearing sleeved dress, holding spear in raised left hand (with pointed index finger) and offering diadem, with two laddered ribbons hanging below, with raised right hand. The fire altar has a trapezoid top slab on a round stem, tied with a diadem with loops and laddered ribbons to right and left, and a single stepped base. Inscription in Pahlavi (anti-clockwise from 4.00 to 7.00) *bwrz'ndy yzty* (High Yazata). Most examples are crudely done.

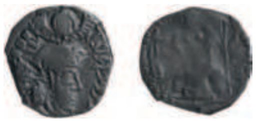
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	Ax
4725*	35642	1982,0626.36	1.26	14	1A	1a	12
4726*	35643	1982,0626.37	0.57	11	1A	1a	3
A*	ANS (2012.31.12)		1.24	14	1A	1a	3
B*	Private collection Q		2.60	-	1A	1a	3
C*	Zeno.ru 61963		1.34	12	1A	1a	6
4727*	276604	IOLC.4451	1.71	14	1A	1a	3
4728*	276612	IOLC.4459	1.08	14	1A	1a	12
4729*	35645	1982,0626.28	1.18	12	2A	1a	3
4730	35646	1983,0120.2	0.98	14	2A	1a	12
4731*	276624	IOLC.4471	1.30	13	2A	1a	12
4732*	276635	IOLC.4482	0.63	11	2A	1a	9
4733*	276627	IOLC.4474	1.04	12	2A	1a	9



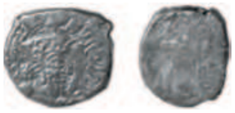
4725: Y-Q.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)



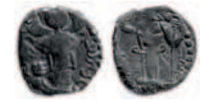
4726: Y-Q.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)



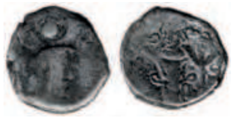
A: Y-Q.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)



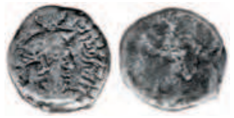
B: Y-Q.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)



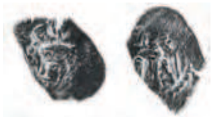
C: Y-Q.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)



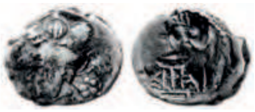
4727: Y-Q.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)



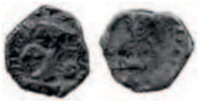
4728: Y-Q.C1-i 1u (1A/1a)



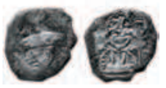
4729: Y-Q.C1-i 1u (2A/1a)



4731: Y-Q.C1-i 1u (2A/1a)



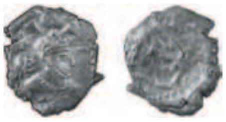
4732: Y-Q.C1-i 1u (2A/1a)



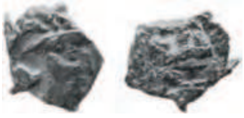
4733: Y-Q.C1-i 1u (2A/1a)

Southern copper mint (Y-Q.C2)

Only two examples of this mint have been so far discovered. In fabric and weight they closely resemble the poorly made copper coins issued with the bust of Shapur II. Their lack of inscriptions opens the possibility that they could have been issued in the next period (Z) as the crown type is very similar.



A: Y-Q.C2-i 1u (1A/1b)



B: Y-Q.C2-i 1u (1B/1a)

357 Y-Q.C2-i 1u Begram copper mint phase 1 units

Kidarite 'Varahran' (Y-Q), Begram copper mint (C2), first and only phase (i), units (1u), *c.* 2g, flat floral raised ribbons crown royal bust/ flames on fire altar type.

Obverse: King, bust facing right, hair dressed at back as bun, drawn as four rows of curls, bearded (beard tied below with jewels), wearing crown flat floral crown with raised ribbons surmounted by striped globe, diadem with two rising ribbons behind, earring with single jewel, necklace (drawn as beaded line) and tunic with buttons on chest. Inscription absent or illegible.

1A crown with florettes.

1B plain flat crown.

Reverse: Fire altar with flames emanating from top with top slab above slab on top of broad column standing on double step. All surrounded by dotted border.

1a as above.

1b detail unclear.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Private collection Q		2.76	-	1A	1b
B*	Ashmolean		1.45	14	1B	1a

Z Kidara

Gold issues

The reduced Kushan dinar standard continues to be used throughout this reign, but with a weight standard that gradually drops. Phase 1 maintains the *c.* 7.7g standard of the previous reign, falling to *c.* 7.6g in phases 2 and 3, and to *c.* 7.4g in phase 4. Four examples of phase 1 average 7.73g (range 7.35–7.82g); 11 examples of phase 2 average 7.57g (range 71.8–7.75g); 34 examples of phase 3 average 7.56g (range 6.87–7.77g); 9 examples of phase 4 average 7.43g (range 7.27–7.59g).

Kidara gold mint, Balkh (Z.G1)

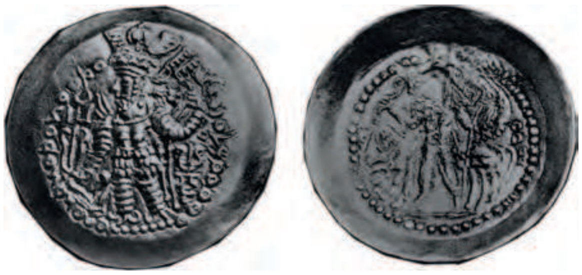
The distinctions between the four phases of production in this series relate mostly to the use of control marks, degeneration of inscription and change of crown. In phase 1 the king wears a petalled crown and all the later phases he wears a floretted crown.

Phase 1 most examples having the same symbol 1.

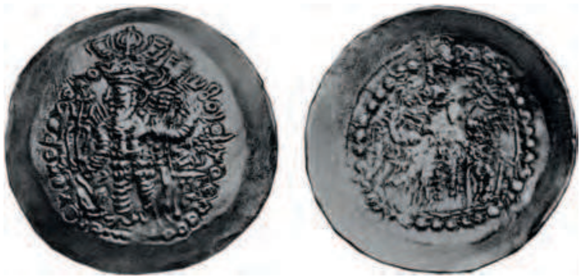
Phase 2 examples hava a variety of control marks including symbol 1 as used in phase 1.

Phase 3 examples all have the Brahmi letter *ba* above the tamga [tamga?] and plant 1 below.

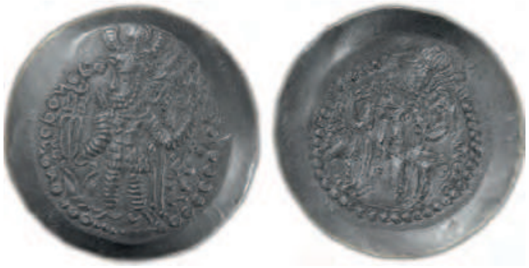
Phase 4 examples replace the Brahmi *ba* of phase 3 with a Pahlavi *bl*, and the rosette (plant 1) is often reduced to a few dots. Flames on the king's shoulders are replaced by crescents and circles.



A: Z.G1-i 1d (1A/1a)



B: Z.G1-i 1d (1A/1a)



4734: Z.G1-i 1d (1B/1b)

358 Z.G1-i 1d Kidara main gold mint phase 1 dinars

Göbl 1984: 733, 736; Göbl 1993a: 128, 130; Vondrovec 2014: 84-12; Cribb 1990; 12 Cribb 2010: 6A–B

Kidara (Z) main gold mint (G1), first phase (i), dinars (1d), *c.* 7.7g, petalled flat raised ribbons crown standing king with tamga/ Oesho and bull type.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, hair dressed as four horizontal rows of curls, bearded (beard tied below with jewel), flames rising from shoulders, wearing flat crown, with row of petals, surmounted by striped globe, flanked by two rising laddered ribbons, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons, earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of armour with smooth breastplate, and plate-mail skirt, over leggings, tied at ankles with ribbons, sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident (with curved shaft) in raised left hand (pointing with index finger) and making offering over fire altar with extended right hand, holding dish. King standing on dotted ground line. Altar bucket shaped with triangular projects at corners of top slab, curls of smoke rising above altar to both sides of king's right hand, trident with ribbons on shaft (normally drawn as lines to right and left of the shaft), surmounted by crescent, positioned above altar. Control marks on most examples. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00 to 11.00, often misspelt, abbreviated and with ill-formed letters) version of: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑ ΟΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ (Lord Kidara Great Kushan King).

1A one small curl of smoke above left hand main curl, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑ Ο/ΟΖΟΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ΟÞΑ, control marks three dots (symbol 2) above and symbol 1 below tamga.

1B two small curls of smoke above left hand main curl, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑΟΟ/ ΟΟΖΟΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑ, control marks three dots (symbol 2) above and symbol 1 below tamga.

2A as 1B, but just symbol 1 below tamga.

2B as 2A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑΟΟΟ/ ΟΟΖΟΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑ.

3A as 2A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑΟΟΟΟ/ ΟΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΟ, control mark crescent on stand (symbol 3) below tamga.

Reverse: Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, head to front, slightly turned to left, hair in form of flames above and dressed in buns either side of head (drawn as three or four horizontal rows of curls), bearded, wearing diadem with laddered ribbons rising above both to right, necklace, earring and bracelets, thigh-length skirt over leggings, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left with strap across rump. God and bull standing on linear ground line. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 2.00 to 4.00), abbreviated and blundered version of: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔΟ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ (High Yazata).

1a inscription: ΟΟΡΖ//ΔΟ.

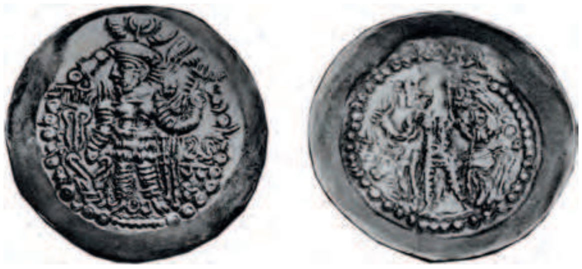
1b ground line curved, inscription: ΟΟΡΑΟ.

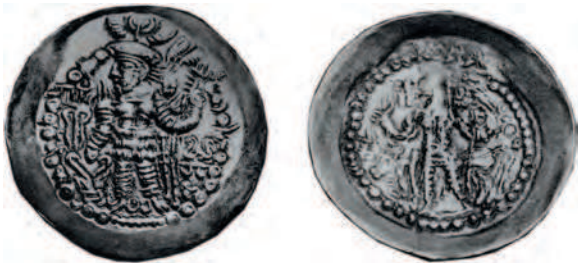
1c as 1b, but inscription: ΟΟΡΖ//ΔΟ.

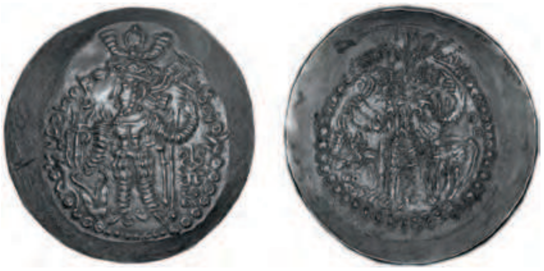
1d as 1b, but inscription: ΟΟ//ΔΟ.

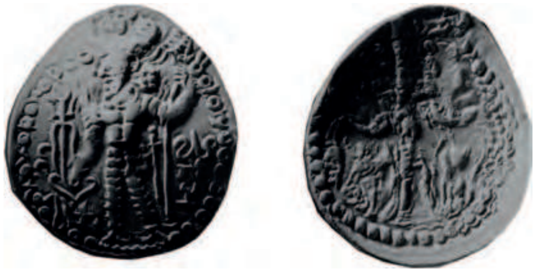
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Tepe Maranjan 'inconnu 6'		7.35	36	-	1A	1a
B*	Tepe Maranjan 'inconnu 7'		7.82	36	-	1A	1a
4734*	189651	1847,1201.265	7.69	34	13.14	1B	1b
C*	Tepe Maranjan 'inconnu 8'		7.67	34	-	2A	1c
D*	Private collection P		-	-	-	2B	1d
E*	Vienna cards; Göbl 1984: 733		†	-	-	3A	1b

† Clipped


C: Z.G1-i 1d (2A/1c)


C: Z.G1-i 1d (2A/1c)


D: Z.G1-i 1d (2B/1d)

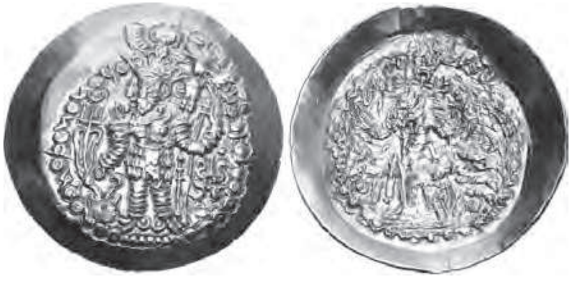

E: Z.G1-i 1d (3A/1b)

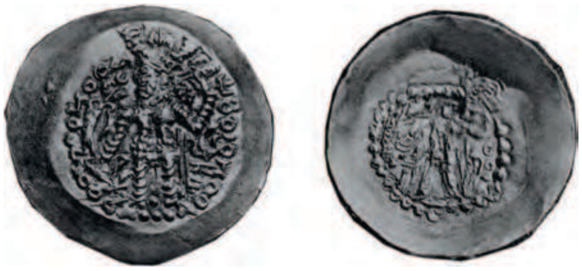
359 Z.G1-ii 1d Kidara main gold mint phase 2 dinars

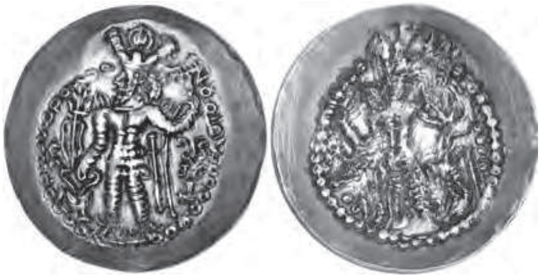
Göbl 1984: 737; Vondrovec 2014: 84-2; Cribb 1990: 12; Cribb 2010: 6C Kidara (Z) main gold mint (G1), second phase (ii), dinars (1d), *c.* 7.6g, tripartite florette raised ribbons crown with tamga/ Oesho and bull type.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, hair dressed as four horizontal rows of curls, bearded (beard tied below with jewel), flames rising from both shoulders, wearing tripartite florette crown, surmounted by striped globe, flanked by two rising laddered ribbons, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons, earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of armour with smooth breastplate, and plate-mail skirt, over leggings, tied at ankles with ribbons, sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident in raised left hand (pointing with index finger, trident head bent to right of shaft) and making offering over fire altar with extended right hand, holding dish. King standing on dotted ground line. Altar normally bucket shaped with triangular projects at corners of top slab, curls of smoke rising above altar to both sides of king's right hand, trident with ribbons on curved shaft (normally drawn as lines to right and left of the shaft), surmounted by crescent, positioned above altar. Control marks on most examples. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00 to 11.00, often misspelt, abbreviated and with ill-formed letters) version of: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑ ΟΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ (Lord Kidara Great Kushan King).

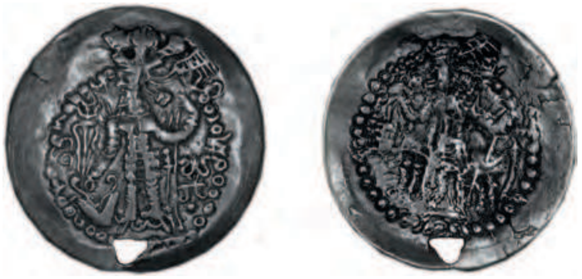
1A inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑΟΟ/ ΟΟΖΟΡ ΚΟÞΑΝΟΝΟ ÞΑ, control marks dot above and symbol 1 below tamga.


A: Z.G1-ii 1d (1A/1a)

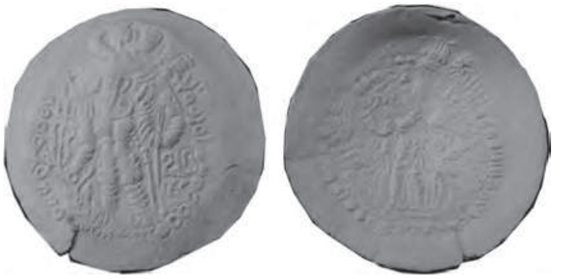

B: Z.G1-ii 1d (1B/1b)



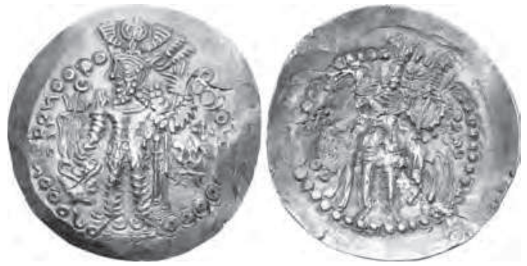
C: Z.G1-ii 1d (2A/2a)



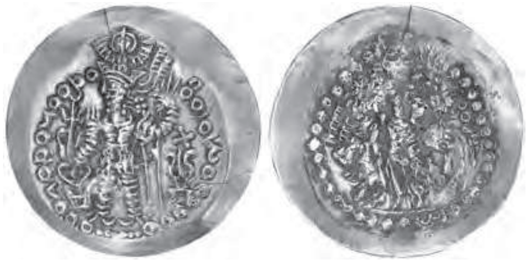
D: Z.G1-ii 1d (3A/1c)



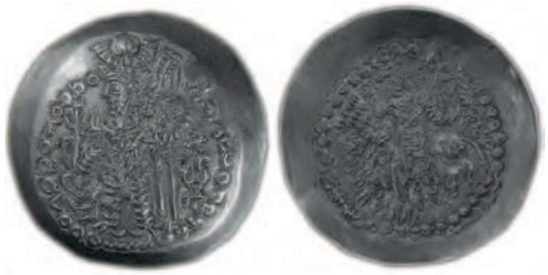
E: Z.G1-ii 1d (4A/1d)



F: Z.G1-ii 1d (5A/2a)



G: Z.G1-ii 1d (5B/1e)



4735: Z.G1-ii 1d (5B/2a)

1B as 1A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡ/Α ΟΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΟΚ.

2A Two small curls of smoke above left hand main curl, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑΟΟΟ/ ΟΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ Þ, control mark Pahlavi *b* below tamga.

3A Two small curls of smoke above left hand main curl, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑΟΟ/ ΟΟΖΟΡ ΚΟΝΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control mark dot below tamga.

4A Two small curls of smoke above left hand main curl, three dots (symbol 2) below king's left arm, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑΟ Ο/ ΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑ, control mark three dots (symbol 2) below tamga.

5A Three small curls of smoke above left hand main curl, three dots (symbol 2) below king's left arm, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑΟ Ο/ ΟΖΟΡΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟΟ ÞΑ, control mark Bactrian X tamga.

5B as 5A, but curls smaller and touching inscription, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑΟ Ο/ ΟΟΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟΟ ÞΑ, control mark Bactrian X tamga.

6A Altar column-shaped with slab at top and bottom of column, with triangular projects at corners of top slab, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑΟ/ ΟΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟΟ ÞΑ, symbol 4 above and below tamga.

6B as 6A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡ/ ΟΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟΟ ÞΑ.

Reverse (design largely obscured by poor striking): Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left. God and bull standing on linear ground line. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 2.00 to 4.00), abbreviated and blundered version of: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔΟ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ (High Yazata).

1a inscription illegible.

1b inscription ΟΡΖ//.

1c inscription: Ο//ΔΟ.

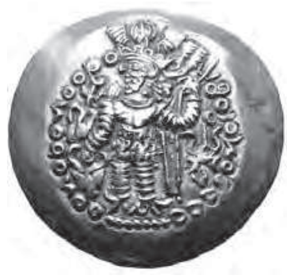
1d inscription: Ο//Ο.

1e inscription ΟΟΟ//.

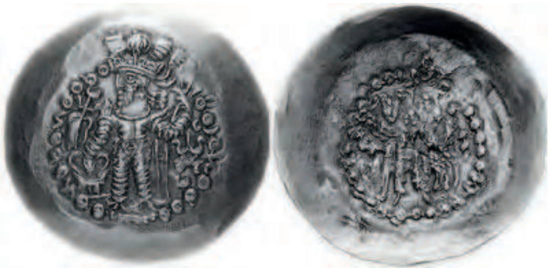
2a no ground line below god, inscription: ΟΟΟΡΖ/ΔΟ.

2b as 2a, but inscription: ΟΡ/ΔΟ.

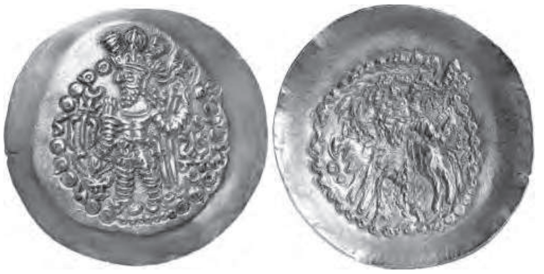
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	CNG e100 (7.10.2015) 205		7.56	35	-	1A	1a
B*	Tepe Maranjan 'inconnu 10'		7.75	35	-	1B	1b
C*	Ponterio Auction (31.03.2011), lot 10050		7.63	-	-	2A	2a
D*	Private collection P; Vondrovec 2014: 84-2		7.18	35	-	3A	1c
E*	Seen by authors (cast in BM)		7.63	-	13.14	4A	1d
F*	CNG e-auction 100 (7.10.2015), lot 210		7.49	33	-	5A	2a
G*	Stack Auction (22.4.2009) lot 1169; Stack Auction (18.8.2009) lot 4195; Stack Auction (9.12.2009) lot 130		7.60	-	-	5B	1e
4735*	189647	1989,0625.2	7.69	34	-	5B	2a
H*	CNG e-auction 314 (6.11.2013), lot 238		7.62	35	-	6A	2a
I*	CNG mailbid 57 (4.4.2001) lot 764		7.48	-	-	6A	2a
J*	Gorny & Mosch aution 152 (10.10.2006) lot 1591		7.60	-	-	6B	2b



H: Z.G1-ii 1d (6A/2a)



I: Z.G1-ii 1d (6A/2a)



J: Z.G1-ii 1d (6B/2b)

360 Z.G1-iii 1d Kidara main gold mint phase 3 dinars

Göbl 1984: 735; Göbl 1993a: 129; Vondrovec 2014: 84-1, -3, -4, -6; Cribb 1990: 12

Cribb 2010: 6C

Kidara (Z) main gold mint (G1), third phase (iii), dinars (1d), *c.* 7.6g, tripartite florette raised ribbons crown with tamga/ Oesho and bull type.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, hair dressed as four horizontal rows of curls, bearded (beard tied below with jewel), flames or crescents rising from both shoulders (or nothing on shoulders), wearing tripartite florette crown, surmounted by striped globe, flanked by two rising laddered ribbons, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons, earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of armour with smooth breastplate, and plate-mail skirt, over leggings, tied at ankles with ribbons, sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident (with curved shaft) in raised left hand (pointing with index finger, trident head bent to right of shaft) and making offering over fire altar with extended right hand, holding dish. King standing on dotted ground line. Altar column-shaped with slab at top and bottom of column, with triangular projects at corners of top slab, curls of smoke rising above altar to both sides of king's right hand, trident with ribbons on curved shaft (normally drawn as lines to right and left of the shaft), surmounted by crescent, positioned above altar. Control marks Brahmi *ba* above and rosette on stem (plant 1) below tamga. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00 to 11.00, often misspelt, abbreviated and with ill-formed letters) version of: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑ ΟΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ (Lord Kidara Great Kushan King).

1A flames on shoulders, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡ/ ΟΖΟΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑ.

1B as 1A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡ/ ΟΖΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑ.

1C as 1A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡ/ ΟΟΖΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑ.

1D as 1A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡ/ ΟΟΖΟΡ ΑΝΟ ÞΑ.

1E as 1A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡ/ ΖΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑ.

2A as 1A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑ/ ΟΖΟΡ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑ.

2B as 1A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑ/ ΟΖΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑ.

2C as 1A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑ/ ΖΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑ.

3A as 1A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑΟ/ ΟΟΖΟΡ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑ.

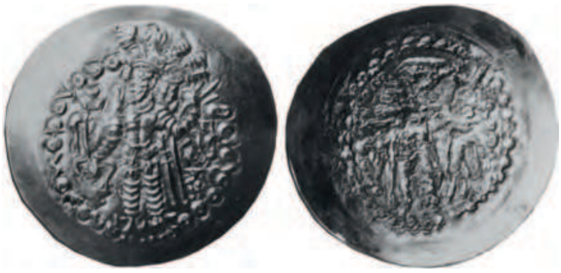
3B as 1A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑ Ο/ΟΖΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑ.

3C as 1A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑ Ο/ΟΖΟ ΚΟΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑ.

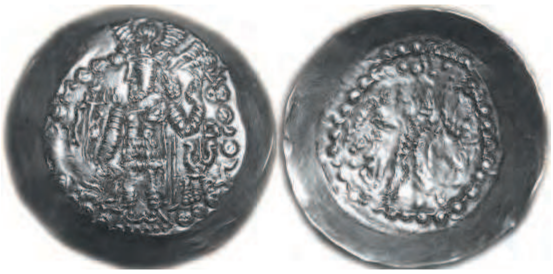
4A as 1A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡ/ ΟΟΖΟΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ.

4B as 1A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡ/ Ο ΟΟΖΟ ΚΟÞΑΝ.

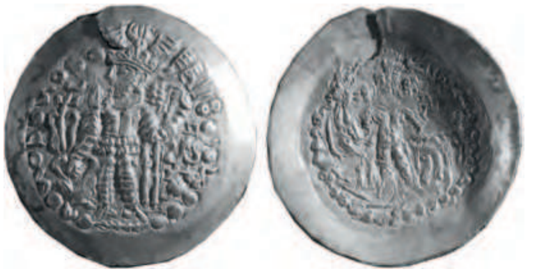
4C as 1A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑ/ ΟΟΖΡΟ ΚΟÞΑΝ.



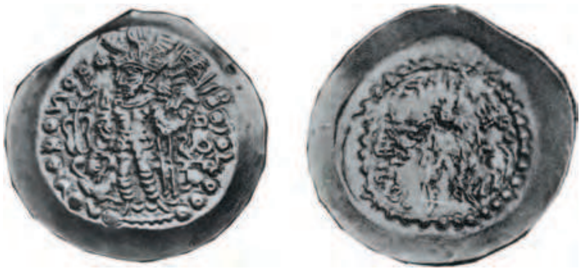
A: Z.G1-iii 1d (1A/1a)



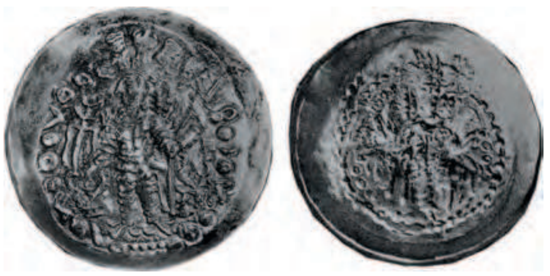
B: Z.G1-iii 1d (1A/1a)

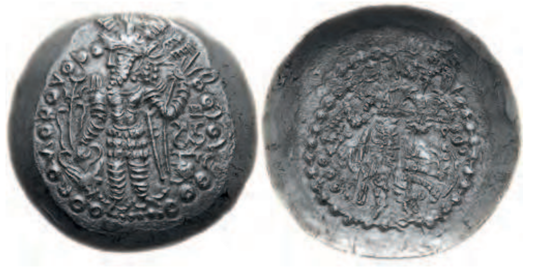


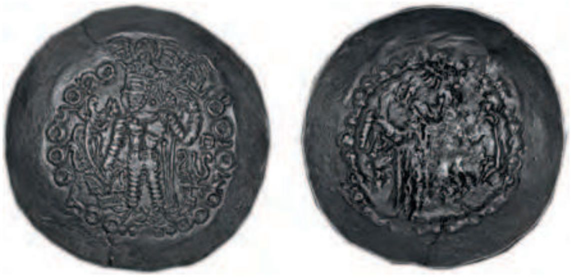
C: Z.G1-iii 1d (1B/1a)

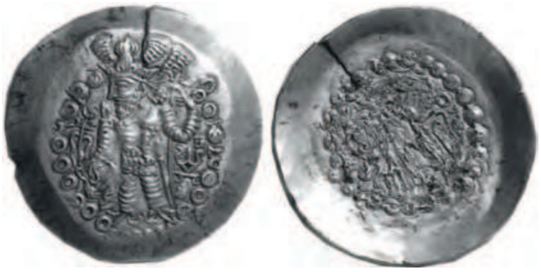


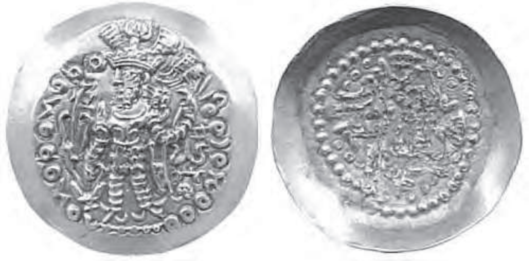
D: Z.G1-iii 1d (1B/1a)

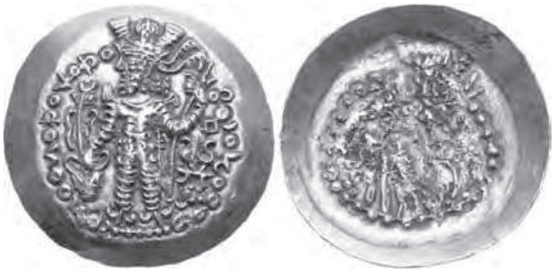

E: Z.G1-iii 1d (1B/1a)


F: Z.G1-iii 1d (1C/1a)


G: Z.G1-iii 1d (1D/1a)


H: Z.G1-iii 1d (1D/1a)


I: Z.G1-iii 1d (1E/1a)


J: Z.G1-iii 1d (2A/1a)

5A as 1A, but crescents on shoulders, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑ/ ΟΟΖΟΡΟ ΚΟÞΑΝ.

5B as 5A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑΟ/ ΟΟΖΟΡ ΚΟÞΑΝ.

6A as 5A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑΟ/ ΟΟΖΟΡ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑ.

6B as 5A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑΟ/ ΟΟΖΟΡΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ.

6C as 5A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑ/ ΟΟΟΡΟΟΟ ΚΟΑΝΟ.

6D as 5A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑΟΟ/ ΟΟΖΟΡ ΚΟΟΟÞΑΝΟΟ.

6E as 5A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑΟ/ ΟΟΖΟΡΟ ΚΟΟΟÞΑΝΟ.

7A as 5A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΚΔΑΡ/Α ΟΟΖΟΡΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ.

8A with nothing on the king's shoulders, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑ/ ΟΟΖΟΡ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ.

9A as 8A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑΟ/Ο ΟΟΖΟΡ ΚΟΟΟΟÞΑΝ.

9B as 8A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑΟ/Ο ΟΟΖΟΡ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ.

10A as 8A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑΟΟ/ ΟΟΖΟΡ ΚΟΟΟÞΑΝΟ.

10B as 8A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑΟΟ/ ΟΟΖΟΡ ΚΟΟΟÞΑΝ.

11A as 8A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑ/Ο ΟΟΖΟΡ ΚΟÞΑ.

Reverse (design largely obscured by poor striking): Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left. God and bull standing on dotted border or on linear ground line. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise from 2.00 to 4.00), abbreviated and blundered version of: ΒΟΡΖΑΟΑΝΔΟ ΙΑΖΑΔΟ (high yazata) or no inscription.

1a no ground line, inscription: ΟΡΖ/ ΑΔΟ.

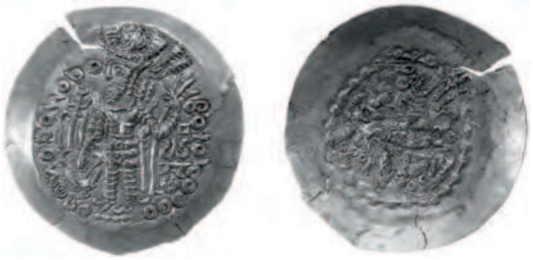
1b as 1a, but inscription: /ΔΟ.

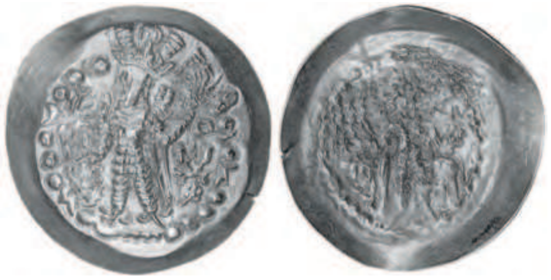
2a with ground line, inscription missing.

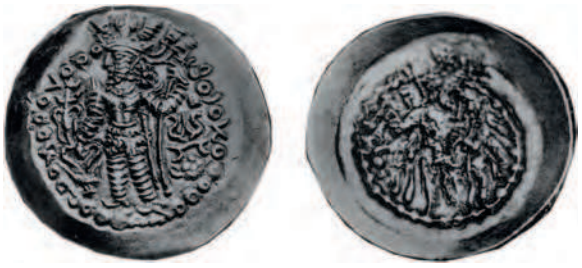
2b as 2a, but inscription: ΟΡΖ/.

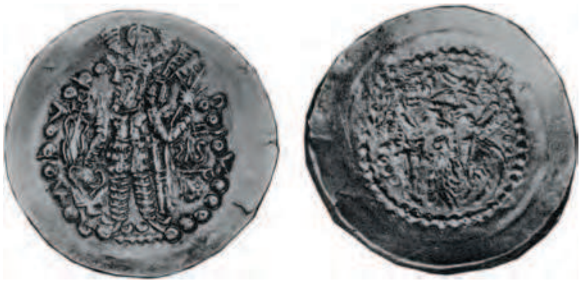
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Vienna; Göbl 1984, 735.9		-	-	-	1A	1a
B*	Private collection B		-	-	-	1A	1a
C*	Private collection E		7.66	-	-	1B	1a
D*	Tepe Maranjan 'inconnu 2'		7.70	34	-	1B	1a
E*	Tepe Maranjan 'inconnu 5'		7.69	34	-	1B	1a
F*	CNG mailbid 66 (19.5.2004) 982		7.71	-	-	1C	1a
G*	Private collection P; Vondrovec 2014: 84-1		7.58	35	-	1D	1a
H*	Berlin (Guthrie 1876)		7.54	-	-	1D	1a
I*	Spink Auction 4013 (15.7.2004), lot 202		7.53	-	-	1E	1a
J*	CNG e-auction 100 (7.10.2015) lot 206		7.62	34	-	2A	1a
K*	Bern: Göbl 1993a: 823		7.59	33	-	2B	1a
L*	Album Auction 24 (14.1.2016) lot 1350		7.62	-	-	2C	1b
M*	Tepe Maranjan 'inconnu 3'		7.75	35	-	3A	1b
N*	Tepe Maranjan 'inconnu 4'		7.68	34	-	3B	1a
O*	Tepe Maranjan 'inconnu 1'		7.65	34	-	3C	1a
P*	Private collection E		7.77	36	-	4A	2a
Q*	CNG mailbid 64 (24.9.2003) lot 562		7.70	-	-	4A	2a
R*	Private collection F; Tanabe, 1992: 246		7.54	-	-	4B	2a
S*	Göbl 1984: 735.3		-	-	-	4C	1b
T*	Paris (Kieffer 1973.188.7)		7.69	35	-	5A	1b
U*	Private collection Q		7.53	-	-	6A	2a
V*	Private collection P; Vondrovec 2014: 84-4		7.44	35	-	6B	2a
W*	Paris (Hackin 1926 Y.6422)		6.87	33	-	6C	2a
X*	CNG e100 (7.10.2015) 208		7.38	37	-	6D	2a
Y*	Vienna		-	-	-	6E	?
4736*	189652	1983,0729.43	7.43	35	13.12	7A	2a
Z*	Private collection P; Vondrovec 2014: 84-6		7.46	36	-	7A	2a
AA*	Paris (Kieffer 1973.188.10)		7.62	35	-	8A	2a

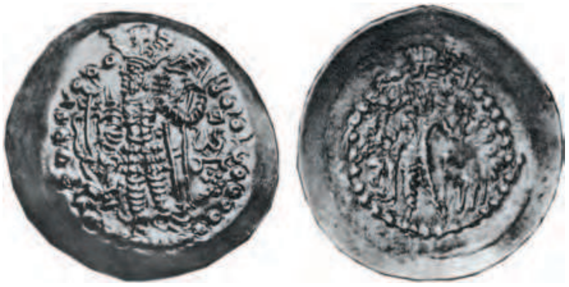
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
AB*	Shown to authors (Baldwins)		7.32	-	13.07	9A	2b
AC*	Private collection P; Vondrovec 2014: 84-3		7.47	35	-	9B	2b
AD*	Seaby Action 730 (1979)/ A601		-	-	-	10A	2a
AE*	CNG e-auction 100 (7.10.2015) 207		7.65	34	-	10B	2a
AF*	Gorny & Mosch 159 (8.10.2007) 264		7.66	-	-	11A	2a

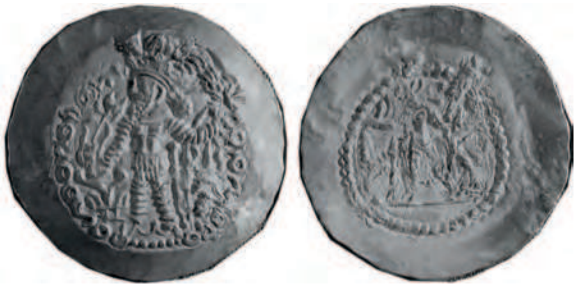

K: Z.G1-iii 1d (2B/1a)

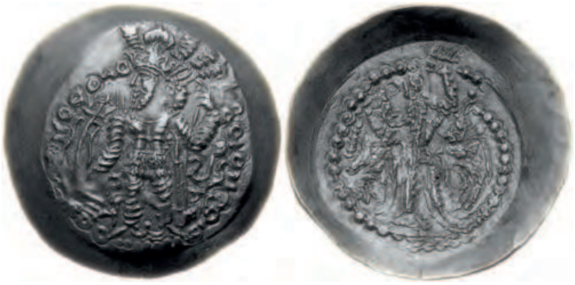

L: Z.G1-iii 1d (2C/1b)

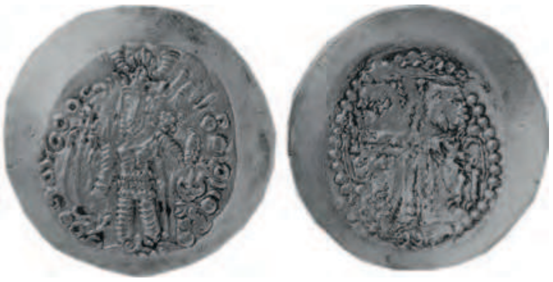

M: Z.G1-iii 1d (3A/1b)

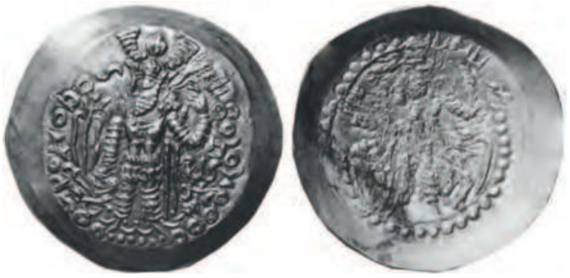

N: Z.G1-iii 1d (3B/1a)

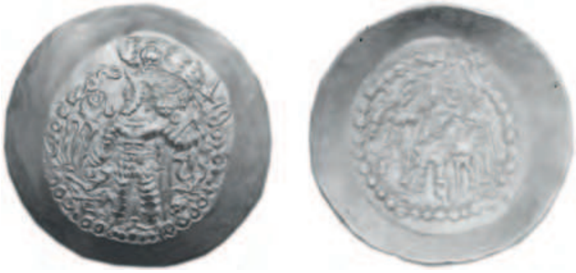

O: Z.G1-iii 1d (3C/1a)

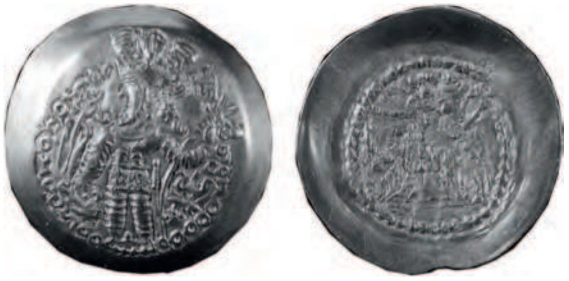

P: Z.G1-iii 1d (4A/2a)

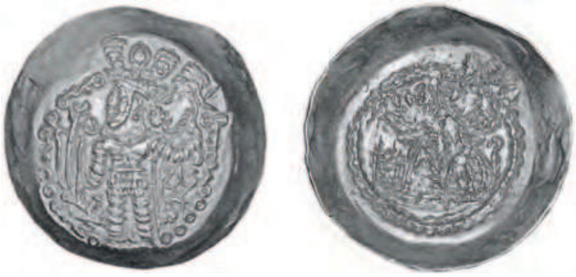

Q: Z.G1-iii 1d (4A/2a)


R: Z.G1-iii 1d (4B/2a)

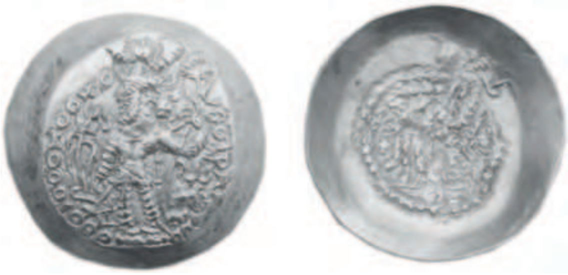

S: Z.G1-iii 1d (4C/2a)


T: Z.G1-iii 1d (5A/1b)

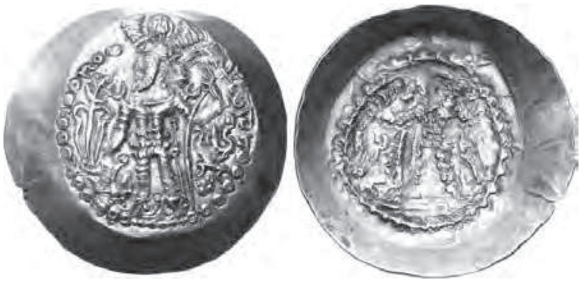

U: Z.G1-iii 1d (6A/2a)



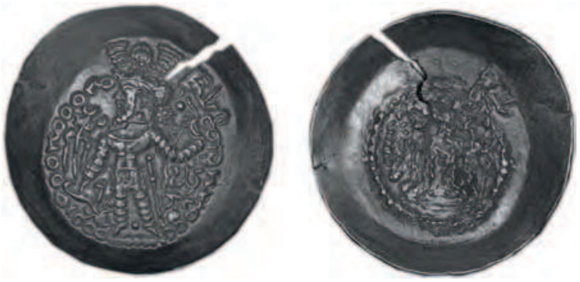
V: Z.G1-iii 1d (6B/2a)



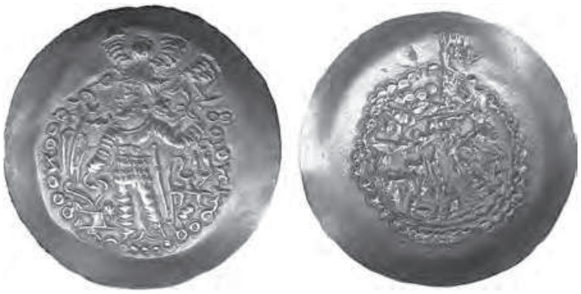
W: Z.G1-iii 1d (6C/2a)



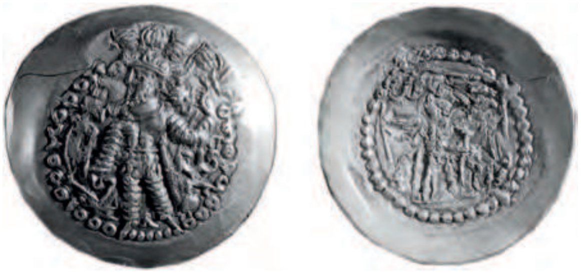
X: Z.G1-iii 1d (6D/2a)



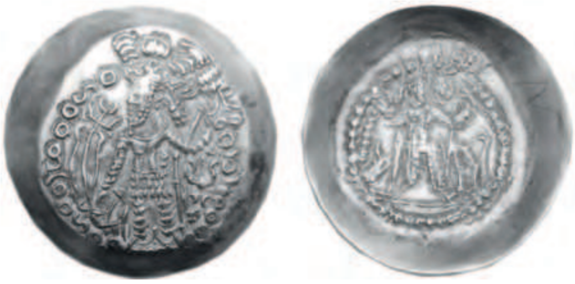
Y: Z.G1-iii 1d (6E/?)



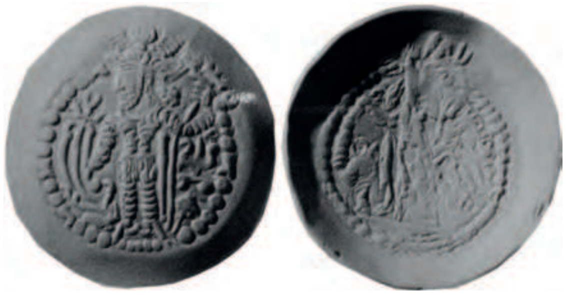
4736: Z.G1-iii 1d (7A/2a)



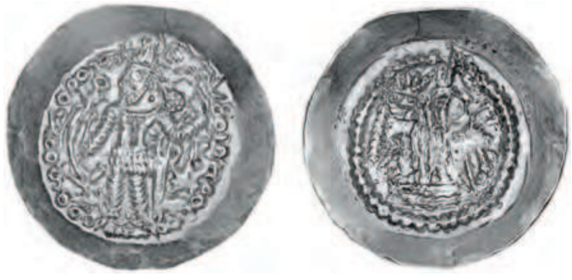
Z: Z.G1-iii 1d (7A/2a)



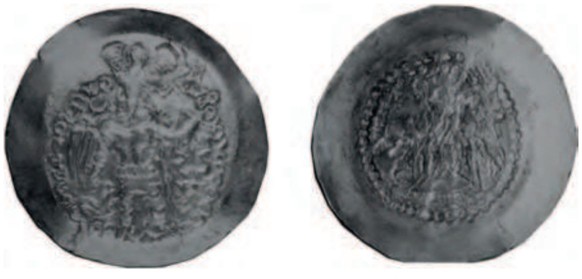
AA: Z.G1-iii 1d (8A/2a)



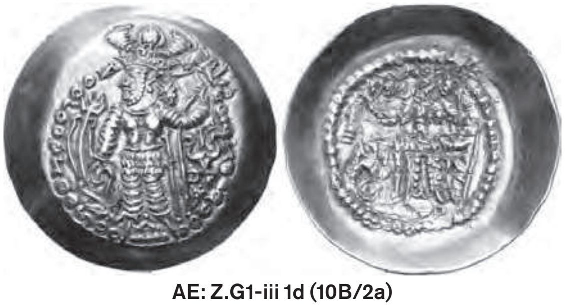
AB: Z.G1-iii 1d (9A/2b)



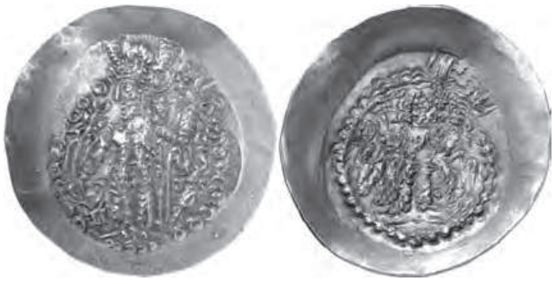
AC: Z.G1-iii 1d (9B/2b)



AD: Z.G1-iii 1d (10A/2a)



AE: Z.G1-iii 1d (10B/2a)



AF: Z.G1-iii 1d (11A/2a)

361 Z.G1-iv 1d Kidara main gold mint phase 4 dinars

Göbl 1984: 735, 737; Göbl 1993a: 131; Vondrovec 2014: 84-10; Cribb 1990:12 Cribb 2010: 6C–D

Kidara (Z) main gold mint (G1), fourth phase (iv), dinars (1d), *c.* 7.4g, tripartite florette raised ribbons crown with tamga/ Oesho and bull type.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, hair dressed as four horizontal rows of curls, bearded (beard tied below with jewel), crescents/circles rising from both shoulders (or nothing on shoulders), wearing tripartite florette crown, surmounted by striped globe, flanked by two rising laddered ribbons, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons, earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of armour with smooth breastplate, and plate-mail skirt, over leggings, tied at ankles with ribbons, sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident (with curved shaft) in raised left hand (pointing with index finger, trident head bent to right of shaft) and making offering over fire altar with extended right hand, holding dish. King standing on dotted ground line. Altar column-shaped with slab at top and bottom of column, with triangular projects at corners of top slab, curls of smoke rising above altar to both sides of king's right hand, trident with ribbons on curved shaft (normally drawn as lines to right and left of the shaft), surmounted by crescent, positioned above altar. Control marks on all coins. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00 to 11.00, often misspelt, abbreviated and with ill-formed letters) version of: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑ ΟΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ (Lord Kidara, Great Kushan King).

1A crescents on shoulders, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡ/ ΟΟΖΟΡΟ ΚΟΟÞΑΝΟ, control marks Pahlavi *bl* above and rosette (plant 1) below tamga.

1B as 1A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΚΙΔΑΡ/ ΟΟΖΟΡΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ.

2A as 1A, but circles on shoulders inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡ/ ΟΟΖΟΡΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ, rosette has only three dots (plant 1).

2B as 2A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑ/ ΟΟΖΟΡ ΚΟΟÞΑΝΟΟ.

2C as 2A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑ/ ΟΟΖΟΡΟ ΚΟÞΝΟΟ, rosette as blob (plant 1).

2D as 2C, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡ/ ΟΟΖΟΡΟ ΚΟÞΝΟ.

3A as 2A, but nothing on king's shoulders, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΩΡ/ ΟΟΝΟΡΟ ΚΟÞΝΟ.

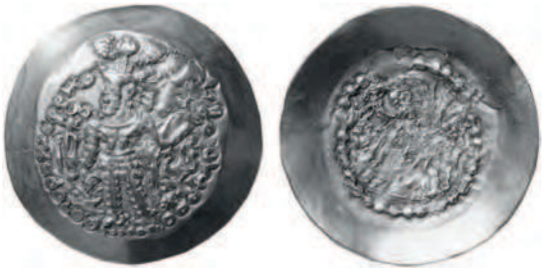
Reverse (design largely obscured by poor striking): Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left with strap across rump. God and bull standing on dotted border or on linear ground line. No inscription

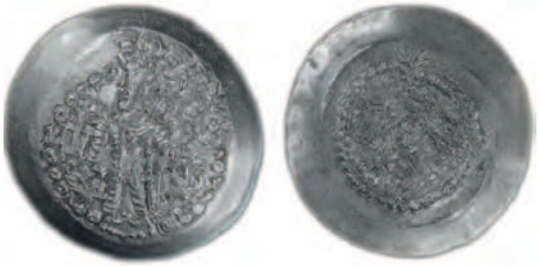
1a god standing on ground line.

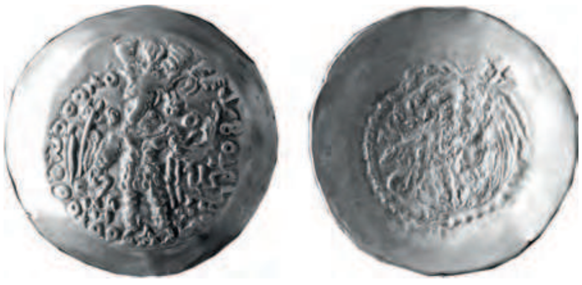
2a god standing on dotted border.

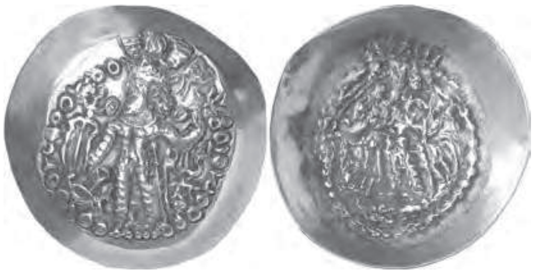
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	SG	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Ashmolean (Baldwin 29.10.1952)		7.51	34	-	1A	1a
4737*	189648	1989,0625.3	7.59	34	-	1B	1a
B*	Private collection E		7.40	37	-	2A	1a
C*	Gorny & Mosch 170 (13.10.2008) 1601		7.50	-	-	2B	1a
D*	Baldwin 43 (11.10.2005) 2091		7.43	-	-	2C	2a
4738*	189653	1983,0529.1	7.27	36	-	2D	2a
E*	Tepe Maranjan 'inconnu 9'		7.48	35	-	3A	1a
F*	Private collection P; Vondrovec 2014: 84-10		7.25	37	-	3A	1a
4739*	189655	1894,0506.176	4.71†	34	12.26	3A	1a

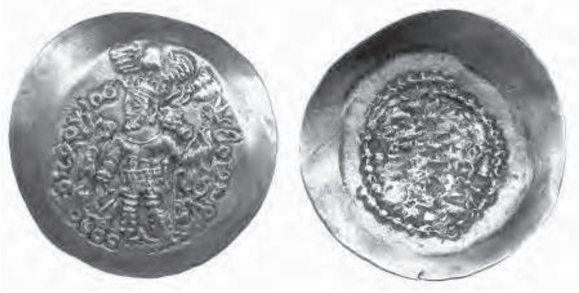
† Broken

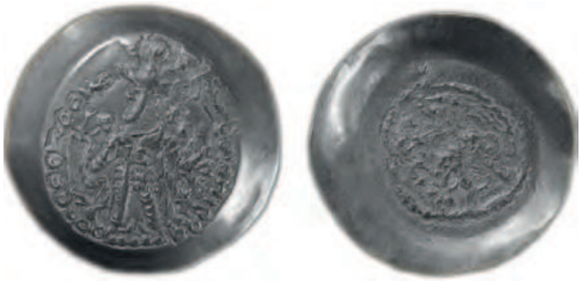

A: Z.G1-iv 1d (1A/1a)

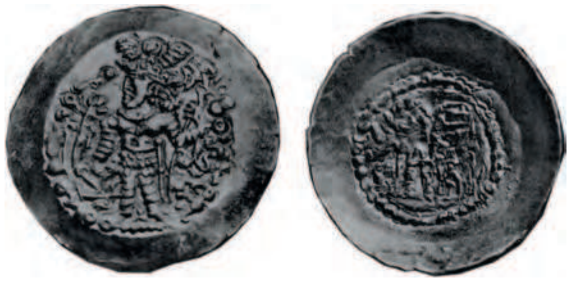

4737: Z.G1-iv 1d (1B/1a)


B: Z.G1-iv 1d (2A/1a)

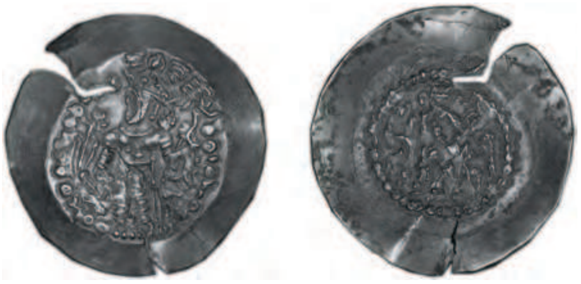

C: Z.G1-iv 1d (2B/1a)


D: Z.G1-iv 1d (2C/2a)

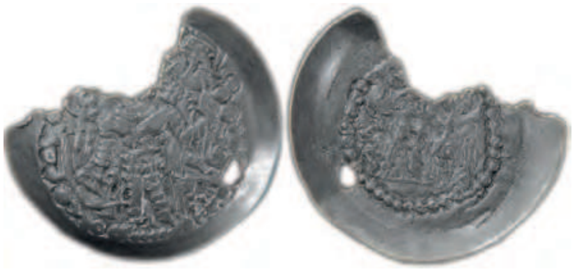

4738: Z.G1-iv 1d (2D/2a)



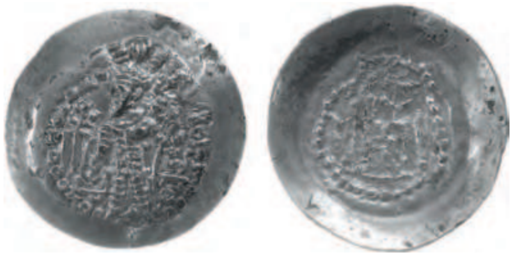
E: Z.G1-iv 1d (3A/1a)



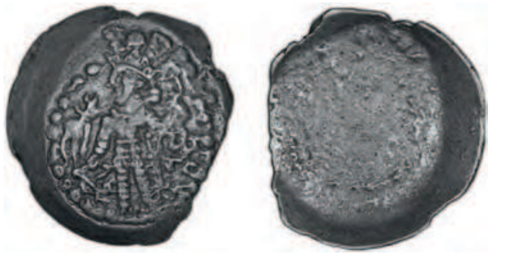
F: Z.G1-iv 1d (3A/1a)



4739: Z.G1-iv 1d (3A/1a)



A: Z.G1-iv imit 1d (1A/1a)



B: Z.G1-iv imit 1d (1B/2a)

362 Z.G1-iv imit 1d Kidara main gold mint phase 4 dinars

Kidara (Z) main gold mint (G1), fourth phase (iv), imitation (imit) dinars (1d), *c.* 7.4g, tripartite florette raised ribbons crown with tamga/ Oesho and bull type.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, hair dressed as four horizontal rows of curls, bearded (beard tied below with jewel), crescents/circles rising from both shoulders (or nothing on shoulders), wearing tripartite florette crown, surmounted by striped globe, flanked by two rising laddered ribbons, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons, earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of armour with smooth breastplate, and plate-mail skirt, over leggings, tied at ankles with ribbons, sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident (with curved shaft) in raised left hand (pointing with index finger, trident head bent to right of shaft) and making offering over fire altar with extended right hand, holding dish. King standing on dotted ground line. Altar column-shaped with slab at top and bottom of column, with triangular projects at corners of top slab, curls of smoke rising above altar to both sides of king's right hand, trident with ribbons on curved shaft (normally drawn as lines to right and left of the shaft), surmounted by crescent, positioned above altar. Tamga D in right field, with various control marks. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00 to 11.00, often misspelt, abbreviated and with ill-formed letters) version of: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΡΑ ΟΟΖΟΡΚΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ (Lord Kidara, Great Kushan King).

1A nothing on king's shoulders, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΚ/ ΟΟΝΟΡΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ, Brahmi *ba* below tamga. (cf. Z.G1-iv 4A and 4B).

1B as 1A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΚΙΔΑΚΑ/ ΟΝΟΡΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ.

Reverse (design largely obscured by poor striking): Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left with strap across rump. God and bull standing on linear ground line. No inscription.

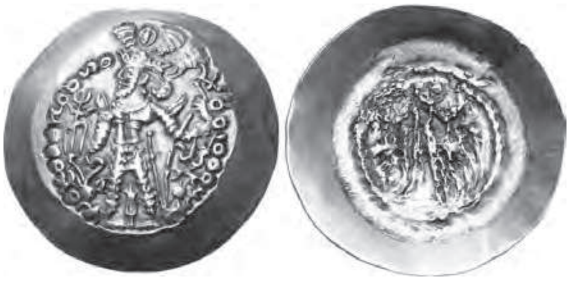
1a god standing on ground line.

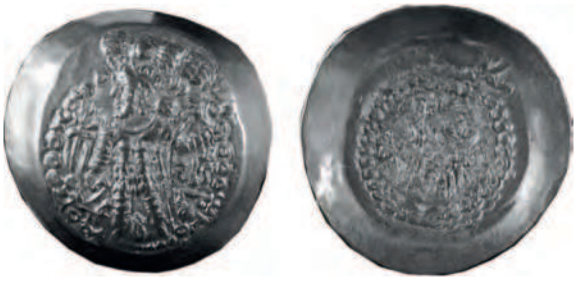
2a no design visible.

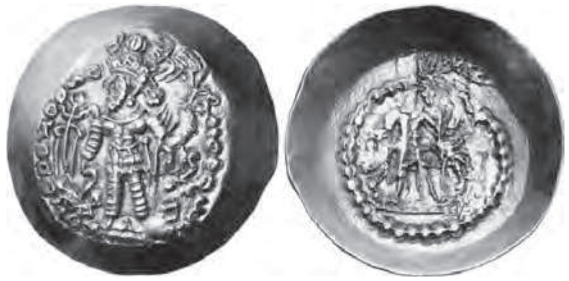
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*†	Bern; Göbl 1993a: 824		7.60	32	1A	1a
B*§	Private collection P		-	-	1B	2a

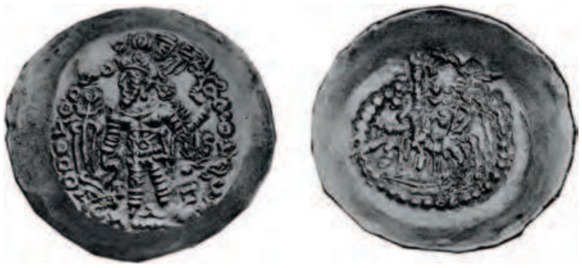
† Gold plate over silver core

§ Copper core


D: Z-A.G1-i 1d (1D/1a)

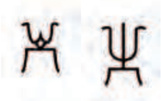

E: Z-A.G1-i 1d (1E/1a)


F: Z-A.G1-i 1d (2A/1a)


G: Z-A.G1-i 1d (2A/1a)

Z-B Pidoko(?)

tamgas



This coinage series in the name of Pidoko(?) (no specimen is clear enough to be certain of the transcription of this name), with the title Kushanshah appears, on the basis of its weight standard and design features, to follow Orōlano. Only gold coins on the reduced Kushan standard were issued. Pidoko-? is otherwise unknown, but the absence of his coins from the Tepe Maranjan hoard suggests he reigned after Orōlano, *c.* AD 400. His coins are the commonest post-Kidara Kidarite coins, so he probably had a long reign.

Gold coins

The reduced Kushan dinar standard continues to be used throughout this coinage. The coinage appears to have been issued in three phases on the basis of its control marks and the gradual degeneration of the design. This coinage began in phase 1 on the weight standard *c.* 7.4g used in the previous series, but declined in phase 2 to *c.* 7.3g and in phase 3 to *c.* 7.28g; 8 examples of phase i average 7.40g (range 7.29–7.61g), 7 phase 2 coins average 7.31g (range 7.11–7.55g), 18 examples of phase 3 average 7.28g (range 7.05–7.44g).

Gold mint (Z-B.G1)

Three phases were issued at this mint, distinguished by their control marks. In phase 1 the mint is identified as Balkh by its Brahmi *ba* control mark, but subsequently its attribution is by association.

Phase 1 coins have a Brahmi *ba* control mark.

Phase 2 omits the *ba* and features various symbols below the tamga.

Phase 3 coins all have an S-shaped mark (symbol 6) below tamga.

364 Z-B.G1-i 1d Pidoko(?) main gold mint phase 1 dinars

Göbl 1984: 735, 738–9; Cribb 2010: 6F

Pidoko(?) (Z-C) main gold mint (G1), first phase (i), dinars (1d), *c.* 7.4g, tripartite florette raised ribbons crown with tamga/ Oesho and bull type.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, hair dressed as four horizontal rows of curls, bearded (beard tied below with jewel), flames rising from both shoulders, wearing tripartite florette crown, surmounted by striped globe, flanked by two rising laddered ribbons, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons, earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of armour with smooth breastplate, and plate-mail skirt, over leggings, tied at ankles with ribbons (only between feet), sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident (with curved shaft) in raised left hand (pointing with index finger, trident head bent to right of shaft) and making offering over fire altar with extended right hand, holding dish. King standing on dotted ground line. Altar column-shaped with slab at top and bottom of column, with triangular projects at corners of top slab, curls of smoke rising above altar to both sides of king's right hand, trident with ribbons on curved shaft (normally drawn as lines to right and left of the shaft), surmounted by crescent, positioned above altar. Control marks on all coins. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00 to 11.00): ΒΑΓΟ ΠΙΔΟΚΟ/ ΟΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ (Lord Pidoko(?), Kushan King), Υ in ÞΑΥΟ written as sideways S.

1A nothing on king's shoulders, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΠΙΔΟΚΟ/ Ο ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, Brahmi *ba* below tamga.

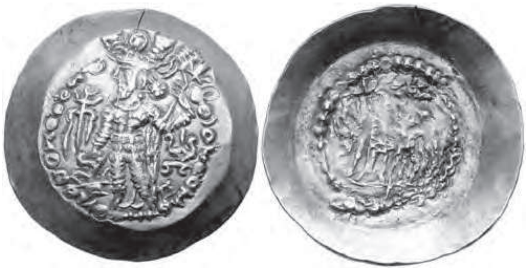
1B as 1A but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΠΙΔΟΚΟ/ ΟΟ ΚΟÞΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ.

1C as 1A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΠΙΔΟΚΟ/ ΟΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΥΟ.

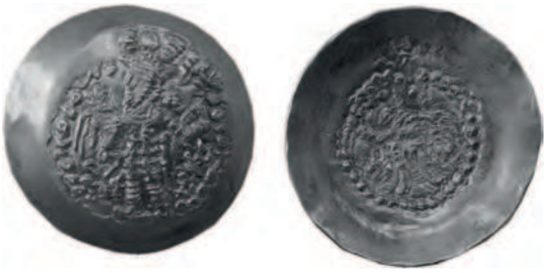
1D as 1A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΠΙΔΟΟ/ ΟΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΥΟ.

Reverse (design largely obscured by poor striking): Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left with strap across rump. God and bull standing on linear ground line. No inscription.

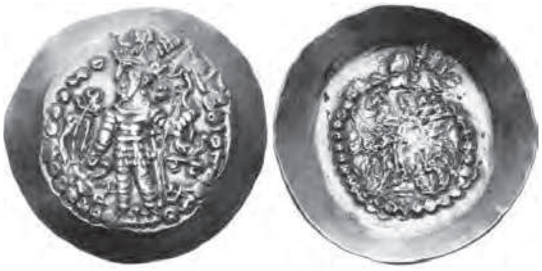
1a as description.



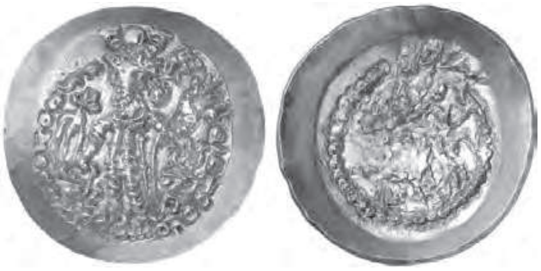
A: Z-B.G1-i 1d (1A/1a)



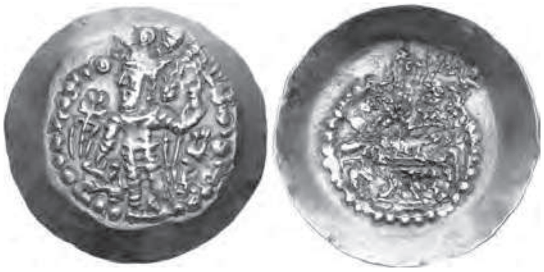
B: Z-B.G1-i 1d (1A/1a)



C: Z-B.G1-i 1d (1B/1a)

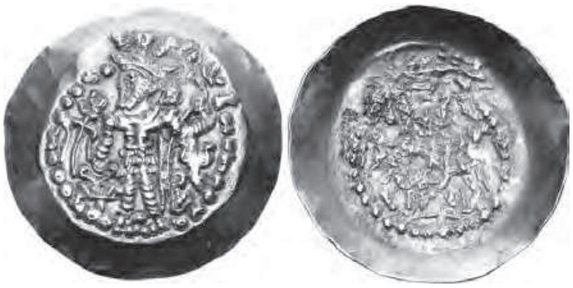


D: Z-B.G1-i 1d (1C/1a)

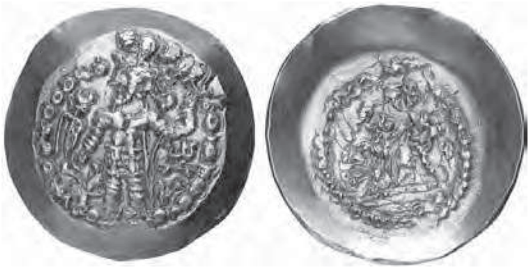


E: Z-B.G1-i 1d (1D/1a)

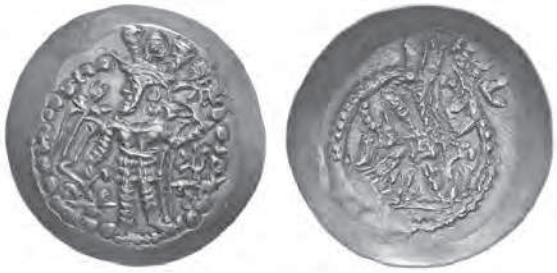
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	CNG mailbid 64 (24.9.2003): 563		7.61	-	1A	1a
B*	Private collection V		7.55	34	1A	1a
C*	CNG e-sale 100 (7.10.2007): 213		7.56	35	1B	1a
D*	Hess Divo 310 (22.10.2008): 198		7.45	-	1C	1a
E*	CNG e-sale 100 (7.10.2015): 217		7.29	34	1D	1a



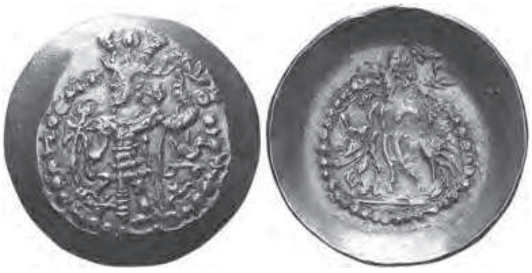
A: Z-B.G1-ii 1d (1A/1a)



B: Z-B.G1-ii 1d (2A/1a)



C: Z-B.G1-ii 1d (2A/1a)



D: Z-B.G1-ii 1d (2B/1a)

365 Z-B.G1-ii 1d Pidoko(?) main gold mint phase 2 dinars

Göbl 1984: 740; Vondrovec 2014: 84-13; Cribb 1990: 13; Cribb 2010: 6F Pidoko(?) (Z-B) main gold mint (G1), second phase (ii), dinars (1d), *c.* 7.3g, tripartite florette raised ribbons crown with tamga/ Oesho and bull type.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, hair dressed as horizontal rows of curls, bearded (beard tied below with jewel), or nothing on shoulders, wearing tripartite florette crown, surmounted by striped globe, flanked by two rising laddered ribbons, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons, earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of armour with smooth breastplate, and plate-mail skirt, over leggings, tied at ankles with ribbons, sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident (with curved shaft) in raised left hand (pointing with index finger, trident head bent to right of shaft) and making offering over fire altar with extended right hand, holding dish. King standing on dotted ground line. Altar column-shaped with slab at top and bottom of column, with triangular projects at corners of top slab, curls of smoke rising above altar to both sides of king's right hand, trident with ribbons on curved shaft (normally drawn as lines to right and left of the shaft), surmounted by crescent, positioned above altar. Control marks on all coins. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00 to 11.00, often misspelt, abbreviated and with ill-formed letters) version of: ΒΑΓΟ ΠΙΔΟΚΟ/ ΟΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ (Lord Pidoko(?), Kushan King).

1A inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΠΙΔΟΚΟ/ ΟΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control mark three-petal flower (plant 2) below tamga.

2A as 1A, but control mark foliage of two scrolled lines (plant 3) below tamga.

2B as 2A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΠΙΔΟΚΟ/ ΟΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΥΟ.

3A inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΠΙΔΟΚΟ/ ΟΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, control mark three dots (symbol 2) below tamga.

4A inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΠΙΔΟΚΟ/ ΟΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ΥΟ, control marks crescent above (symbol 4) and v-shape on base line (symbol 5) below tamga.

4B as 4A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΠΙΔΟΚΟ/ ΟΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΥΟ.

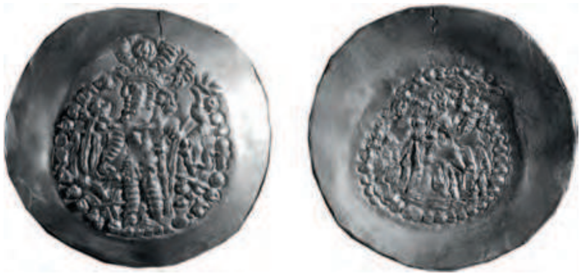
5A inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΠΙΔΟΟΟΟ/ Ο ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΥΟ ΧΟ, control mark leaf with four lobes (plant 4) under tamga.

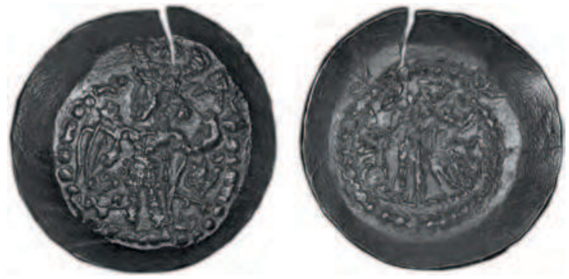
Reverse (design largely obscured by poor striking): Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left with strap across rump. God and bull standing on linear ground line. No inscription.

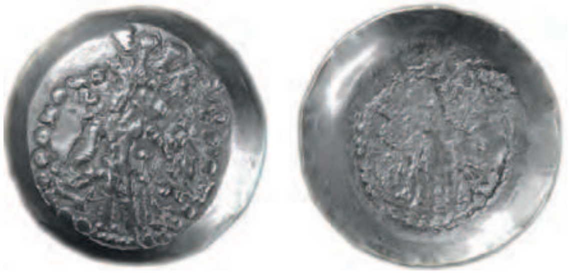
1a as described.

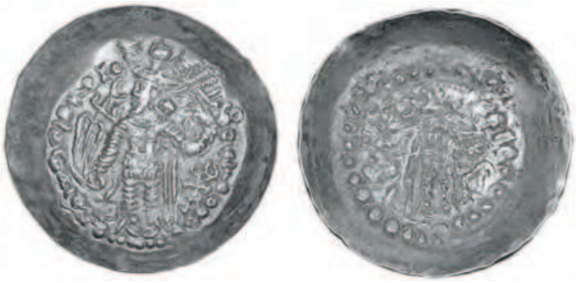
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	SG
A*	CNG e-sale 100 (7.10.2015): 218		7.24	36	1A	1a	-
B*	Münzen & Medaillen 29 (31.10.2008): 2641		7.55	-	2A	1a	-

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	SG
C*	Morton & Eden 68 (10.6.2014) 40		-	-	2A	1a	-
D*	Ponteiro 146 (25.4.2008) 1375		7.45	-	2B	1a	-
4741*	189654	1982,0626.6	7.41	34	3A	1a	13
E*	Private collection E		7.28	36	3A	1a	-
F*	Private collection P; Vondrovec 2014: 84-13		7.11	35	3B	1a	-
G*	Private collection P		7.14	37	4A	1a	-


E: Z-B.G1-ii 1d (3A/1a)


F: Z-B.G1-ii 1d (4B/1a)


4741: Z-B.G1-ii 1d (4A/1a)


G: Z-B.G1-ii 1d (5A/1a)

366 Z-B.G1-iii 1d Pidoko(?) Main Gold Mint Phase 3 Dinars

Göbl 1984: 739; Vondrovec 2014: 84-8, -9, -11; Cribb 1990: 13; Cribb 2010: 6E–F

Pidoko(?) (Z-B) main gold mint (G1), third phase (iii), dinars (1d), *c.* 7.28g, tripartite florette raised ribbons crown with tamga/ Oesho and bull type.

Obverse: king, full figure standing frontally, head to left, hair dressed as horizontal rows of curls, bearded (beard tied below with jewel), or nothing on shoulders, wearing tripartite florette crown, surmounted by striped globe, flanked by two rising laddered ribbons, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons, earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of armour with smooth breastplate, and plate-mail skirt, over leggings, tied at ankles with ribbons, sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident (with curved shaft) in raised left hand (pointing with index finger, trident head bent to right of shaft) and making offering over fire altar with extended right hand, holding dish. King standing on dotted ground line. Altar column-shaped with slab at top and bottom of column, with triangular projects at corners of top slab, curls of smoke rising above altar to both sides of king's right hand, trident with ribbons on curved shaft (normally drawn as lines to right and left of the shaft), surmounted by crescent, positioned above altar. S-shaped control mark (symbol 6) below tamga on all coins. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00 to 11.00, often misspelt, abbreviated and with ill-formed letters) version of: ΒΑΓΟ ΠΙΔΟΚΟ/ ΟΟ ΚΟϷΑΝΟ ϷΑΥΟ (Lord Pidoko(?), Kushan King).

1A inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΠΙΔΟ/ ΟΟ ΚΟϷΑΝΟ ϷΥΟ.

1B inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΠΙΔΟΚΟ/ ΟΟ ΚΟϷΑΝΟ ϷΥΟ.

1C inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΠΙΔΟΚΟ/ ΟΟ ΚΟϷΑΝΟ ϷΑΥΟ.

1D inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΠΙΔΟΚ/ ΟΟ ΚΟϷΑΝΟ ϷΑΟ.

1E inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΠΙΔΟΚ/ Ο ΚΟϷΑΝΟ ϷΑΥΟ.

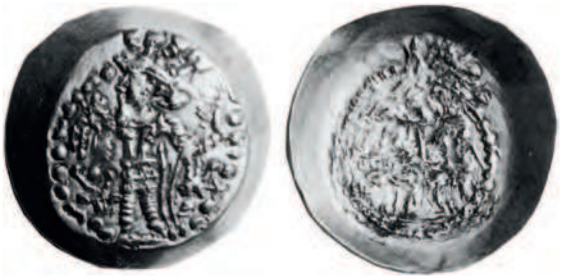
1F inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΠΙΔΟΚ/ ΟΟ ΚΟϷΑΟΝ ϷΥΟ.

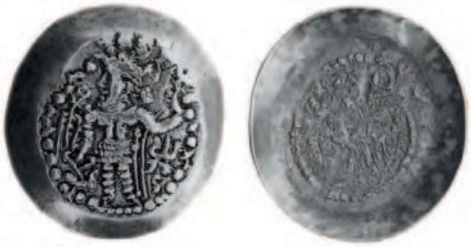
2A inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΒΠΙΔΟ/ Ο ΚΟϷΑΝΟ ϷΥΟ.

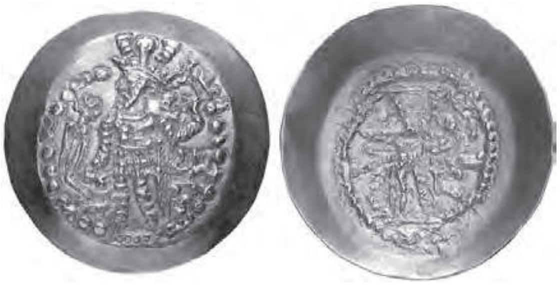
2B inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΒΠΙΔΚ/ Ο ΚΟϷΑΝ ϷΑΥΟ.

3A inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΠΙΔΚ/ Ο ΚΟΝΟ ϷΑΥΟ.

Reverse (design largely obscured by poor striking): Oesho, mountain god,


A: Z-B.G1-iii 1d (1A/1a)

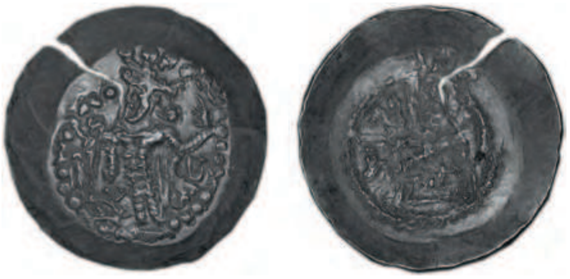

B: Z-B.G1-iii 1d (1B/1a)

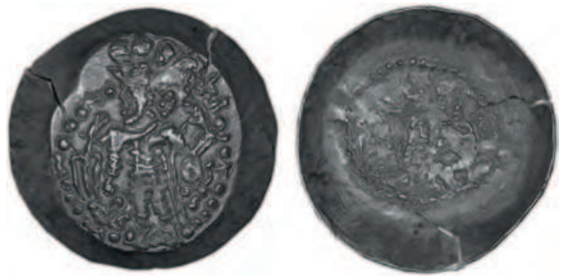

C: Z-B.G1-iii 1d (1B/1a)

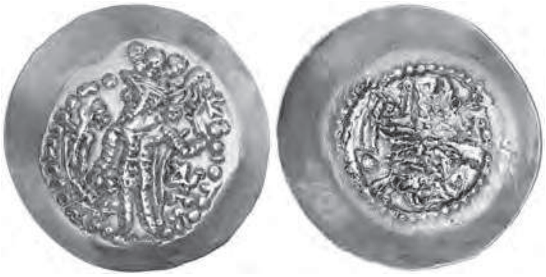
standing frontally before bull, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left with strap across rump. God and bull standing on linear ground line. No inscription.

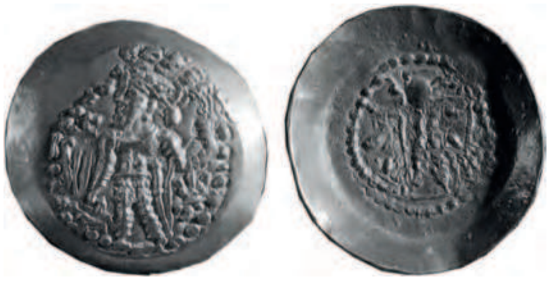
1a as above.

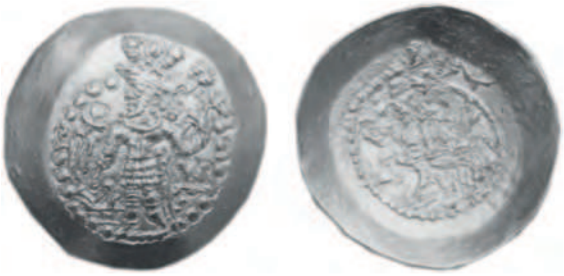
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	SG
A*	Kabul Museum 2524		7.26	-	1A	1a	-
B*	ANS (1944.100.3611)		7.10	32	1B	1a	-
C*	Munzen & Medaillen 29 2642		7.31		1B	1a	-
D*	Private collection P; Vondrovec 2014: 84-11		7.21	35	1C	1a	-
E*	Private collection P; Vondrovec 2014: 84-8		7.40	35	1C	1a	-
F*	Stack (10.10.2008) lot 636		7.33	-	1C	1a	-
G*	Private collection E		7.28	33	1D	1a	-
H*	Paris Kieffer 1973.188.9		7.23	35	1D	1a	-
I*	Seen by authors (in trade)		7.31	-	1D	1a	12.22
J*	Seen by authors (in trade)		7.44	-	1E	1a	12.57
K*	Vienna; Göbl 1984: 754.17		-	-	1F	1a	-
L*	Paris Kieffer 1973.188.8		7.03	34	2A	1a	-
M*	CNG m78 (14.5.2008) 1070		7.39	-	2A	1a	-
N*	CNG e100 (7.10.2015) 216		7.29	36	2A	1a	-
O*	Vienna cards		-	-	2B	1a	-
P*	Seen by authors (in trade)		7.10	-	3A	1a	-

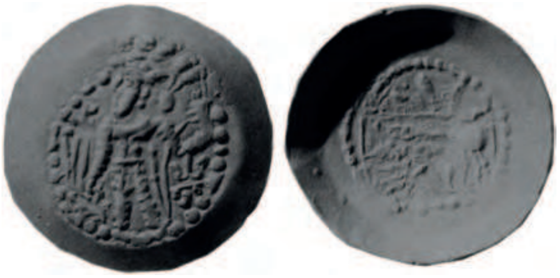

D: Z-B.G1-iii 1d (1C/1a)

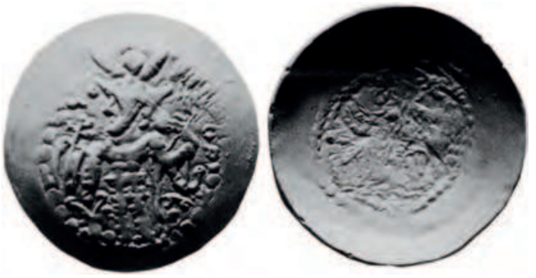

E: Z-B.G1-iii 1d (1C/1a)

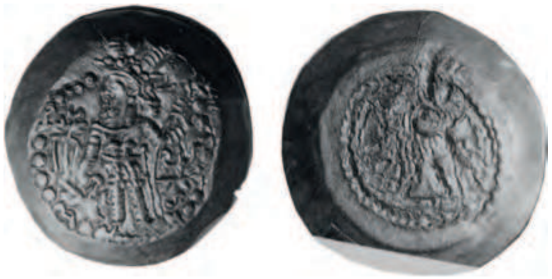

F: Z-B.G1-iii 1d (1C/1a)

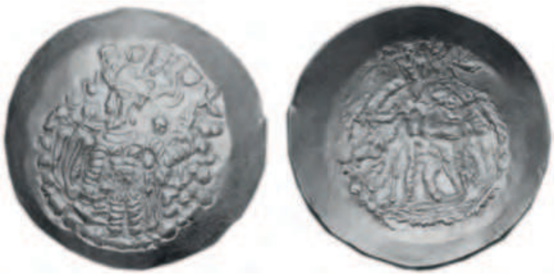

G: Z-B.G1-iii 1d (1D/1a)

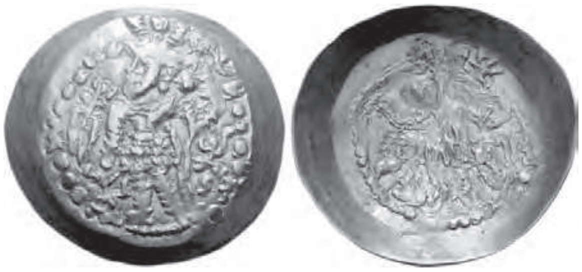

H: Z-B.G1-iii 1d (1D/1a)


I: Z-B.G1-iii 1d (1D/1a)

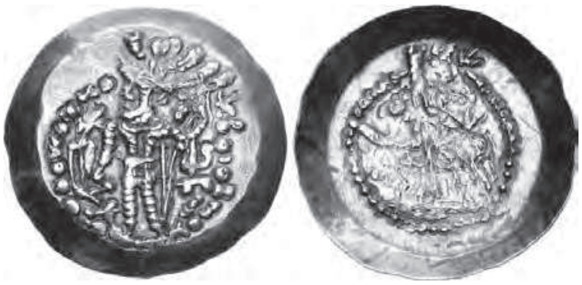

J: Z-B.G1-iii 1d (1E/1a)


K: Z-B.G1-iii 1d (1F/1a)

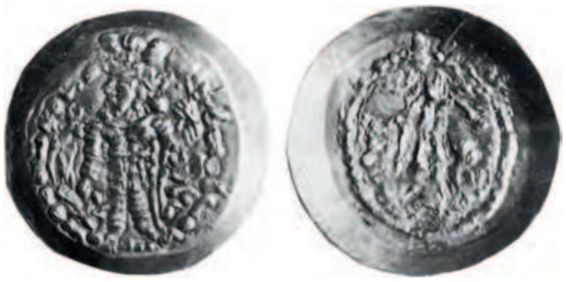

L: Z-B.G1-iii 1d (2A/1a)



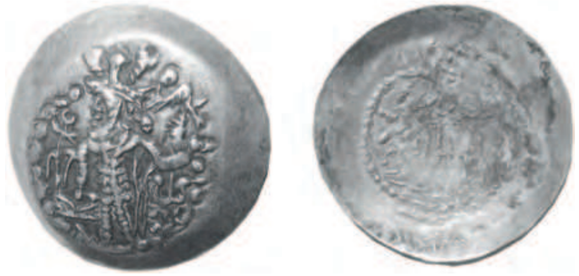
M: Z-B.G1-iii 1d (2A/1a)



N: Z-B.G1-iii 1d (2A/1a)



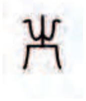
O: Z-B.G1-iii 1d (2B/1a)



P: Z-B.G1-iii 1d (3A/1a)

Z-D Ōkilano(?)

tamga



This coinage series in the name of Ōkilano(?), with the title Kushanshah appears, on the basis of its weight standard, to follow the issues of Tobazino (Z-C). Only gold coins on the reduced Kushan standard were issued. This ruler is otherwise unknown.

Gold coins

This coinage was issued on the weight standard *c.* 7.1g used in the previous series; 5 examples average 7.1g (range 6.06–7.50g).

Gold mint (Z-D.G1)

Only one phase was issued at this mint. The location of the mint is not indicated, but the links with earlier issues suggest it is Balkh.

368 Z-D.G1-i 1d Ōkilano(?) main gold mint phase 1 dinars

Göbl 1984: 740; Cribb 2010: 6F

Ōkilano(?) (Z-C) main gold mint (G1), first phase (i), dinars (1d), *c.* 7.3g, tripartite florette raised ribbons crown with tamga/ Oesho and bull type.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, hair dressed as four horizontal rows of curls, bearded, wearing flat crown (with various ornaments), surmounted by striped globe, flanked by two rising laddered ribbons, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons, earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of armour with smooth breastplate, and plate-mail skirt, over leggings, tied at ankles with ribbons, sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident (with curved shaft) in raised left hand (pointing with index finger, trident head bent to right of shaft) and making offering over fire altar with extended right hand, holding dish. King standing on dotted ground line. Altar column-shaped with slab at top of column, with linear projections at corners of top slab, curls of smoke in form of crescent, rising above altar to both sides of king's right hand, trident with ribbons on curved shaft (normally drawn as lines to right and left of the shaft), surmounted by crescent, positioned above altar. Control marks below Kidarite tamga [tamga ?] on all coins. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00 to 11.00, poorly written): ΒΑΓΟ ΩΚΙΛΑ/ΝΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ (Lord Ōkilano, Kushan King).

1A crown drawn with semi-circular petals along upper edge, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΩΚΙΛΑ/ΝΟ ΟΙΟΟΟΩΟΟΟΙ, control mark leaf, formed of five lobes (plant 5), below tamga.

1B as 1A, but crown drawn with projecting lines, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΩΚΙΛΑ/ΝΟ ΟΟΟΙΟΟΟΩΟ.

1C as 1B, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΩΚΙΛΑ/ΝΟ ΟΟΙΟΟΟΩΟΟ, rosette of three dots (plant 1).

1D as 1B, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΩΚΙΛΑ/ΝΟ ΟΟΟΙΟΟΟΩΟΟ, leaf formed of five lines (plant 6) below tamga.

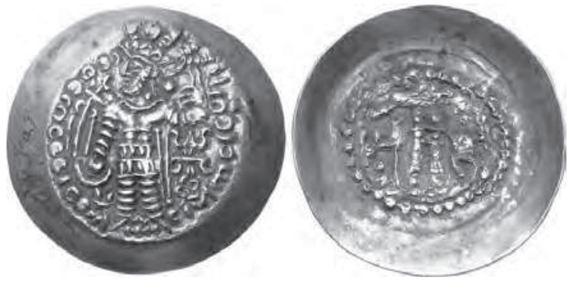
1E as 1D, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΩΚΙΛΑ/ΝΟ ΟΟΟΙΟΟΟΩΟ.

Reverse (design largely obscured by poor striking): Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left with strap across rump. God and bull standing on linear ground line. No inscription.

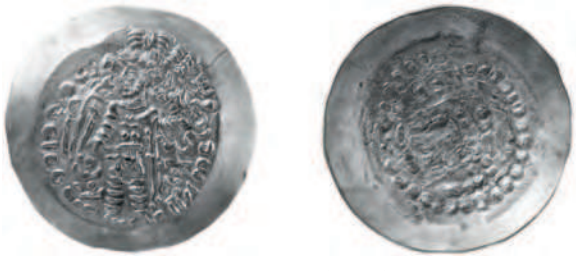
1a form of god clearly delineated,

1b design obscured.

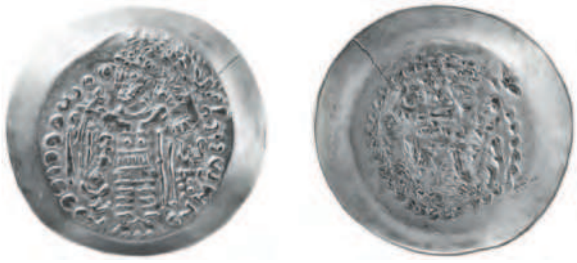
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	CNG e-sale 100 (7.10.2015): 214		7.33	35	1A	1a
B*	Shanghai: Wang 1369		7.50	35	1B	1b
C*	Shanghai: Wang 1368		7.30	35	1C	1b
D*	CNG mailbid 76 lot 978 (12.9.2007)		6.06	-	1D	1b
E*	Kress 147 (5.5.1969) 723		-	-	1E	1b



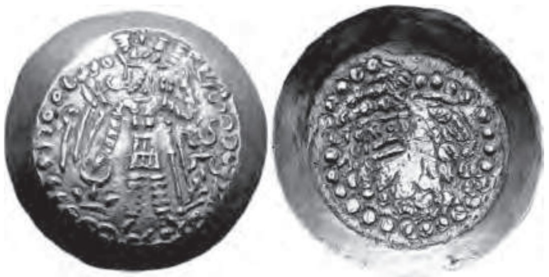
A: Z-D.G1-i 1d (1A/1a)



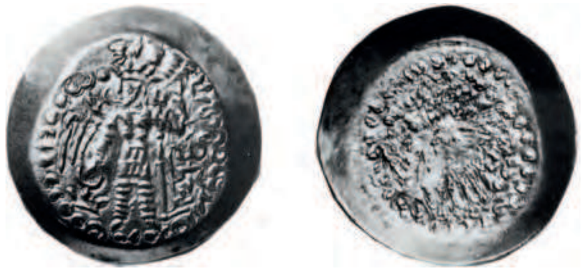
B: Z-D.G1-i 1d (1B/1b)



C: Z-D.G1-i 1d (1C/1b)

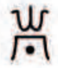


D: Z-D.G1-i 1d (1D/1b)



E: Z-D.G1-i 1d (1E/1b)

tamga



Z-E Ōzmano/ Ozmano(?)

This coinage series in the name of Ōzmano/ Ozmano(?), with the title Kushanshah appears, on the basis of its weight standard, to follow the issues in the name of Okilano (Z-D). Only gold coins on the reduced Kushan standard were issued. This ruler is otherwise unknown.

Gold coins

This coinage was issued on the weight standard *c.* 7.3g; 5 examples average 7.08g (range 6.23–7.44g).

Gold mint (Z-E.G1)

Only one phase was issued at this mint. The attribution to Balkh is based on continuity with the previous series.

369 Z-E.G1-i 1d Ōzmano/ Ozmano(?) main gold mint phase 1 dinars

Göbl 1984: 740; Vondrovec 2014: 84–5; Cribb 2010: 6C

Ōzmano/ Ozmano(?) (Z-D) main gold mint (G1), first phase (i), dinars (1d), *c.* 7.3g, tripartite florette raised ribbons crown with tamga/ Oesho and bull type.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, hair dressed as four horizontal rows of curls, bearded, wearing flat crown (with various ornaments), surmounted by striped globe, flanked by two rising laddered ribbons, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons, earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of armour with smooth breastplate, and plate-mail skirt, over leggings, tied at ankles with ribbons, sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident (with curved shaft) in raised left hand (pointing with index finger, trident head bent to right of shaft) and making offering over fire altar with extended right hand, holding dish. King standing on dotted ground line. Altar column-shaped with slab at top of column, with linear projections at corners of top slab, curls of smoke in form of crescent, rising above altar to both sides of king's right hand, trident with ribbons on curved shaft (normally drawn as lines to right and left of the shaft), surmounted by crescent, positioned above altar. Control marks below Kidarite tamga on all coins. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 1.00 to 11.00, poorly written): ΒΑΓΟ ΩΖΜ/ΑΝΟ ΚΟÞΑΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ (Lord Ōzmano, Kushan King).

1A crown drawn with semi-circular petals along upper edge, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΩΖΜ/ΑΝΟ ΚΟΙΟΟΟΩ•, control mark rosette of five dots (plant 1) below tamga.

1B crown drawn as dots, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΖΜ/ΑΝΟ ΚΟΟΙΟΤΩΟ, rosette of three dots (plant 1), below tamga.

1C crown drawn as dots, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΖΜ/ΑΝΟ ΚΟΙΟΟΟΩΙ, rosette of three dots (plant 1), below tamga.

2A crown drawn as dots, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΟΖ/ΜΑΝΟ ΚΟΟΩ•, rosette of three dots (plant 1), below tamga.

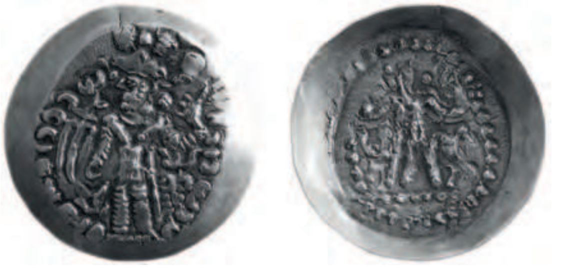
3A crown drawn as line with linear projections at back and front, inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΖΜΑ/ΝΟ ΚΟΙΟΩΟ, control mark dot, below tamga.

Reverse (design largely obscured by poor striking): Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left with strap across rump. God and bull standing on dotted ground line. No inscription.

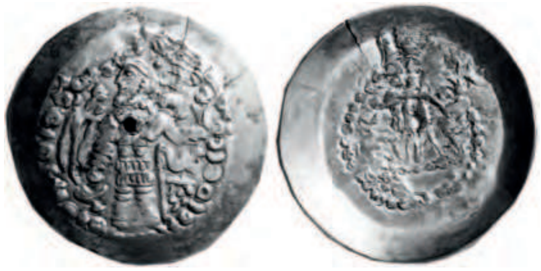
1a form of god clearly delineated.

1b design obscured.

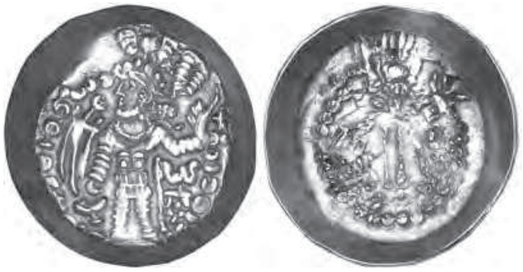
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Private collection T		-	-	1A	1a
B*	Berlin (Fox 1873)		7.22	-	1B	1a
C*	Ponteiro158 (2.4.2011) 10051		7.36	-	1B	1b
D*	Private collection P; Vondrovec 2014: 84-5		7.13	34	1C	1b
E*	Schulman NY 70 (7.7.1970) 97;		7.44	-	2A	1b
F*	CNG e-auction 100 (7.10.2015) 219		6.23	33	3A	1b



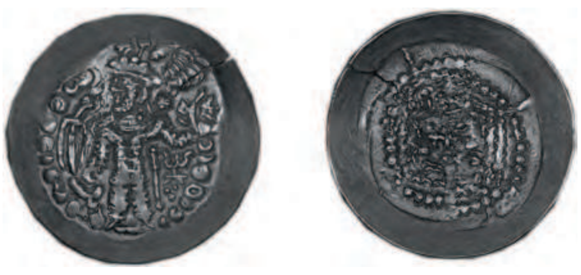
A: Z-E.G1-i 1d (1A/1a)



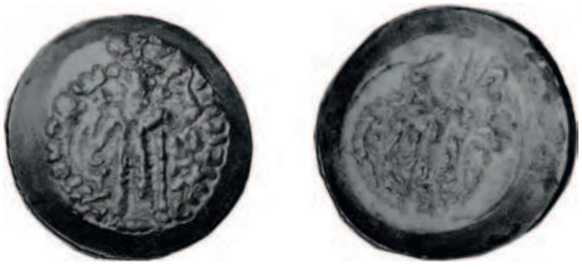
B: Z-E.G1-i 1d (1B/1a)



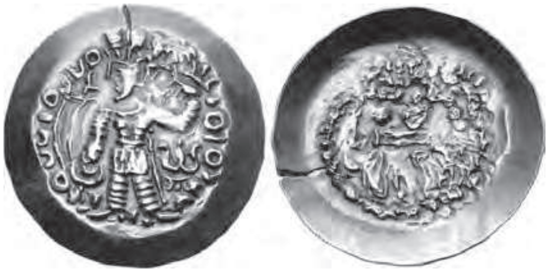
C: Z-E.G1-i 1d (1B/1b)



D: Z-E.G1-i 1d (1C/1b)

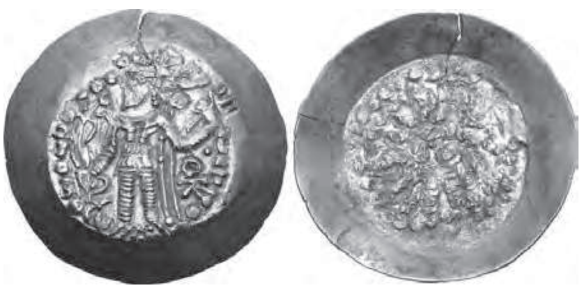


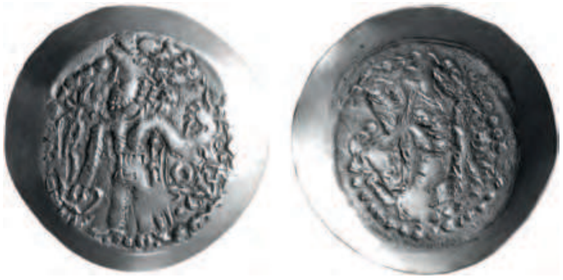
E: Z-E.G1-i 1d (2A/1b)



F: Z-E.G1-i 1d (3A/1b)

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Shanghai; Wang 838		7.30	36	1A	1a
B*	Shanghai; Wang 839		7.30	35	1A	1a
C*	Gorny & Mosch 134 (11.10.2004) 10051; 122 (10.3.2003) 1597		7.34	-	1B	1a
D*	Gorny & Mosch 115 (5.3.2002) 1235		6.95	-	1C	1a
E*	CNG e100 (7.10.2015) 188		7.38	36	1D	1a
4742*	304817	1991,0640.17	7.42	35	2A	1a


E: Z-F.G1-i 1d (1D/1a)


4742: Z-F.G1-i 1d (2A/1a)

371 Z-F.G1-ii 1d Peroz, main gold mint phase 2 dinars

Vondrovec 2014: Peroz-; Cribb 1990: -1; Cribb 2010: 7A

Peroz, Sasanian Shahanshah (Z-E), main gold mint (G1), second phase (ii), dinars (1d), *c.* 7.3g, Sasanian royal crown standing king with four ribbon diadem symbol and Oesho and bull reverse.

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, hair dressed as horizontal rows of curls, bearded, flames rising from right shoulder, wearing Sasanian royal crown with crenellations at side and back and crescent at front, surmounted by globe in crescent, diadem with two rising laddered ribbons, earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of armour with smooth breastplate, and plate-mail skirt, over leggings, tied at ankles with ribbons, sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding handle of sword and holding arrow, with point on ground, with extended right hand. Sasanian four ribbon diadem symbol in right field on all coins. Inscription in Bactrian (clockwise, from 7.00): ΠΙΡΩΖΟ ÞΑΥΟΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ (Peroz King of Kings). Further unintelligible inscription in field.

1A inscription (from 7.00 to 5.00): ΠΙΡΩΖΟ ÞΑ/ΥΟΝΟ ÞΑΥΟ, inscription in field inside main inscription starting from king's right knee (from 7.30 to 4.30): ΛΑ/ΣΟΟ/ΙΟΩΤΗ and inside that from king's left shoulder (from 2.00 to 3.00): ΟΖΟ.

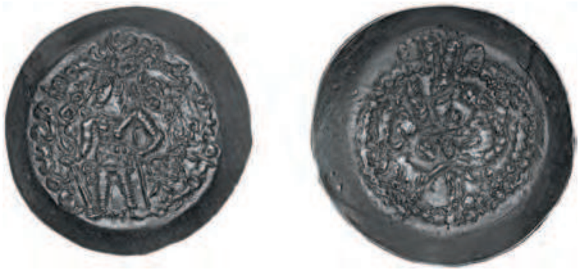
1B inscription (from 7.00 to 6.00): ΠΙΡΩΖΟ ÞΑ/ΥΟΝΟ ÞΑΥ/Ο, inscription in field from starting from king's right knee (from 7.30 to 4.30): ΛΑ/ΣΟ●/ΙΩΟΤΗ and inside that from king's left shoulder (from 2.00 to 3.00): ΟΝΟ.

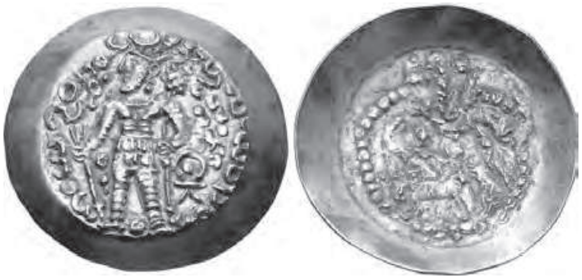
2A inscription reversed (mirror form from 5.30 to 7.00): ΠΙΡΩΖΟ/ÞΑΟΟΝΟ ..., inscription in field inside my main inscription starting from king's right knee (from 7.30 to 4.30): ΛΑ/ΣΟΟΙΩ/ΟΤΗ/ ΟΖΟ.

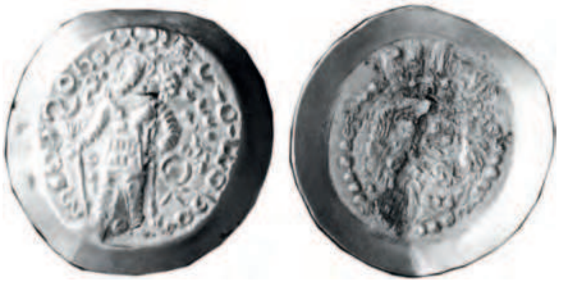
Reverse (design largely obscured by poor striking): Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull standing, facing left with strap across rump. God and bull standing on dotted ground line. No inscription.

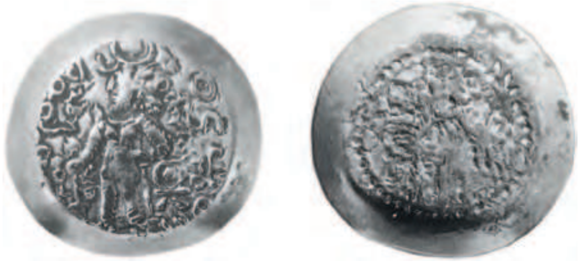
1a design obscured.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Private collection P; Vondrovec 2014: Peroz-1		7.33	36	1A	1a
B*	CNG e-auction 100 (7.10.15) 187		7.43	36	1B	1a
C*	Seen by authors (trade)		7.31	36	1B	1a
D*	Seen by authors (trade)		7.36	35	2A	1a


A: Z-F.G1-ii 1d (1A/1a)


B: Z-F.G1-ii 1d (1B/1a)

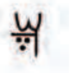

C: Z-F.G1-ii 1d (1B/1a)


D: Z-F.G1-ii 1d (2A/1a)

Z-G Unidentified ruler

The inscription on this series of coins cannot be read. The weight standard of its scyphate gold dinars places it in the Alchon Hun period. The coins have a royal portrait type, without a beard, which suggest a link with the coins of Mehama, but otherwise there are no features which give a clear attribution. Unlike the Alchon coins the reverse showing Oesho (exalted yazata) is retained from the Kidarite prototype.

tamga



Gold coins

The reduced Kushan standard dinar is issued with a further reduction in weight standard *c.* 7.0g; 7 examples average 6.95g (range 6.60–7.20g)

Gold mint (Z-G.G1)

Only one phase was issued at this mint. The attribution to Balkh is based on continuity with previous series.

372 Z-G.G1-i 1d Unidentified issuer, main gold mint phase 1 dinars

Göbl 1984: 741; Vondrovec 2014: 84B-1; Cribb 2010: 6G

Unidentified (Z-G), main gold mint (G1), first phase (i), dinars (1d), *c.* 7.0g, dotted crown standing king, with Bactrian ϖ over τ with three dots symbol/ Oesho and bull type (scyphate flan).

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, hair dressed as curls, bearded, flames rising from right shoulder, wearing dotted crown, surmounted by globe flanked by raised laddered ribbons, diadem with one rising laddered ribbon, wearing earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of armour, and plate-mail skirt, over leggings, sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident (without shaft) in raised left hand and a dish in extended right hand over small altar. Curls of smoke over altar to right and left of king's hand, standard with ribbons on curved shaft (normally drawn as lines to right and left of the shaft), surmounted by crescent, positioned above altar. Tamga in right field on all coins. Inscription in blundered Bactrian (clockwise, from 3.00 to 11.00).

1A inscription: OOOOOO/ZIIIΣΩ þO.

1B as 1A, but with dot below king's feet.

1C inscription: OOOOOOO/ZIIIΣΩ þ●.

1D inscription: OOOOOO/ZIIIIIIIO●, only one dot under tamga.

Reverse (design largely obscured by poor striking): Oesho, mountain god, standing frontally before bull, holding trident in raised left hand, and offering diadem with extended right hand. Bull reclining or standing, facing left with strap across rump. No inscription

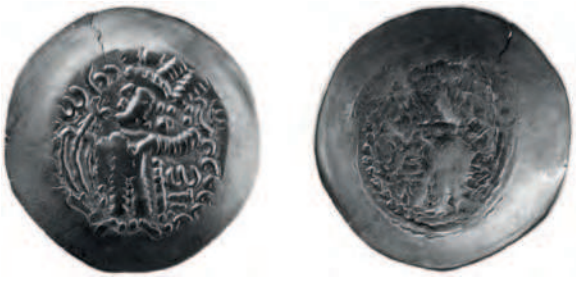
1a reclining bull, three dots over bull's rump.

1b standing bull, three dots over bull's rump.

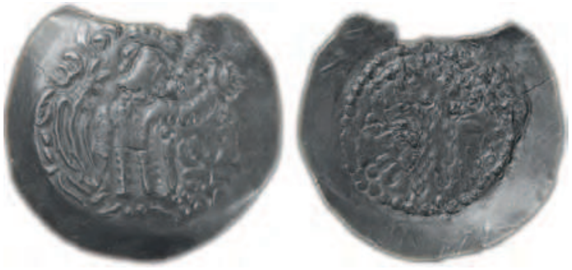
1c as 1b, but no dots.

No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.	SG
A*	Shanghai; Wang 837		7.2	37	1A	1a	-
4743*†	189656	1894,0506.175	6.8	34	1A	1a	11.94
B*	Private collection Q		6.75	-	1B	1a	-
C*	CNG 100 (7.10.2015) 220		7.16	33	1C	1b	-
D*	Private collection P; Vondrovec 2014: 84B-1		7.09	32	1C	1b	-
E*	Shanghai: Wang 833		6.9	32	1D	1b	-
F*	Paris le Berre 1970.164		6.92	32	1D	1b	-

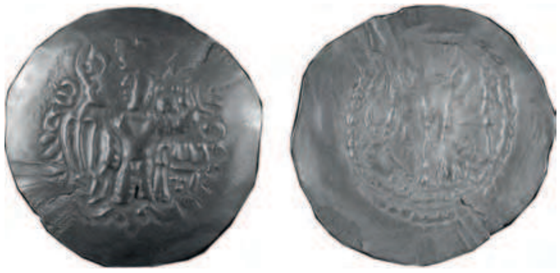
† Broken



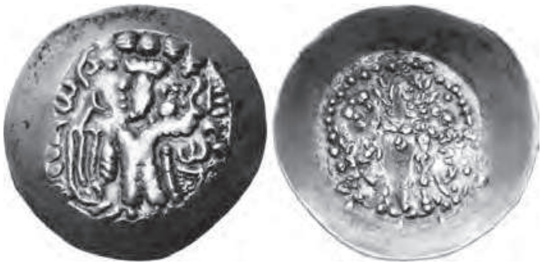
A: Z-G.G1-i 1d (1A/1a)



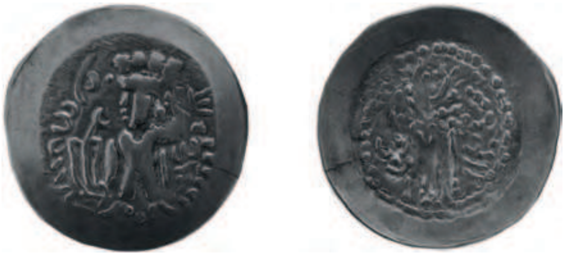
4743: Z-G.G1-i 1d (1A/1a)



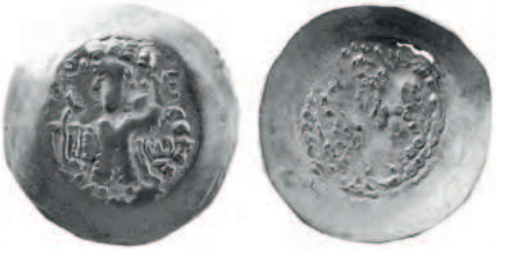
B: Z-G.G1-i 1d (1B/1a)



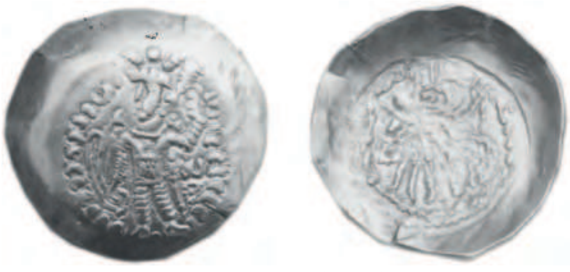
C: Z-G.G1-i 1d (1C/1b)



D: Z-G.G1-i 1d (1C/1b)

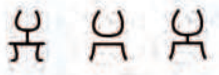


E: Z-G.G1-i 1d (1D/1b)



F: Z-G.G1-i 1d (1D/1b)

tamga



Z-H Mehama

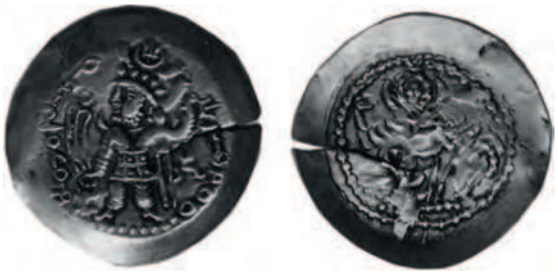
Like the coinage of his successor Adomano, Mehama's coins continue the usual scyphate shape of the Kidarite coinage on the reduced Kushan dinar standard. Mehama also issued silver coins in the Alkhon Hun series (Vondrovec 2014: 2014, types 71, 73, 73A, 74, 316 and 317). The portrait of the king follows in its outline the form used by the Kidarite kings, but without a beard and with a trident in a crescent surmounting his crown. Unlike Adomano the king retains the single jewel earring of the Kidarites. The tamga is identical to that appearing on Mehama's silver issues. The issuer of these coins is possibly the king Mehama named in a Buddhist copper scroll dated year 68 in the Kushan era (=AD 495) or Laukika era (AD 492/3) (Meltzer 2006).

Gold coins

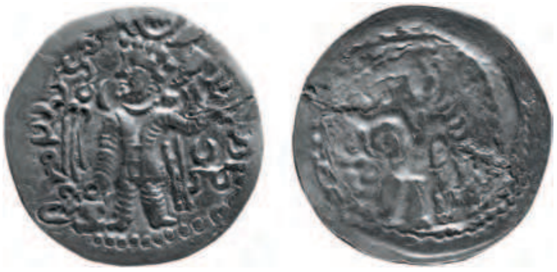
The gold dinars of this period continue the reduced Kushan dinar standard used by the Kidarites, but at a reduced weight standard, *c.* 6.8g; 8 examples average 6.61g (range 5.97–7.29g).

Gold mint (Z-H.G1)

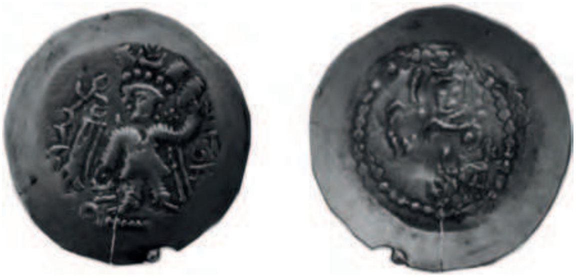
Only one phase was issued at this mint.



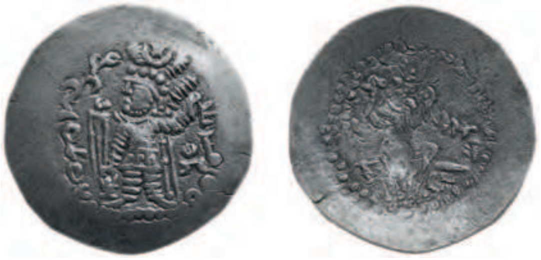
A: Z-H.G1-i 1d (1A/1a)



4744: Z-H.G1-i 1d (1B/1b)



B: Z-H.G1-i 1d (1C/1a)



C: Z-H.G1-i 1d (2A/1a)

373 Z-H.G1-i 1d Mehama 'Alchon' Hun king, main gold mint phase 1 dinars

Vondrovec 2014: 84A-1, -2

Mehama (Z-H), main gold mint (G1), first phase (i), dinars (1d), *c.* 6.8g, dotted crown standing king, with Hun tamga/ goddess on throne type (scyphate flan).

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, hair dressed as curls, bearded, crescents rising from shoulders, wearing dotted crown, surmounted by crescent holding a trident, flanked by raised laddered ribbons, diadem with one rising laddered ribbon, wearing earring with single jewel, sleeved tunic of armour, and plate-mail skirt, over leggings, sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding trident in raised left hand and a dish in extended right hand over small altar. Curls of smoke over altar to right and left of king's hand, standard with ribbons on curved shaft (normally drawn as lines to right and left of the shaft), surmounted by crescent, positioned above altar. King standing on dotted groundline. 'Alchon' Hun tamga in right field on all coins. Inscription in (clockwise, from 7.30 to 4.30): ΒΑΓΟ ΜΗΥΑ/ΜΟ ÞΑΟ (Lord Mehama King)

1A with dots in squares on skirt.

1B as 1A, but without dots on skirt.

1C as 1A, but with crescent on right shoulder only.

2A as 1A, but without crescents on shoulders.

3A as 2A, but two dots between king's feet, inscription: ΒΓΑΟ ΜΗΥΑ/ΜΟ ÞΑ.

3B as 1C, but inscription: Β[ΑΓΟ] ΜΗΥΑ/ΜΟ ÞΑΟ.

4A as 2A, but inscription: ΒΑΓΟ ΜΗΥΑ/ΜΟ ΑΟ.

4B as 4A, but tamga form modified into dot over two crescents back to back.

Reverse (design largely obscured by poor striking): Goddess (Nana?), full figure, head seated frontally on throne, with crescent on brow, extending lowered left arm and extending raised right hand. No inscription.

1a goddess with halo.

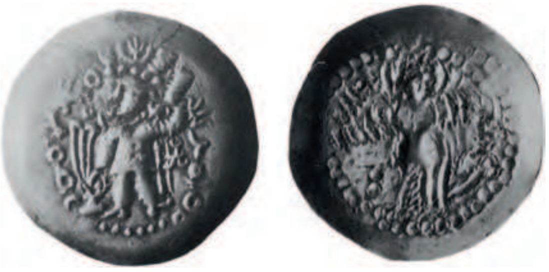
1b design obscured by striking.

1c as 1a, but back of throne visible.

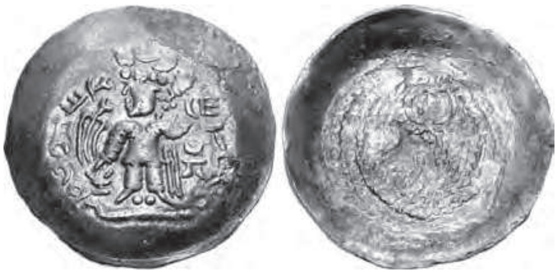
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	Private collection P; Vondrovec 2014: 84A-2		7.12	34	1A	1a
4744*†	304818	1991,0101.2	4.84	28	1B	1b
B*	Private collection P; Vondrovec 2014: 84A-1		7.29	37	1C	1c
C*	Bern (93.103); Alram 2016, 86, no.10		-	-	2A	1a

D*	Göbl 1981: 84A	7.00	-	2A	1a
E*	CNG 100 (7.10.2015) 224	6.84	34	3A	1c
F*	Paris (1965.420)	6.18	34	3B	1c
G*	Vienna	5.97	39	4A	1a
H*	Paris (1965.422)	6.41	3B	4B	1a
I*	Paris (1965.421)	6.05	35	4B	1c

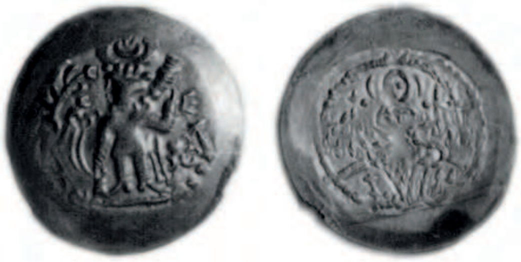
† Clipped



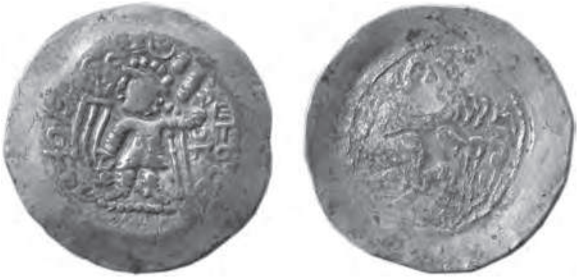
D: Z-H.G1-i 1d (2A/1a)



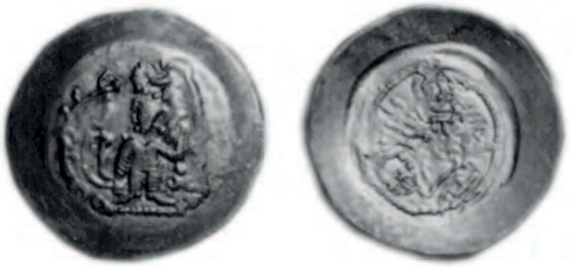
E: Z-H.G1-i 1d (3A/1c)



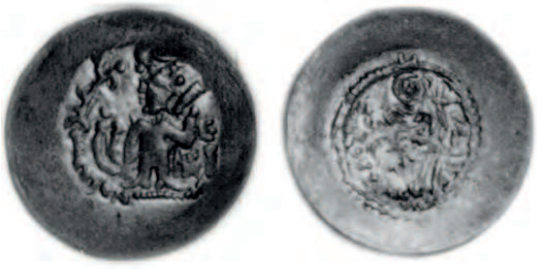
F: Z-H.G1-i 1d (3B/1c)



G: Z-H.G1-i 1d (4A/1a)

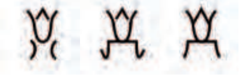


H: Z-H.G1-i 1d (4B/1a)



I: Z-H.G1-i 1d (4B/1c)

tamga



Z-I Adomano

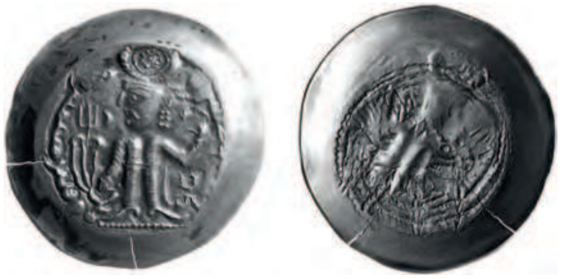
The final coinages of the Kushano-Sasanian scyphate series, denominated as reduced Kushan standard dinars, appear to have been issued by the post Kidarite Huns who ruled south of the Hindu Kush (known to numismatists as the 'Alchon Huns'). The commonest are the issues of Adomano, who has the title 'King of the East' (ΜΙΙΡΟΣΟΝΟ ÞΑΟ). This ruler also issued coins with the same title in the Alchon Hun series (Vondrovec 2014: 2014, types 86 and 87). Two fabrics have been recorded for his coinage, one following the usual scyphate shape of the Kidarite coinage, the other struck on a flat flan, thicker and smaller in diameter than the scyphate coins, but on the same weight standard. The different fabrics suggest that two mints were involved in their production. The scyphate coins were probably made at Balkh, but the location of the other mint is not known, perhaps south of the Hindu Kush where Adomano's silver coins were made. The portrait of the king follows in its outline the form used by the Kidarite kings, but the details, particularly the lack of beard, relates more closely to the representation of Alkhon Huns on their silver coins. The king's crown is adorned with a chakra (dotted wheel), a device which also appears on one type of his silver coins (Vondrovec 2014: 2014, type 87). In place of the Kidarite tamga a new tamga is featured, a version of the Alkhon tamga which is featured on one type of his silver types (Vondrovec 2014: 2014, type 86), but with a tulip-like top. The king's head is flanked by crescents and he is shown wearing the six-jewelled earring which also features on his silver coins.

Gold coins

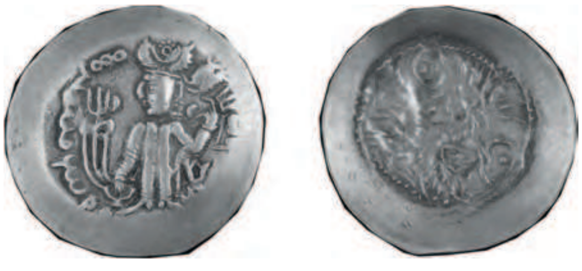
The gold dinars of this period continue the reduced Kushan dinar standard used by the Kidarites, but at a reduced weight standard, *c.* 7.0–7.1g; 17 examples of the main mint average 7.11g (range 6.90–7.22g); 24 examples of the subsidiary mint average 6.95g (range 6.40–7.11g).

Gold mint (Z-I.G1)

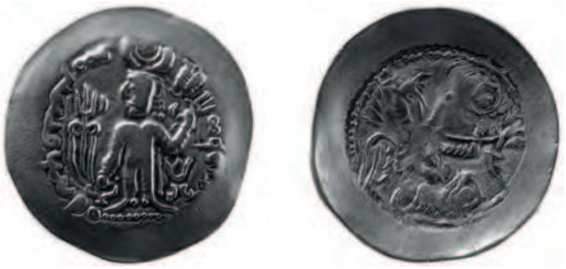
Only one phase was issued at this mint.



4745: Z-I.G1-i 1d (1A/1a)



A: Z-I.G1-i 1d (1A/1a)



B: Z-I.G1-i 1d (1A/1a)

374 Z-I.G1-i 1d Adomano 'Alchon' Hun king, main gold mint phase 1 dinars

Vondrovec 2014: 85-1, -2

Adomano (Z-H), main gold mint (G1), first phase (i), dinars (1d), *c.* 7.0–7.1g, diadem with chakra in crescent between raised ribbons standing king, with Hun flower tamga/ goddess and lion type (scyphate flan).

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, hairless and beardless, with linear moustache, wearing a diadem with two rising laddered ribbons, surmounted by crescent holding a chakra (dotted wheel), flanked by raised laddered ribbons, wearing earring with six jewels, sleeved tunic, over leggings, sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding shaftless trident in raised left hand and holding extended right hand over small altar. Crescents in field to right and left (or just left) of king's head. Curls of smoke over altar to right and left of king's hand, trident with ribbons on curved shaft (normally drawn as loops and lines to right and left of the shaft), positioned above altar (drawn as flat line). King standing on dotted groundline. Hun flower tamga [tamga ?] in right field on all coins. Inscription in (anticlockwise, read from edge of coins, from 11.00 to 2.00): ΑΔΟΜΑΝΟ ΜΙΙΡΟ/ΣΟΝΟ ÞΑΟ (Adomano, King of the East), dot between king's leg and arm.

1A inscription: ΑΔΟΜΑΝΟ ΜΙΙΡΟ/ΣΟΝΟ ÞΑΟ, with line from Þ over ΑΟ.

1B as 1A, but with dot behind king's ear (misdrawn stem of lower diadem ribbon).

1C as 1A, but without dot between king's leg and arm.

1D as 1C, but king's earring with only four dots and Þ written as I.

1E as 1C, but inscription: ΑΔΟΜΑΝΟ ΜΙΙΡΟ/ΣΟΝΟ Þ.

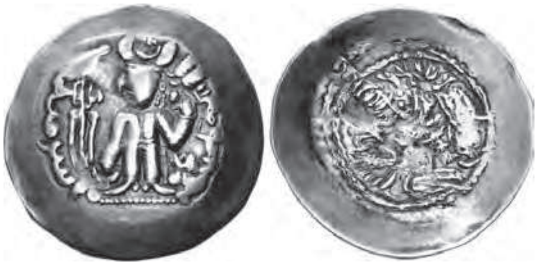
1F as 1C, but king's earring misplaced and positioned as hair curls over king's left shoulder.

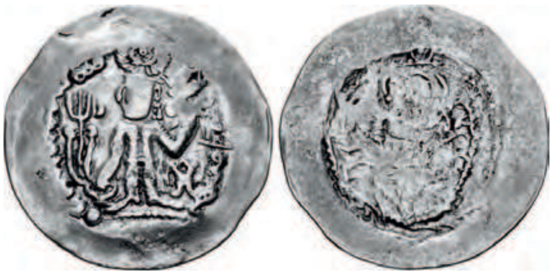
Reverse (design largely obscured by poor striking): Goddess (Nana?), full figure, head surrounded by halo, with crescent on brow, seated frontally on lion, with her left leg tucked up to right calf and her right foot extended to dotted border, holding ‘cornucopia’ in left arm, hand at waist and offering diadem (with laddered ribbon) with extended raised right hand, wearing dress covering arms and legs. Cornucopia in form of stem with three floral heads. Lion lying with head to right. No inscription.

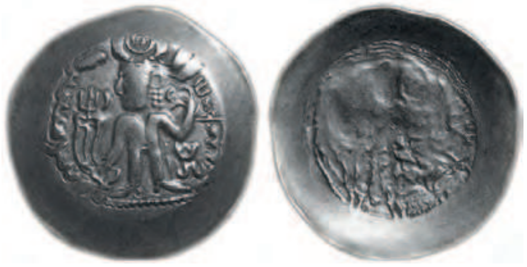
1a Brahmi *ja* in right field.

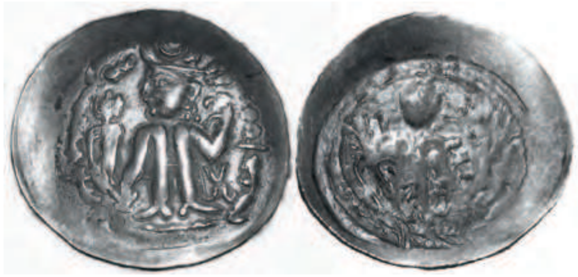
1b design obscured.

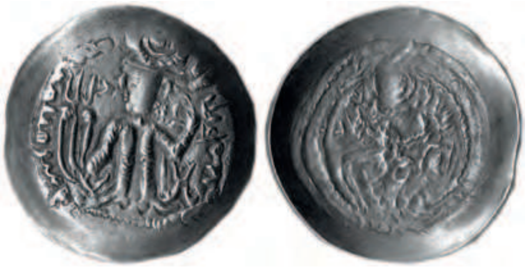
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
4745*	304819	2000,0508.4	7.18	34	1A	1a
A*	Private collection W		-	-	1A	1a
B*	Shanghai; Wang 835		7.10	34	1A	1a
C*	CNG 100 (7.10.2015) 223		7.03	33	1A	1b
D*	CNG 100 (7.10.2015) 234		6.90	35	1B	1b
E*	Seen by authors (in trade)		7.10	-	1C	1b
F*	Seen by authors (in trade)		-	-	1D	1b
G*	Seen by authors (in trade)		7.17	-	1E	1b
H*	CNG 269 (30.11.2011): 218		7.12	-	1E	1b
I*	Shanghai; Wang 903		6.98	32	1F	1b

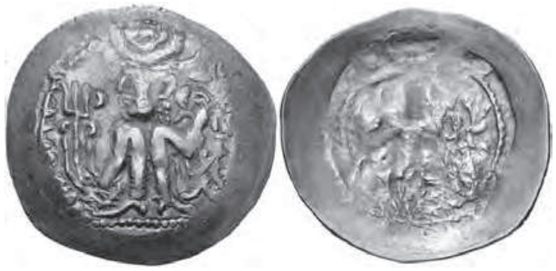

C: Z-I.G1-i 1d (1A/1b)

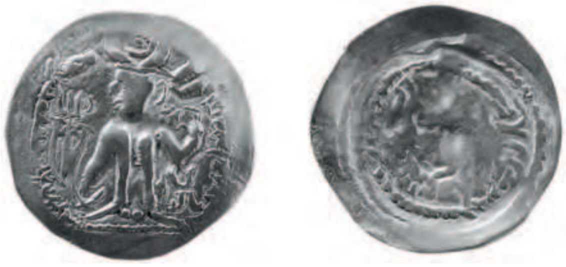

D: Z-I.G1-i 1d (1B/1b)


E: Z-I.G1-i 1d (1C/1b)


F: Z-I.G1-i 1d (1C/1b)

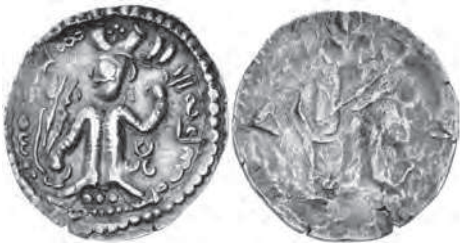

G: Z-I.G1-i 1d (1E/1b)

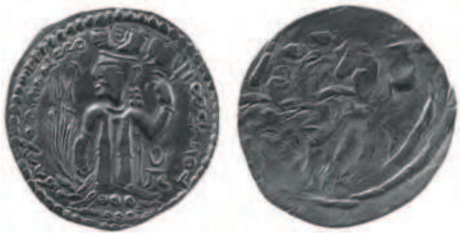

H: Z-I.G1-i 1d (1E/1b)

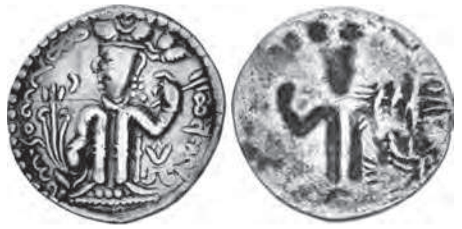

I: Z-I.G1-i 1d (1F/1b)

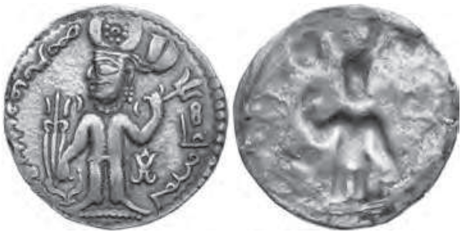
Gold mint (Z-I.G2)

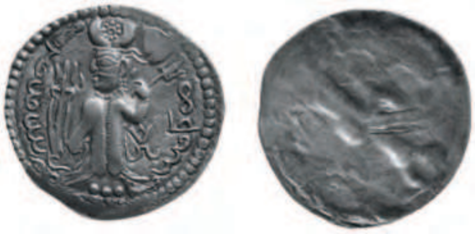
Only one phase was issued at this mint.

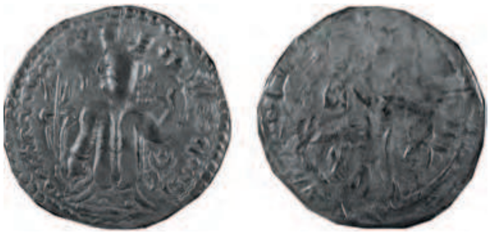

A: Z-I.G2-i 1d (1A/1a)


B: Z-I.G2-i 1d (1A/1a)


C: Z-I.G2-i 1d (1B/1a)


D: Z-I.G2-i 1d (2A/1a)


E: Z-I.G2-i 1d (2B/1a)


F: Z-I.G2-i 1d (2C/1a)

375 Z-I.G2-i 1d Adomano subsidiary gold mint phase 1 dinars

Vondrovec 2014: 85A-1, -2, -3

Adomano (Z-H), subsidiary gold mint (G2), first phase (i), dinars (1d), *c.* 7.0–7.1g, diadem with chakra in crescent between raised ribbons standing king, with Hun flower tamga/ goddess and lion type (flat flan).

Obverse: King, full figure standing frontally, head to left, hairless and beardless, with linear moustache, wearing a diadem with two rising laddered ribbons, surmounted by crescent holding a chakra (dotted wheel), flanked by raised laddered ribbons, wearing earring with six jewels, sleeved tunic, over leggings, sword, hung from belt, to right of left thigh, holding shaftless trident in raised left hand and holding extended right hand over small altar. Crescents in field to right and/or left of king's head. Curls of smoke over altar to right and left of king's hand, trident with ribbons on curved shaft (normally drawn as loops and lines to right and left of the shaft), positioned above altar (drawn as flat line). King standing on dotted groundline. Hun flower tamga [tamga ?] in right field on all coins. Inscription in Bactrian (anticlockwise, read from edge of coins, from 11.00 to 2.00): ΑΔΟΜΑΝΟ ΜΙΙΡΟ/ΣΟΝΟ ÞΑΟ (Adomano, King of the East), dot between king's leg and arm.

1A With crescent only to left of king's head, three dots (symbol 2) between king's feet, inscription: ΑΔΟΜΑΝΟ ΜΙΙΡΟ/ΣΟΝΟ ÞΑΟ, with line from Þ over ΑΟ.

1B as 1A, but king has dotted necklace, inscription without line from Þ over ΑΟ.

2A With crescents over both king's shoulders, king has dotted necklace, no dots between king's feet, inscription: ΑΔΟΜΑΝΟ ΜΙΙΡΟ/ΣΟΝΟ ÞΑΟ, with line from Þ over ΑΟ.

2B as 2A, but with three dots (symbol 2) between king's feet.

2C as 2A, but king has linear necklace, two dots between king's feet, inscription without line from Þ over ΑΟ.

2D as 2C, but three dots (symbol 2) between king's feet, king has dotted necklace, tamga simplified as crescent over two back to back crescents.

2E as 2D, but king has linear necklace and his earring has only four dots, inscription: ΑΔΟΜΑΝΟ ΜΙΙΡΟ/ΣΟΝΟ Þ, tamga simplified as crescent over two back to back crescents conjoined at top [tamga ?].

2F as 2E, but king has dotted necklace, without dots between king's feet.

3A With crescents over both king's shoulders, but both facing to left, king has linear necklace, three dots (symbol 2) between king's feet, inscription without line from Þ over ΑΟ.

3B as 3A, but king has dotted necklace and his earring has only four dots, no dots between king's feet, inscription: ΑΔΟΜΑΝΟ ΜΙΙΡΟ/ΣΟΝΟ Þ, tamga simplified as crescent over two back to back crescents conjoined at top.

4A as 1B, but two dots below king's left hand, inscription: ΑΔΟΜΑΝΟ ΜΙΙΡΟ/ΣΟΝΟ ÞΑΟ.

4B as 4A, but inscription: ΑΔΟΜΑΝΟ ΜΙΙΡΟ/ΣΟΝ ΑΟÞ, with line from Þ.

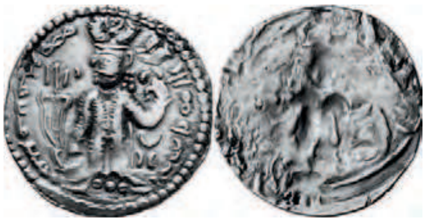
4C as 4A, but inscription: ΑΔΟΜΑΝΟ ΜΙΙΡΟ/ΣΟΝ ΙΑΟ.

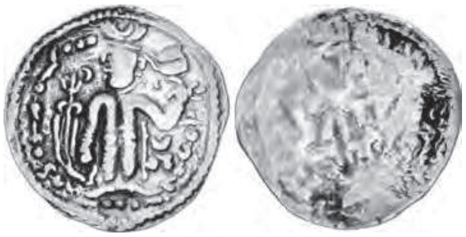
Reverse (design largely obscured by poor striking): Goddess (Nana?), full figure, seated frontally on lion, with her left leg tucked up to right calf and her right foot extended to dotted border, holding 'cornucopia' in left arm, hand at waist and offering diadem with extended raised right hand. Cornucopia in form of stem with three heads. Lion lying with head to left. No inscription.

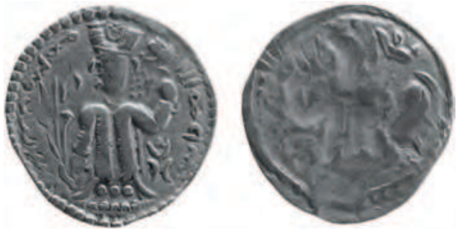
1a design obscured.

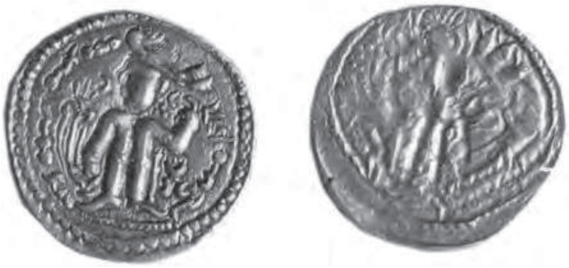
No.	PRN (COC)	Reg. no.	Wgt	Dia.	Obv.	Rev.
A*	CNG 100 (7.10.2015) 231		7.07	29	1A	1a
B*	Shanghai: Wang 836		7.10	30	1A	1a

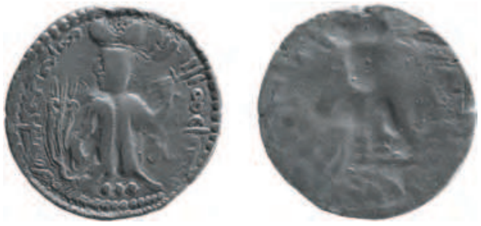
C*	CNG 100 (7.10.2015) 229		6.63	28	1B	1a
D*	Baldwin's/Markov 37 (5.1.2016) lot 756		6.95	-	2A	1a
E*	Private collection P; Vondrovec 2014: 85A-2		7.00	29	2B	1a
F*	Private collection Q		7.07	-	2C	1a
G*	Gorny & Mosch 134 (11.10.2004) 1731		7.04	-	2D	1a
H*	CNG 100 (7.10.2015) 233		6.99	30	2E	1a
I*	Bern (85.13)		-	-	2F	1a
4746*	304820	1983,0525.1	7.01	-	3A	1a
J*	CNG 100 (7.10.2015) 232		7.07	29	3B	1a
4747*	304821	IOC.2354	6.77	28	4A	1a
K*	CNG 100 (7.10.2015) 227		6.86	28	4A	1a
L*	CNG 100 (7.10.2015) 226		7.05	26	4A	1a
M*	CNG 100 (7.10.2015) 228		6.40	27	4B	1a
N*	CNG 100 (7.10.2015) 225		6.92	27	4C	1a

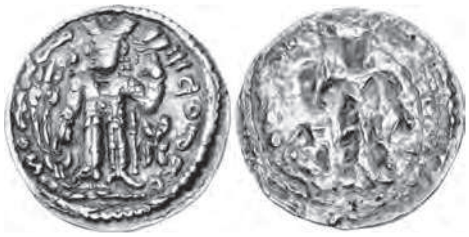

G: Z-I.G2-i 1d (2D/1a)

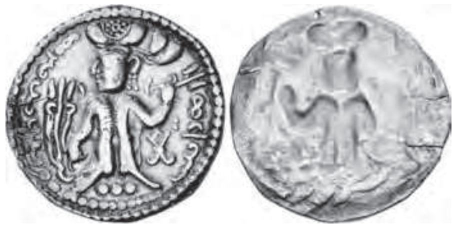

H: Z-I.G2-i 1d (2E/1a)

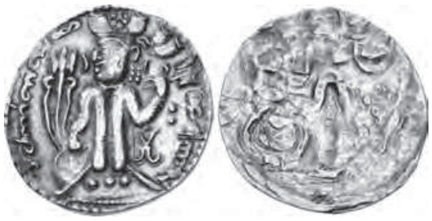

4746: Z-I.G2-i 1d (3A/1a)

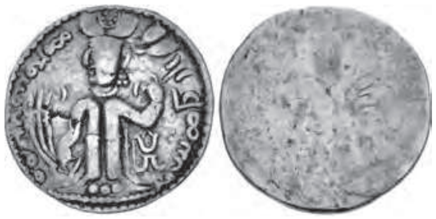

I: Z-I.G2-i 1d (2F/1a)

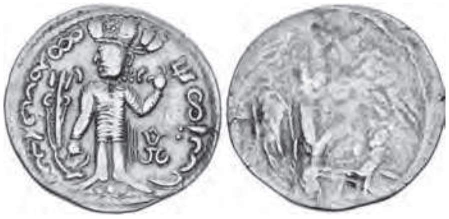

4747: Z-I.G2-i 1d (4A/1a)


J: Z-I.G2-i 1d (3B/1a)


K: Z-I.G2-i 1d (4A/1a)


L: Z-I.G2-i 1d (4A/1a)


M: Z-I.G2-i 1d (4B/1a)


N: Z-I.G2-i 1d (4C/1a)

Concordance

Concordance with Göbl 1984 and Mitchiner 1975/6 and 1978

There exist several catalogues of Kushan and related coins, dating back to Cunningham's accounts of the series at the end of the 19th century. Most of these are of a sylloge format, simply organising and listing all of the examples in a particular institution, the most comprehensive of which are those for the collections in Bern (Göbl 1991) and the ANS in New York (Jongeward and Cribb 2015). Some are part of catalogues covering a more comprehensive range, of which the most widely used are those of Mitchiner (1975–6, 1978).

However, one is of particular importance. The corpus prepared by Robert Göbl in the late 1970s and published in 1984, attempts a comprehensive survey of the coinage from the reign of Wima Kadphises through to the Kushanshah successors (essentially the tradition of gold and copper coinage initiated by the reform in Wima Kadphises reign). That corpus is arranged primarily as a 'type catalogue' on the same model as the *Roman Imperial Coinage* initiated by Mattingly in the 1920s (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roman_Imperial_Coinage). Göbl conceived of a 'type' as a particular pairing of an obverse and reverse variety, and usually grouped these types according to their reverse varieties, within a framework based on metal, reign, mint and emissions – which tended to obscure the production procedure, as ancient mints were more likely to organise production by obverses. In the issues of Kanishka I and Huvishka with their numerous distinctive reverse types this facilitates finding coins. Göbl superimposed upon that the die identities of the coins.

For the specialist working on Kushan coins, Göbl 1984 will likely remain a standard work for many decades. In some respects its organisation is more amenable to certain types of work than the one presented here. However, as noted, the two are organised very differently. Here coins are conceived of as possessing an independent obverse and reverse variety, which in some cases may split, or amalgamate the singular type in Göbl. We have refrained from superimposing die identities, as die catalogues operate on yet another, quite distinct conceptual taxonomy (and that disjuncture is responsible for many of the more confusing elements of Göbl 1984) and have grouped the coins by reign, metal, mint, phase and denomination, effectively organising the catalogue by something akin to the emissions of Göbl (though our phases rarely map onto his emissions suggesting considerable disagreement over how minting was organised and structured). In light of those differences we expect specialists to want to be able to work from our catalogue to Göbl 1984 and from Göbl 1984 to our catalogue. To facilitate that we have done two things. Each group of coins in our catalogue is prefixed with the Göbl types it describes, allowing the reader to work from the catalogue back to Göbl 1984. Secondly, in this concordance we list the Göbl 1984 types and indicate which phase, both by number and code, it corresponds with. In many cases an indication of which obverse or reverse varieties correspond is also noted.

Göbl 1984 types not corresponding to this catalogue's categories

Göbl 1984's types often include coins from different categories in this catalogue, so their numbers are repeated to include each of the different catalogue categories they represent.

Kanishka I's Kashmir mint quarter and eighth unit issues are listed here according to their type and obverse varieties arranged by their Kharoshthi control marks, while Göbl 1984 lists them by reverse type (797, 798A–B, 800, 802, 804, 806–6A, 808–9, 813, 815–17, 819), so the correspondence between Göbl numbers and this catalogue's categories is problematic.

Göbl 1984's presentation of imitations of Huvishka (copper imitations 911–32, 946–81) and Vasudeva I (gold imitations 662–98, copper 1008–10A) is based on different criteria to that presented in the catalogue, so the catalogue categories are only loosely indicated.

Kidarite scyphate gold coins are problematic in terms of matching Göbl 1984's categories (713–40, 754–8), as a new arrangement of the coinage is proposed in this catalogue.

Types not covered by Göbl 1984

As Göbl's 1984 volume did not include the coins of the first two reigns, we have added a concordance with the listings according to Mitchiner in his 1975–6 and 1978 publications. Mitchiner was the most widely referenced work on Kushan coins before the publication of Göbl 1984, replacing the listing by Whitehead (1914).

The Soter Megas coinage of Begram issued by Kujula Kadphises and Wima Takto (33–38) is listed by Mitchiner (1978, nos 2928–3002) using different criteria to those used in the catalogue (33–7), so the different varieties have not been indicated.

The scyphate gold issues of the Sasanian emperor Peroz, Series Z, and of the Alchon Huns, Series Z-G–I, were not covered by Göbl 1984, so are listed as Iranian Huns according to Göbl (1967) and Vondrovec (2014), but too few to require a concordance. Vondrovec references are also given for the silver pieces of the Kidarite Huns added to Series P (267–70) and Q (278–85).

Not used and not featured Göbl entries

Göbl's type number (unlike our group and coin number) is not a running number. There are numerous gaps in the sequence where numbers were 'not used', clearly left to give the opportunity to add new types where Göbl believed it was likely types were simply unknown (see his missing number 29–30 for an example of this where Göbl's reasoning was entirely justified). In some, much rarer, cases Göbl included a type which we reject because we suspect the coin to be a 'forgery' or it is 'not featured' as it is outside the range of this catalogue.

Concordance of Göbl 1984 type numbers with this catalogue's categories and varieties

Please note:

- Varieties indicated as '-' show that this catalogue's category has a single obverse or reverse variety.
- 'not used' indicates that the number was not used in Göbl 1984.
- 'forgery' indicates that the piece published in Göbl 1984 is not included in the catalogue.
- 'not featured' indicates Göbl 1984 types not covered by this catalogue.

Göbl 1984 no.	Catalogue number	Catalogue section and category	Obverse variety	Reverse variety
1	54	C.G1-ii 1d	1B	1b
2	54	C.G1-ii 1d	1A	1a
3	56	C.G1-iii 1d	1A	-
4	66	C.C1-ii-misc ¼u	-	-
5	53	C.G1-i 1d	-	-
6	55	C.G1-ii ½d	1A	2a
7 not used				
8	57	C.G1-iv 2d	1A	1a
9	59	C.G1-iv ¼d	-	-
10	57	C.G1-iv 2d	2A	1a
11	57	C.G1-iv 2d	4A	1a; 1b
12	57	C.G1-iv 2d	3A	1a; 1b
13	57	C.G1-iv 2d	5A	1a; 1b
14	58	C.G1-iv 1d	1A	1a
15	58	C.G1-iv 1d	2A	1a; 1b
16	58	C.G1-iv 1d	1B	1a; 1b
17	58	C.G1-iv 1d	2B	1b
18	60	C.G1-v 1d	1A; 1B	-
19	60	C.G1-v 1d	2A	-
20 modern forgery?				
21–3 not used				
24 ancient forgery				
25	68	D.G1-i 1d	2A	3a
26	68	D.G1-i 1d	2A	2a
27	68	D.G1-i 1d	1A	4a
28	68	D.G1-i 1d	1A	1a
29–30 not used				
31	70	D.G1-ii 1d	1A; B; 2B	3b
32	70	D.G1-ii 1d	1B	3a
33	70	D.G1-ii 1d	1B; 2B	1b; 1c
34	70	D.G1-ii 1d	1B	2b
35	70	D.G1-ii 1d	1A; B; 2A; B	4b
36	70	D.G1-ii 1d	1B	4c
37	70	D.G1-ii 1d	1A; B; 2B	6b; 6c
38–9 not used				
40 not used				
41	71	D.G1-iia ¼d	1A; B	1c
42	71	D.G1-iia ¼d	1A	2b
43	71	D.G1-iia ¼d	1A	4b
44 not used				
45	71	D.G1-iia ¼d	1A	6d
46	72	D.G1-iib ¼d	-	3b
47	72	D.G1-iib ¼d	-	1c
48	72	D.G1-iib ¼d	-	2b
49 not used				
50	72	D.G1-iib ¼d	-	4c

51	72	D.G1-iib ¼d	-	6d
52	73	D.G1-iii 1d	1A	3b
52A	73	D.G1-iii 1d	1A	1c
53	73	D.G1-iii 1d	1A	2b
54	73	D.G1-iii 1d	1A	4c
55	73	D.G1-iii 1d	1A	6c
56	73	D.G1-iii 1d	1A	3b
57	73	D.G1-iii 1d	1A	9a
58	73	D.G1-iii 1d	1A	2b
59	73	D.G1-iii 1d	1A	10a
60	73	D.G1-iii 1d	1A	4c
61	73	D.G1-iii 1d	1A	11a
62	73	D.G1-iii 1d	1A	6c
63	73	D.G1-iii 1d	1A	12b;12c
64	73	D.G1-iii 1d	1A	3b
65	73	D.G1-iii 1d	1A	2b;2c
66	73	D.G1-iii 1d	1A	8a
67	73	D.G1-iii 1d	1A	6d;6e
68	73	D.G1-iii 1d	1A; B	3b
69	73	D.G1-iii 1d	1A	13a
70	73	D.G1-iii 1d	1A	2b
71	73	D.G1-iii 1d	1A	7a
72	73	D.G1-iii 1d	1A; B	6e
73	74	D.G1-iii ¼d	-	8b
74	74	D.G1-iii ¼d	-	13b
74A	74	D.G1-iii ¼d	-	13a
75	75	D.G2-i 1d	-	3d
75A	75	D.G2-i 1d	-	3c
76	75	D.G2-i 1d	-	2b; 2d
77	75	D.G2-i 1d	-	7b
78	75	D.G2-i 1d	-	6c
79	76	D.G2-i ¼d	-	3c
80	76	D.G2-i ¼d	-	4e
81–134 not used				
135	106	E.G1-ii 1d	2A	3c
136	103	E.G1-i 1d	1B	3a
136	105	E.G1-ii 1d	1A	3c
137	103	E.G1-i 1d	2A	3b
137	105	E.G1-ii 1d	2A	3d
138	105	E.G1-ii 1d	1A	3d
139	107	E.G1-iii 1d	-	3e
140	107	E.G1-iii 1d	-	3e
140A	107	E.G1-iii 1d	-	3f
141	105	E.G1-ii 1d	1A	6a; 6b
141	107	E.G1-iii 1d	-	6b
142	107	E.G1-iii 1d	-	6c
143	107	E.G1-iii 1d	-	6e
144	107	E.G1-iii 1d	-	6d
145	107	E.G1-iii 1d	-	6g

146	103	E.G1-i 1d	1B	2a
147	105	E.G1-ii 1d	1B	2c
148	105	E.G1-ii 1d	1A	2c
148	107	E.G1-iii 1d	-	2c
149	107	E.G1-iii 1d	-	2f
150	107	E.G1-iii 1d	-	2g
151	105	E.G1-ii 1d	1A	16a
153	103	E.G1-i 1d	1B	4a
153	105	E.G1-ii 1d	1A	4b
153	107	E.G1-iii 1d	-	4b
154	103	E.G1-i 1d	1B	1a
154	105	E.G1-ii 1d	1A	1b
155	103	E.G1-i 1d	1B	5a
155	105	E.G1-ii 1d	1A	5b
156	103	E.G1-i 1d	1B	9a
156	105	E.G1-ii 1d	1A	9c
157	105	E.G1-ii 1d	1A	9d
160	106	E.G1-ii ¼d	-	3d
161	108	E.G1-iii ¼d	-	3e
162	106	E.G1-ii ¼d	-	6b
163	108	E.G1-iii ¼d	-	2c
164	104	E.G1-i ¼d	-	20a
165	106	E.G1-ii ¼d	-	4b
166	104	E.G1-i ¼d	-	9b
166	106	E.G1-ii ¼d	-	9b
167	106	E.G1-ii ¼d	-	3c
170	109	E.G1-iv 1d	-	3h
171	109	E.G1-iv 1d	-	3l
172	109	E.G1-iv 1d	-	3k
173	109	E.G1-iv 1d	-	3g
174	109	E.G1-iv 1d	-	3i
175	109	E.G1-iv 1d	-	6j
176	109	E.G1-iv 1d	-	6l
177	109	E.G1-iv 1d	-	6h
178	109	E.G1-iv 1d	-	2i
179	109	E.G1-iv 1d	-	2g
180	109	E.G1-iv 1d	-	2j
180A	109	E.G1-iv 1d	-	2k
182	109	E.G1-iv 1d	-	1e
183	109	E.G1-iv 1d	-	1d
185	109	E.G1-iv 1d	-	20c
186	110	E.G1-iv ¼d	-	3h
188	110	E.G1-iv ¼d	-	2j
190	111	E.G1-v 1d	5C	3o
191	111	E.G1-v 1d	5C	3s
192	111	E.G1-v 1d	3E	3s
193	111	E.G1-v 1d	5C	3t
194	111	E.G1-v 1d	3C	3d
195	111	E.G1-v 1d	3C	3q

197	111	E.G1-v 1d	4C	3o
198	111	E.G1-v 1d	3C	3r
199	111	E.G1-v 1d	3C	3m
200	111	E.G1-v 1d	3C	3v
201	111	E.G1-v 1d	4B	6u
202	111	E.G1-v 1d	3E	6p
203	111	E.G1-v 1d	3C	6p
204	111	E.G1-v 1d	3E	6q
205	111	E.G1-v 1d	3C	6n
206	111	E.G1-v 1d	3C	6t
207	111	E.G1-v 1d	3C	6y
208	111	E.G1-v 1d	4B	8c
209	111	E.G1-v 1d	5C	8c
210	111	E.G1-v 1d	4C	8a
211	111	E.G1-v 1d	5C	8a
212	111	E.G1-v 1d	5C	2n
213	111	E.G1-v 1d	3C	2l
214	111	E.G1-v 1d	3C	2m
215	111	E.G1-v 1d	3C	4d
218	111	E.G1-v 1d	5B	1g
219	111	E.G1-v 1d	3E	1e
219	111	E.G1-v 1d	5B	1e
220	111	E.G1-v 1d	3E	1g
221	111	E.G1-v 1d	3C	1i
222	111	E.G1-v 1d	3C	1h
223	111	E.G1-v 1d	3C	1e
223A	111	E.G1-v 1d	5C	1d
224	111	E.G1-v 1d	5C	23c
225	111	E.G1-v 1d	4C	23h
226	111	E.G1-v 1d	3C	23c
226	111	E.G1-v 1d	3C	23d
227	111	E.G1-v 1d	3C	23f
228	111	E.G1-v 1d	4A	3w
229	111	E.G1-v 1d	3D	6w
229	111	E.G1-v 1d	4A	6w
230	111	E.G1-v 1d	3C	8b
230A	111	E.G1-v 1d	3C	8a
231	111	E.G1-v 1d	3B	2o
232	111	E.G1-v 1d	4A	4e
234	111	E.G1-v 1d	4A	24a
235	111	E.G1-v 1d	3B	5d
236	111	E.G1-v 1d	3C	23c
236	111	E.G1-v 1d	4A	23e
237	111	E.G1-v 1d	3B	23a
238	111	E.G1-v 1d	3C	23i
239	111	E.G1-v 1d	4A	23l
239A	111	E.G1-v 1d	4A	23k
240	111	E.G1-v 1d	3C	20a
241	111	E.G1-v 1d	3C	17a
242	111	E.G1-v 1d	4A	19b
243	111	E.G1-v 1d	4A	19a
244	111	E.G1-v 1d	4A	19a
245	111	E.G1-v 1d	4A	19c
246	111	E.G1-v 1d	4A	19d
250	111	E.G1-v 1d	5B	3o
251	111	E.G1-v 1d	5B	3u
252	111	E.G1-v 1d	3F	3p
253	111	E.G1-v 1d	5B	6r
254	111	E.G1-v 1d	4B	6u
255	111	E.G1-v 1d	3A	6x
256	111	E.G1-v 1d	2A	6x
257	111	E.G1-v 1d	5B	8a
260	111	E.G1-v 1d	4B	24b
261	111	E.G1-v 1d	5C	1e
262	111	E.G1-v 1d	4B	1e
263	111	E.G1-v 1d	2A	23i
265	111	E.G1-v 1d	5B	23d
266	111	E.G1-v 1d	4B	23h
267	111	E.G1-v 1d	3A	23b
268	111	E.G1-v 1d	3A	13a
269	111	E.G1-v 1d	1A	11a
275	112	E.G1-v ¼d	1C	3y
276	112	E.G1-v ¼d	1C	3x
277	112	E.G1-v ¼d	1B	2l
278	112	E.G1-v ¼d	1B	2n
279	112	E.G1-v ¼d	1C	1e
280	112	E.G1-vi 1d	1A	6q
281	113	E.G1-vi 1d	1A	4d
282	113	E.G1-vi 1d	1A	4f
283	113	E.G1-vi 1d	1A	4g
284	113	E.G1-vi 1d	1A	1j
285	113	E.G1-vi 1d	1A	1d
286	113	E.G1-vi 1d	1A	1e
287	113	E.G1-vi 1d	1B	1e
288	113	E.G1-vi 1d	1A	21a
290	118	E.G2-iii 1d	1A	3a
291	116	E.G2-ii 1d	1C	3a
292	118	E.G2-iii 1d	1B	3b
293	118	E.G2-iii 1d	1B	3c
294	118	E.G2-iii 1d	1B	3d
295	116	E.G2-ii 1d	1C	2c
296	116	E.G2-ii 1d	1C	2b
297	118	E.G2-iii 1d	1B	2d
298	114	E.G2-i 1d	3A	14a
298	116	E.G2-ii 1d	1C	14a
299	114	E.G2-i 1d	1A	4a
300	116	E.G2-ii 1d	1C	4b
300	118	E.G2-iii 1d	1B	4b

301	118	E.G2-iii 1d	1B	4h
302	118	E.G2-iii 1d	1B	4i
303	118	E.G2-iii 1d	1B	4g
305	114	E.G2-i 1d	1A	1a
305A	114	E.G2-i 1d	2A	1a
306	116	E.G2-ii 1d	1B	1b
307	116	E.G2-ii 1d	1B	1c
308	114	E.G2-i 1d	2A	5a
308	114	E.G2-i 1d	3A	5a
308	116	E.G2-i 1d	1C	5b; c
309	118	E.G2-iii 1d	1B	5f
310	116	E.G2-ii 1d	1C	5d
311	117	E.G2-ii ¼d	1A	2a
312	115	E.G2-i ¼d	3A	6a
313	117	E.G2-ii ¼d	1C	2b
314	115	E.G2-i ¼d	3A	4a
315	117	E.G2-ii ¼d	1C	4b
315A	119	E.G2-iii ¼d	1A	4b
316	119	ancient forgery		
317	118	E.G2-iii 1d	1B	3c
318	118	E.G2-iii 1d	1B	3a
319	118	E.G2-iii 1d	1B	3d
320	118	E.G2-iii 1d	1B	3c
321	118	E.G2-iii 1d	1B	3e
322	118	E.G2-iii 1d	1B	6b
323	118	E.G2-iii 1d	1B	6c
324	118	E.G2-iii 1d	1B	4g
325	118	E.G2-iii 1d	1B	4e
326	118	E.G2-iii 1d	1B	4g
327	118	E.G2-iii 1d	1B	4d
328	118	E.G2-iii 1d	1B	4i
329	118	E.G2-iii 1d	1B	4h
330	118	E.G2-iii 1d	1B	1e
331	118	E.G2-iii 1d	1B	1d
332	118	E.G2-iii 1d	1B	21a
333	118	E.G2-iii 1d	1B	17a
334	118	E.G2-iii 1d	1B	17a
335	118	E.G2-iii 1d	1B	17b
336	119	E.G2-iii ¼d	1A	3a
337	119	E.G2-iii ¼d	1B	3a
340	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1A	3h
341	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1B	3f
342	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1B	7a
343	120	E.G2-iv 1d	2A	6f
344	120	E.G2-iv 1d	2A	6d
345	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1A	6d
346	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1A	6e
347	120	E.G2-iv 1d	2A	2k
348	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1A	2k
349	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1A	2j
350	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1A	2g
351	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1B	2e
352	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1B	2f
353	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1B	2i
354	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1A	4g
355	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1A	4g
356	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1A	4e
357	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1A	4f
358	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1A	4i
359	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1A	4l
360	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1B	4k
361	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1B	4e
362	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1A	1d
363	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1A	1f
364	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1A	1g
365	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1B	1h
365A	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1B	1i
366	120	E.G2-iv 1d	2A	5g
367	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1A	5g
368	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1A	23a
369	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1A	21a
370	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1A	15a
371	121	E.G2-iv ¼d	1A	3i
372	121	E.G2-iv ¼d	2A	3i
373	121	E.G2-iv ¼d	2A	3j
375	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1C	3e
376	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1C	4k
377	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1C	4e
378	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1C	1g
379	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1C	1j
380	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1C	1h
381	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1C	23b
382	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1C	23a
383	120	E.G2-iv 1d	1C	23c
384–499 not used				
500	158	F.G2-ii 1d	1E	3a
501	149	F.G1-ii 1d	1A	1a; 1b
502	149	F.G1-ii 1d	1A	2a
503	149	F.G1-ii 1d	1A	2b
504	149	F.G1-ii 1d	1B	2b
505	148	F.G1-i ¼d	1A	1a
506	160	F.G2-iii 1d	1A	1b
507	151	F.G1-iii 1d	1A	1b
508	151	F.G1-iii 1d	1A	1a
509	151	F.G1-iii 1d	1A	1c
509	153	F.G1-iv 1d	1A	1a

510	152	F.G1-iii ¼d	-	-
510A	157	F.G2-i ¼d	-	-
511	147	F.G1-i 1d	-	3b
512	147	F.G1-i 1d	-	3c
513	147	F.G1-i 1d	-	3d
514	147	F.G1-i 1d	-	2a
515	147	F.G1-i 1d	-	3a
516	159	F.G2-ii ¼d	1A	1a
517	159	F.G2-ii ¼d	1B	1b
518	159	F.G2-ii ¼d	1A	1a
519	158	F.G2-ii 1d	1B	1a
520	158	F.G2-ii 1d	1B	2a
521	156	F.G2-i 1d	-	1a
522	156	F.G2-i 1d	-	1b
523	158	F.G2-ii 1d	1A	2a
524 not used				
525	160	F.G2-iii 1d	1B	2a
526	160	F.G2-iii 1d	1B	2b
527	160	F.G2-iii 1d	1B	1e
528	160	F.G2-iii 1d	1B	3a; 3b
529	161	F.G2-iii ¼d	-	1a
530	161	F.G2-iii ¼d	-	1b
531not used				
532	160	F.G2-iii 1d	1B	3c
533	162	F.G2-iv 1d	1B	1a
534	161	F.G2-iii ¼d	-	1b
535	162	F.G2-iv 1d	1D	1d
536	162	F.G2-iv 1d	1D	1e
538	193	G.G3-i 1d	-	2a
539	190	G.G1-i 1d	1A	2a
540 not used				
541	190	G.G1-i 1d	2A	4a
542	190	G.G1-i 1d	2A	4b
543	191	G.G1-i ¼d	1A	-
544	190	G.G1-i 1d	2A	4b
545	190	G.G1-i 1d	2C	4c
546	191	G.G1-i ¼d	1B	-
547	192	G.G2-i 1d	1A	1a
548	192	G.G2-i 1d	2A	1b
549	190	G.G1-i 1d	1B	1a
550	200	H.G1-i 1d	1A	1b
551	190	H.G1-i 1d	3D	5a
552	200	H.G1-i 1d	1C	1c
553	200	H.G1-i 1d	1C	1b
554	205	H.G2-i 1d	-	1b
555	296	T.G2-i 1d	1A	1a
556	200	H.G1-i 1d	2A	1a
557	200	H.G1-i 1d	2B	1a

558	201	H.G1-ii 1d	1A	-
559	201	H.G1-ii 1d	2A	-
560	202	H.G1-ii ¼d	1A	-
561	202	H.G1-ii ¼d	2A	-
562	201	H.G1-ii 1d	2B	-
563	203	H.G1-iii 1d	2B; 2C; 3A	1a
564	203	H.G1-iii 1d	2B	1a
564A	204	H.G1-iii ¼d	-	-
565	203	H.G1-iii 1d	4B	1a
566	203	H.G1-iii 1d	4A	1a
567	203	H.G1-iii 1d	5B	1c
567	203	H.G1-iii 1d	5C	1c
568	203	H.G1-iii 1d	5A	1a
568A	203	H.G1-iii 1d	1A; B	1a
569	217	J.G1-i 1d	1A; B	1a; 1b
570	218	J.G1-ii 1d	1A	1b
571	218	J.G1-ii 1d	1B	1b
572	220	J.G1-iii 1d	1A	-
573	219	J.G1-ii ¼d	-	-
574	220	J.G1-iii 1d	2A; B	-
575	220	J.G1-iii 1d	2B	-
576	221	J.G1-iv 1d	1B	1a
577	221	J.G1-iv 1d	1A; C	1a; b
578	253	N.G1-I 1d	1A	-
579	234	L.G1-i 1d	2A	-
580	234	L.G1-i 1d	2B	-
581	234	L.G1-i 1d	1A	-
582	232	K.G2-i 1d	-	-
583	236	L.G1-ii 1d	1A	-
584	236	L.G1-ii 1d	1A	-
585	236	L.G1-ii 1d	1B	-
586	236	L.G1-ii 1d	2A	-
587 not used				
588	233	K.G1-ii 1d	1A; B	1a; b
589	237	L.G2-i 1d	1A	-
590	226	J.G2-iii 1d	1B	-
590A	238	L.G2-i ¼d	-	-
591	237	L.G2-i 1d	1B	-
592	239	L.G2-ii 1d	2B	-
593	239	L.G2-ii 1d	2A	-
594	239	L.G2-ii 1d	2B	-
595	245	M.G1-i 1d	-	-
596	246	M.G1-ii 1d	-	-
597	247	M.G1-ii-imit 1d	-	-
598	257	O.G2-i 1d	-	-
599	255	O.G1-i 1d	-	-
600	258	O.G2-ii 1d	-	-
601	258	O.G2-ii 1d	-	-

602	264	P.G2-i 1d	-	-
603	256	O.G1-ii 1d	1C	-
604	262	P.G1-i 1d	-	-
605	256	O.G1-ii 1d	1B	-
606	263	P.G1-ii 1d	-	-
607	256	O.G1-ii 1d	1A	-
608	265	P.G2-ii 1d	-	-
609	259	O.G2-iii 1d	-	1a
610	265	P.G2-ii 1d	-	-
610A	259	O.G2-iii 1d	-	1b
611	277	Q.G2-i 1d	-	-
612	272	Q.G1-i 1d	-	1c
613	272	Q.G1-i 1d	-	1a; b
614	272	Q.G1-i 1d	-	1a
615	273	Q.G1-ii 1d	-	-
616	274	Q.G1-iii 1d	-	-
617	274	Q.G1-iii 1d	-	-
618	274	Q.G1-iii 1d	-	-
619	275	Q.G1-iv 1d	-	-
620	275	Q.G1-iv 1d	-	-
621	206	H.G2-ii 1d	1D	1b
622	206	H.G2-ii 1d	1B	1b; c
623	207	H.G2-ii ¼d	-	-
624	206	H.G2-ii 1d	2A	1c
625	206	H.G2-ii 1d	3B	1c
626	206	H.G2-ii 1d	2E	1c
627	206	H.G2-ii 1d	3A	1c
628	222	J.G2-i 1d	1B	2a
629	223	J.G2-i ¼d	-	-
630	224	J.G2-ii 1d	1A	1a
631	224	J.G2-ii 1d	1A	1b
632	225	J.G2-i ¼d	-	-
633	222	J.G2-i 1d	1A	1a
634	212	I.G1-i 1d	1A; B; C	-
635	212	I.G1-i 1d	-	1a; b
636	213	I.G1-i ¼d	-	-
637	213	I.G1-i ¼d	-	-
638 ancient forgery				
639 ancient forgery				
640	162	F.G2-iv 1d	1A	1a
640A	153	F.G1-iv 1d	1A; B	1a; b
641	154	F.G1-v 1d	1A	1a
641A	155	F.G1-iv ¼d	-	-
641A	167	F-imit.G1-ii ¼d	-	-
642–59	154	F.G1-v 1d		
660	194	G.G4-i 1d	-	-
661 not used				
662	164	F-imit.G1-i 1d	2A	2a
663	164	F-imit.G1-i 1d	2A	1a
664	164	F-imit.G1-i 1d	2A	2b
665	164	F-imit.G1-i 1d	2A	2c
666	166	F-imit.G1-ii 1d	1B	1a
667	166	F-imit.G1-ii 1d	1A	1a
668	166	F-imit.G1-ii 1d	2A	1c
669	166	F-imit.G1-ii 1d	2B	1e
670	166	F-imit.G1-ii 1d	2C	1c
671	166	F-imit.G1-ii 1d	2A	1e
672	166	F-imit.G1-ii 1d	2A	2a
673	166	F-imit.G1-ii 1d	3A	2a
674	165	F-imit.G1-i ¼d	-	-
674	167	F-imit.G1-ii ¼d	1B	-
675 not used				
676	168	F-imit.G1-iii 1d	3A	2a
677	168	F-imit.G1-iii 1d	1D	1a
678	169	F-imit.G1-iii ¼d	-	-
679 not used				
680	168	F-imit.G1-iii 1d	1D	1a
681	168	F-imit.G1-iii 1d	2A	1a
682	168	F-imit.G1-iii 1d	1A	1a
683	168	F-imit.G1-iii 1d	1A	1a
0684	168	F-imit.G1-iii 1d	3A	1b
685	168	F-imit.G1-iii 1d	3A	1b
686	168	F-imit.G1-iii 1d	3A	1b
687	168	F-imit.G1-iii 1d	3B	1b
688	170	F-imit.G1-iv 1d	2A; C	2b
689	170	F-imit.G1-iv 1d	3A; 4A	2a
690	170	F-imit.G1-iv 1d	2B	2a
691	170	F-imit.G1-iv 1d	1A	1a
692	170	F-imit.G1-iv 1d	1B	1a; 2a
693	170	F-imit.G1-iv 1d	1C	2a
694	170	F-imit.G1-iv 1d	1E; F	2a; 3a
695	170	F-imit.G1-iv 1d	1E; F	2a; 3a
696	170	F-imit.G1-iv 1d	1B	3a
697	170	F-imit.G1-iv 1d	1C	2a
698	170	F-imit.G1-iv 1d	2A	2b
699	154	F.G1-v 1d	3A	4a
699A	154	F.G1-v 1d	2A	5a
700	154	F.G1-v 1d	4B	3b
701 not used				
702	293	T.G1-i 1d	1D	1d
703	294	T.G1-ii 1d	1A; D	1a; b
704	294	T.G1-ii 1d	1E	1d
705	294	T.G1-ii 1d	1A––E	1a–5a
706	294	T.G1-ii 1d	2B	2b
707	305	U.G1-ii 1d	1A–2A	1a; b
707	311	U.G2-i 1d	1A; 2A	1a; 2c
708 not used				
709	306	U.G1-ii ¼d	1A	1a

710	308	U.G1-iii ¼d	1B	1b
711	332	W.G2-i 1d	1B	1b
712	331	W.G1-i 1d	1C	1b
713	346–9	Y-O.G1 1d		
713A	346–9	Y-O.G1 1d		
714	350–1	Y-P.G1 1d		
715	350–1	Y-P.G1 1d		
716	350–1	Y-P.G1 1d		
717	350–1	Y-P.G1 1d		
718	346–9	Y-O.G1 1d		
719	346–9	Y-O.G1 1d		
720	346–9	Y-O.G1 1d		
721not used				
722	346–9	Y-O.G1 1d		
723	346–9	Y-O.G1 1d		
724	353–5	Y-Q.G1 1d		
725	353–5	Y-Q.G1 1d		
726	353–5	Y-Q.G1 ¼d		
727	353–5	Y-Q.G1 1d		
728	353–5	Y-Q.G1 1d		
729	353–5	Y-Q.G1 1d		
730	353–5	Y-Q.G1 1d		
731	353–5	Y-Q.G1 1d		
732 not used				
733	358–61	Z.G1 1d		
734 not used				
735	358–61	Z.G1 1d		
735	363	Z-A.G1 1d		
736	358–61	Z.G1 1d		
737	358–61	Z.G1 1d		
738	358–61	Z.G1 1d		
738	363	Z-A.G1 1d		
739	358–61	Z.G1 1d		
739	363	Z-A.G1 1d		
739	364–6	Z-B.G1 1d		
739	369	Z-E.G1 1d		
740	368	Z-D.G1 1d		
740	369	Z-E.G1 1d		
741	372	Z-G.G1-I 1d	1A	1a
742 not used				
743	305	U.G1-ii 1d	4A	1a; d
744	305	U.G1-ii 1d	5A	1d
745	309	U.G1-iv 1d	2A	1b
746	306	U.G1-ii ¼d	1B; 2A	1a; b
747	307	U.G1-iii 1d	3A; 3C	1b; 3c
748	342	Y.G1-ii 1d	2E	1g
749	343	Y.G1-ii ¼d	1B	1b
750	342	Y.G1-ii 1d	2F	1i
751	343	Y.G1-ii ¼d	1A	1a
752	340	Y.G1-i 1d	2A	1d
752	342	Y.G1-ii 1d	1I	1d
753	342	Y.G1-ii 1d	1G	1b
754	346–9	Y-O.G1 1d		
755 not used				
756	350–1	Y-P.G1 1d		
757	350–1	Y-P.G1 1d		
758	350–1	Y-P.G1 ¼d		
759 not used				
760	061	C.C1-i 1u	-	-
761	062	C.C1-i ¼u	-	-
762	063	C.C1-ii 1u	1A–3A	1a–3a
763	064	C.C1-ii ½u	-	-
764	065	C.C1-ii ¼u	1A–2B	1a–2b
765	067	C.C1-misc ¼u	-	-
766	078	D.C1-i ½u	1A; 2A	3a
767	078	D.C1-i ½u	1A; 2A	4a
768	079	D.C1-ii 1u	1A; 1B	3b; c
768	081	D.C1-iii 1u	-	3c
769	080	D.C1-ii ½u	-	3c
770	079	D.C1-ii 1u	1A; 2A	3b
770	081	D.C1-iii 1u	-	3b
771	080	D.C1-ii ½u	-	3b
772	079	D.C1-ii 1u	1A; 2A	1a
772	081	D.C1-iii 1u	-	1a
773	080	D.C1-ii ½u	-	1a
774	079	D.C1-ii 1u	1A; 2A	2b
774	081	D.C1-iii 1u	-	2b
775	080	D.C1-ii ½u	-	2a
776	079	D.C1-ii 1u	1A; 2A	4b
777	079	D.C1-ii 1u	1A; 2A	4c
778	080	D.C1-ii ½u	-	4c
779	085	D.C1-misc-i 1u	-	4b
779	086	D.C1-misc-i 1/8u	-	4b
779A	089	D.C1-misc-iii ¼u	-	4e
780	090	D.C2-i 1u	-	7a
781	079	D.C1-ii 1u	1A; 2A	6a; 6b
781	081	D.C1-iii 1u	-	6a; 6c
782	080	D.C1-ii ½u	-	6a
782A	083	D.C1-iii ¼u	-	6a
783	079	D.C1-ii 1u	1A; 2A	5a
783	081	D.C1-iii 1u	-	5a
784	080	D.C1-ii ½u	-	5a
785	081	D.C1-iii 1u	1A; B	14a–d, ; f; l; k
786	081	D.C1-iii 1u	-	14l
787	082	D.C1-iii ½u	-	14o
788	083	D.C1-iii ¼u	-	14r

790	081	D.C1-iii 1u	-	15a; b
791	081	D.C1-iii 1u	-	15a; d; e
792	081	D.C1-iii 1u	-	15g
793	081	D.C1-iii 1u	-	15f
794	091	D.C2-ii 1u	1A	3b
795	091	D.C2-ii 1u	1B	1a
796	092	D.C2-iii 1u	1B	3e
797	095	D.C3-ii ¼u		
798	094	D.C3-i ¼u	1B	3f
798A	095	D.C3-ii ¼u		
798B	095	D.C3-ii ¼u		
799	093	D.C2-iii 1/8u	1A	3c
800	093	D.C2-iii 1/8u	1B	3c
800	096	D.C3-ii 1/8u		
801	092	D.C2-iii 1u	1A; B; D	2a; c
802	095	D.C3-ii ¼u		
802	132	E.C3-i ¼u	4C	2q
803	094	D.C3-i ¼u	1A; B	2d
804	093	D.C2-iii 1/8u	1A	2a
804	096	D.C3-ii 1/8u		
805	092	D.C2-iii 1u	1B; D	4b
806	095	D.C3-ii ¼u		
806	132	E.C3-i ¼u	4B	4l
806A	095	D.C3-ii ¼u		
807	094	D.C3-i ¼u	1A	4c
808	093	D.C2-iii 1/8u	1B	4b
808	096	D.C3-ii 1/8u		
809	095	D.C3-ii ¼u		
810	087	D.C1-misc-ii 1/4u	-	4d
811	092	D.C2-iii 1u	1D	6e
812	092	D.C2-iii 1u	1D	6g
813	095	D.C3-ii ¼u		
813	132	D.C3-ii ¼u	4A	5p
814	094	D.C3-i ¼u	1A	6i
815	096	D.C3-ii 1/8u		
815A	093	D.C2-iii 1/8u	1A	6h
816	092	D.C2-iii 1u	1C	5b
817	095	D.C3-ii ¼u		
818	094	D.C3-i ¼u	1A	5c
819	095	D.C3-ii ¼u		
820	124	E.C1-i 1u	1?	3c
821	124	E.C1-i 1u	3?	3c
821	125	E.C1-ii 1u	3A	3c
822	124	E.C1-i 1u	2?	3c
822	125	E.C1-ii 1u	2?	3d
823	124	E.C1-i 1u	1?	3a
824	124	E.C1-i 1u	3?	3a
824	125	E.C1-ii 1u	3?	3c
825	124	E.C1-i 1u	2?	3a
826	124	E.C1-i 1u	1?	3b
827	124	E.C1-i 1u	3?	3b
828	124	E.C1-i 1u	2?	3b
829	124	E.C1-i 1u	1D	3?
830	124	E.C1-i 1u	3?	3?
832	124	E.C1-i 1u	1?	8a
833	124	E.C1-i 1u	3?	8a
834	124	E.C1-i 1u	2?	8a
835	124	E.C1-i 1u	1?	2?
835	125	E.C1-ii 1u	1A	2b
836	124	E.C1-i 1u	3?	2?
836	125	E.C1-ii 1u	3?	2a; b
837	124	E.C1-i 1u	2?	2?
837	125	E.C1-ii 1u	2A	2a; b
838	124	E.C1-i 1u	2D	2a
839	124	E.C1-i 1u	1?	4a
840	124	E.C1-i 1u	3?	4a
841	124	E.C1-i 1u	2?	4a
842	124	E.C1-i 1u	3?	4b
843	124	E.C1-i 1u	2?	4b
844	129	E.C2-iii 1u	1B	4j
846	129	E.C2-iii 1u	3E	4i
847	124	E.C1-i 1u	1?	5c
848	124	E.C1-i 1u	3?	5c
848	125	E.C1-ii 1u	3?	5d
848	129	E.C2-iii 1u	3C	5o
849	124	E.C1-i 1u	1?	5a; b
850	124	E.C1-i 1u	3?	5a; b
851	124	E.C1-i 1u	2?	5a
852	124	E.C1-i 1u	1B	18a
853	124	E.C1-i 1u	2B	18a
854	124	E.C1-i 1u	3F	18a
855	126	E.C1-iii 1u	1A	5e; f
856	129	E.C2-iii 1u	1B	3f
857	129	E.C2-iii 1u	3B	3f
858	129	E.C2-iii 1u	2A	3f
859	129	E.C2-iii 1u	1A	3h
860	129	E.C2-iii 1u	2C	3h
861	129	E.C2-iii 1u	2A	3g
862	129	E.C2-iii 1u	2I	6g
863	129	E.C2-iii 1u	1C	6b
864	129	E.C2-iii 1u	1C	6c
865	129	E.C2-iii 1u	1C	6b
866	129	E.C2-iii 1u	2J	6h
867	131	E.C2-v 1u	1B	8d
867A	129	E.C2-iii 1u	1C	8c
868	129	E.C2-iii 1u	2E	8c
869	129	E.C2-iii 1u	1B	2d
870	129	E.C2-iii 1u	3A	2d

871	129	E.C2-iii 1u	2A	2d
872	129	E.C2-iii 1u	2E	2d
873	129	E.C2-iii 1u	2J	2m
874	129	E.C2-iii 1u	2I	2f
875	129	E.C2-iii 1u	2B	2d
876	129	E.C2-iii 1u	1C	1e
876	129	E.C2-iii 1u	1C	1l
876	130	E.C2-iv 1u	1C	1m
877	129	E.C2-iii 1u	1C	1e
878	129	E.C2-iii 1u	1C	1e
879	130	E.C2-iv 1u	1C	1j (reversed)
880	131	E.C2-v 1u	1?	1o
881	131	E.C2-v 1u	1F	1o
882	131	E.C2-v 1u	1C	1n
883	131	E.C2-v 1u	1E	1n
884	129	E.C2-iii 1u	2?	4?
885	129	E.C2-iii 1u	(2F	18e
886	129	E.C2-iii 1u	1D	11f
886	129	E.C2-iii 1u	1D	11h
886A	129	E.C2-iii 1u	1D	11g
887	129	E.C2-iii 1u	1C	11a
887	129	E.C2-iii 1u	1C	11b
888	129	E.C2-iii 1u	2J	11b
889	129	E.C2-iii 1u	1C	11c
890	129	E.C2-iii 1u	1D	11i
891	146	E-imit.C3-vii 1u	1C	11a
891A	141	E-imit.C3-ii 1u	1A	4h
892	129	E.C2-iii 1u	1D	11e
893	128	E.C2-ii 1u	1C	25b
894	128	E.C2-ii 1u	1A	25a
895	142	E-imit.C3-iii 1u	1B	25a
896	128	E.C2-ii 1u	1C	4f
896	140	E-imit.C3-i 1u	1D	4e
896	141	E-imit.C3-ii 1u	1A	4f
897	128	E.C2-ii 1u	1D	4g
898	140	E-imit.C3-i 1u	3B	4e
899	128	E.C2-ii 1u	1A	4c
900	128	E.C2-ii 1u	1A	1b
901	128	E.C2-ii 1u	1B	5j
902	129	E.C2-iii 1u	1B	5m
903	128	E.C2-ii 1u	1A	5h
904	135	E-imit.C1-i 1u	1A	5a
905	128	E.C2-ii 1u	1A	18c
905	129	E.C2-iii 1u	1C	18e
905	129	E.C2-iii 1u	1C	18e; f
906	128	E.C2-ii 1u	2A	18d
907	128	E.C2-ii 1u	1A	18b
911	144	E-imit.C3-v 1u	1A	6b
912	146	E-imit.C3-vii 1u	1E	2w
913	144	E-imit.C3-v 1u	1?	2r
914	142	E-imit.C3-iii 1u	1D	2i
915	145	E-imit.C3-vi 1u	2A	2x
915A	143	E-imit.C3-iv 1u	2A	6a
916	145	E-imit.C3-vi 1u	1D	2w
917	137	E-imit.C1-iii 1u	3A	2b
918	145	E-imit.C3-vi 1u	2A	2x
919	140	E-imit.C3-i 1u	3A	4d
920	145	E-imit.C3-vi 1u	2A	1f
921	144	E-imit.C3-v 1u	1A	1l
921	144	E-imit.C3-v 1u	1B	1e
922	140	E-imit.C3-i 1u	1D	18a
923	144	E-imit.C3-v 1u	1D	1e
924	145	E-imit.C3-vi 1u	1B	2w
925	146	E-imit.C3-vii 1u	1E	?
926	143	E-imit.C3-iv 1u	1B	2q
926	144	E-imit.C3-v 1u	1A	2l
926	145	E-imit.C3-vi 1u	1B	2w
927	146	E-imit.C3-vii 1u	1A	?
928	146	E-imit.C3-vii 1u	1A	?
929	146	E-imit.C3-vii 1u	1A	?
930	145	E-imit.C3-vi 1u	1B	2y
931	145	E-imit.C3-vi 1u	1B	2w
932	145	E-imit.C3-vi 1u	1A	2w
932	145	E-imit.C3-vi 1u	1A	2x
932	145	E-imit.C3-vi 1u	1A	6d
932	145	E-imit.C3-vi 1u	1B	2y
933	134	E.C4-ii 1u	1A; B	3k; l
934	134	E.C4-ii 1u	2A; B	3l
935	134	E.C4-ii 1u	3A	3l
936	134	E.C4-ii 1u	1A; B	3k; l
937	134	E.C4-ii 1u	2A; B	3m; n
938	134	E.C4-ii 1u	2A; B	3m; n
939	134	E.C4-ii 1u	1B	2r; s
940	134	E.C4-ii 1u	2A; B	2r; s
941	134	E.C4-ii 1u	3A	2r; s
942	134	E.C4-ii 1u	2A	1o
943	134	E.C4-ii 1u	2A	1p
943A	133	E.C4-i 1u	1A	5q
944	134	E.C4-ii 1u	2A	3k
945	133	E.C4-i 1u	3A	5s
946	135	E-imit.C1-i 1u	2A	2b
947	140	E-imit.C3-i 1u	1A	2?

948	146	E-imit.C3-vii 1u	1?	2w
949	136	E-imit.C1-ii 1u	3A	2?
950	145	E-imit.C3-vi 1u	1E	5e
951	145	E-imit.C3-vi 1u	1B	5e
952	140	E-imit.C3-i 1u	1A; B	2e-f
953	145	E-imit.C3-vi 1u	5A	2w
954	136	E-imit.C2-ii 1u	1A	-
955	145	E-imit.C3-vi 1u	1C	2w
956	143	E-imit.C3-iv 1u	1A	2o
957	137	E-imit.C1-iii 1u	2A	?
958	135	E-imit.C1-i 1u	2B	?
959	135	E-imit.C1-i 1u	1A	?
960	141	E-imit.C3-ii 1u	1B	2i
961	145	E-imit.C3-vi 1u	1D	?
962	135	E-imit.C1-i 1u	2A	?
963	142	E-imit.C3-iii 1u	1C	?
964	141	E-imit.C3-ii 1u	1A	4g
970	135–7	E-imit.C1 1u	1?	?
970	140–6	E-imit.C3 1u	1?	?
971	135–7	E-imit.C1 1u	3?	?
971	140–7	E-imit.C3 1u	3?	?
972	135–7	E-imit.C1 1u	2?	?
972	140–8	E-imit. C3 1u	2?	?
973	135–7	E-imit.C1 1u	1?	?
973	140–9	E-imit.C3 1u	1?	?
974	137	E-imit.C1-iii 1u	3?	?
975	135–7;	E-imit.C1 1u	2?	?
975	140–10	E-imit.C3 1u	2?	?
976	135–7	E-imit.C1 1u	2?	?
976	140–11	E-imit.C3 1u	2?	?
977	137	E-imit.C1-iii 1u	1?	2?
978	135–7	E-imit.C1 1u	3?	?
978	140–12	E-imit.C3 1u	3?	?
979	135–7	E-imit.C1 1u	2?	?
979	140–13	E-imit.C3 1u	2?	?
980	137	E-imit.C1-iii 1u	2?	2?
981	136	E-imit.C1-ii 1u	1A	5a
982	133	E.C4-i 1u	3B	5r
983	133	E.C4-i 1u	2B	5q
984 not featured				
985 not featured				
986–99 not used				
1000	172	F.C1-i 1u	1A	1a; b
1001	173	F.C1-ii 1u	1A; 2A; 2B	-
1002	173	F.C1-ii 1u	1A; B/3	-
1003	174	F.C1-iii 1u	2A	-
1004	174	F.C1-iii 1u	2B	-
1005	173	F.C1-ii 1u	3A	-
1006	173	F.C1-ii 1u	4A	-
1007	174	F.C1-iii 1u	2C	-
1008	179	F-imit.C1-i 1u	1D	-
1009	179	F-imit.C1-i 1u	1F; C	-
1010	180–3	F-imit.C1-ii	-	-
1010	181	F-imit.C1-iii		
1010	182	F-imit. C2-i		
1010	183	F-imit. C2- ii 1u		
1010A	184	F-imit.C3-i 1u	1B	-
1010A	185	F-imit.C3-ii 1u	1B	-
1011	209	H.C1-i 1u	-	-
1011A	209	H.C1-i 1u	1B	1a
1012	172	F.C1-i 1u	?	?
1013	210	H.C2-i 1u	1A	-
1014	176	F.C2-i ½u	1A	-
1015	195	G.C1-i 1u	1A	-
1016	195	G.C1-i 1u	1B	-
1017	195	G.C1-i 1u	1?	-
1017	198	G-imit.C2-i 1u	-	-
1017A	195	G.C1-i 1u	1A	-
1017	197	G-imit.C1-i 1u	1B	-
1017B	197	G-imit.C1-i 1u	1A	-
1017C	197	G-imit.C1-i 1u	1C	-
1017D	197	G-imit.C1-i 1u	1B	-
1018 modern forgery				
1019	215	I.C1-i 1u	1A; 2A	-
1020	229	J.C2-i 1u	1A	-
1021	227	J.C1-i 1u	1A	1a
1022	228	J.C1-ii 1u	1A	-
1023	228	J.C1-ii 1u	1A	-
1024	228	J.C1-ii 1u	1A	-
1024	241	L.C1-i 1u	1A	-
1024A	228	J.C1-ii 1u	1A	-
1025	230	J.C3-i 1u	1B	1a
1026	313	U.G3-i 1d	-	1a
1027	313	U.G3-i 1d	-	1b
1028	290	S.C1-i 1u	1A–4A	-
1029	288	R.C1-i 1u	1A; B	1a; b
1030	297	T.S1-i 1dr	-	-
1031	316	U.S2-i 1dr	-	-
1032	316	U.C1-i 1u	1A	1a
1033	316	U.C1-i 1u	3A	1b
1034	316	U.C1-i 1u	4B	3b
1036	316	U.C1-i 1u	4B	?
1037–1041	not used			
1042	317	U.C1-ii 1u	2?	2a
1043	317	U.C1-ii 1u	2A	2a
1044	317	U.C1-ii 1u	2A	2a
1045	317	U.C1-ii 1u	2B	2a

1046	317	U.C1-ii 1u	2C	2a
1047	317	U.C1-ii 1u	2D	2a
1048	317	U.C1-ii 1u	2A	2a
1049–50 not used				
1051	318	U.C1-iii 1u	1A	1a
1052	318	U.C1-iii 1u	2A	1a
1053	318	U.C1-iii 1u	2G	1a
1054	318	U.C1-iii 1u	2G	1a
1055	318	U.C1-iii 1u	2B	1a
1056 not used				
1057	318	U.C1-iii 1u	2B	1a
1058 not used				
1059	318	U.C1-iii 1u	2H	1a
1060	318	U.C1-iii 1u	2C	1a
1061not used				
1061 not used				
1062	320	U.C1-v 1u	1A	1a
1063 not used				
1064 not used				
1065	320	U.C1-v 1u	1B	1a
1066 not used				
1067 not used				
1068	320	U.C1-v 1u	1D	1a
1069 not used				
1070 not used				
1071	320	U.C1-v 1u	1C	1a
1072	320	U.C1-v 1u	1F	1a
1073	320	U.C1-v 1u	1H	1a
1074	320	U.C1-v 1u	1G	1a
1075	320	U.C1-v 1u	1K	1a
1076–80 not used				
1081	333	W.C1-i 1u	1A	-
1082	333	W.C1-i 1u	1E	-
1083	333	W.C1-i 1u	1C	-
1084	333	W.C1-i 1u	1A	-

1085	333	W.C1-i 1u	1?	-
1086–9 not used				
1090	333	W.C1-i 1u	2A	-
1091	328	V.C1-i 1u	-	-
1091	329	V.C1-ii 1u	-	1a; b
1092	344	Y.C1-i 1u	1A	-
1093	345	Y.C1-ii 1u	1A	-
1094	345	Y.C1-ii 1u	1A	-
1095 not used				
1096	352	Y-P.C1-i 1u	1C	1?
1097	352	Y-P.C1-i 1u	1E	1?
1098–1100 not used				
1101	298	T.C1-i 1u	1A–I	1a–f
1102	298	T.C1-i 1u	1A	1a
1103	298	T.C1-i 1u	1G	1a
1104 not used				
1105-10	299	T.C1-ii 1u	1A–2F	1a–2c
1112	300	T.C1-iii 1u	-	1a–c
1113 not featured				
1114	291	S.C2-i 1u	1A–C	-
1115-6	302	T.C2-ii 1u	1A–2A	1a–3a
1117	301	T.C2-i 1u	-	1a–2b
1118-9	302	T.C2-ii 1u	1A–2A	1a–3a
1120	338	X.C2-i 1u	1A	-
1121	338	X.C2-i 1u	2A; B	-
1122	322	U.C2-ii 1u	-	1a; b
1123	302	T.C2-ii 1u	1A–2A	1a–3a
1124	323	U.C2-iii 1u	1A–2C	1a–3c
1125	325	U.C2-iv 1u	1A; B	1a; b
1126	335	X.C1-i 1u	-	1a; b
1126	337	X.C1-I or -ii 1u	-	1a; b
1126	339	X.C2-ii	-	-
1127	334	W.C2-i 1u	1A; B	-
1127A	330	V.C2-i 1u	1B	1a

Concordance of Mitchiner 1975–6 type numbers with this catalogue's categories and varieties

Mitchiner 1975–6 numbers	Catalogue number	Catalogue section and category	Obverse variety	Reverse variety
201b	1	A.S1-i ½4u	-	-
502	7	A.C1-i 1u	3B	3b
503	8	A.C1-i 1/4u	2B	2a
504	7	A.C1-i 1u	3A; B	3a; b
505	8	A.C1-i 1/4u	2A	2b
512	4	A.S2-i ½4u	-	1a
514	2	A.S2-i 1u	-	2a; 3a; b; 4b
514	3	A.S2-imit-i 1u	-	-
515	4	A.S2-i ½4u	-	2a; 3a
517	24	A.C6-i 1u	-	-
839	32	A.C7B-i 1u	1A; 2A	1a; 2a; b; 3a–4a
856	31	A.S5-Ii ¼u	3A; 4A	6a; 8a
1044	9	A.C2A-i 1u	1A–C	1a
1045	14	A.C3A-i 1u	1A–C	1a; b
1046	28	A.C7A-ii 1u	1B; 2A	1a; 2a
1047	27	A.C7A-i 1u	-	-
1048	29	A.C7A-iii 1u	1A; B	1a; 2a
1049	10	A.C2B-i 1u	1A–3A	1a
1050	10	A.C2B-i 1u	2A; B	2a; b
1051	12, 18	A.C2–3B-imit-i 1u	-	-
1052	23	A.C5-i 1u	-	1a, 1b
1053	20	A.C4-i 1u	-	1a; b
1053	21	A.C4-imit-i 1u	1A; B	-
1054	22	A.C4-ii 1u	1A; B	-
1055	9	A.C2A-i 1u		
1055	25	A.C6-ii 1u	1A; 2A	2a; b; 5a; c; 6b
1056	25	A.C6-ii 1u	1A; 2A	3a; 4a–c
1057	25	A.C6-ii 1u	3A; B	7a
1060	26	A.C6-ii 1/4u	2A	2a
1061	14	A.C3A-i 1u	1C	1b
1062	14	A.C3A-i 1u	1B; C	1a–2a
1063	17	A.C3A-iv 1u	1A	1b
1064	19	A.C2/3-imit 1u	1A; 1B	1a; 1b
1066	29	A.C7A-iii 1u	2A; B	3a; 4a
1066	30	A.C7A-iii 1u	1A; B	1a
1110*	5	A.S3-i 1/4u	1A; B	1a–c
1111*	5	A.S3-i 1/4u	1B	2a

* See also Mitchiner 2004, nos 1910–12

Concordance of Mitchiner 1978 coin numbers with this catalogue's categories and varieties

Mitchiner 1978 numbers	Catalogue number	Catalogue section and category	Obverse variety	Reverse variety
1877–8	40	B.C2-i 1u	-	-
1879–88	41	B.C2-i 1/4u	1A; B	-
2869	13	A.C2B-ii 1u	1C	1a
2895–6	49	B.C5-ii 1u	?	?
2915–8	43	B.S1-i 1u	2A; B	2a; b
2919–20	44	B.S1-i 1/4u	-	-
2921–2	45	B.C3-i 1u	1A	1a
2923–4	42	B.C2-ii 1u	1B	2a
2925–7	46	B.C4-i 1u	2A	-
2928–63	37	B.C1-iii		
2964–74, 2977–84	33	B.C-i 1u		
2975–6	35	B.C1-ii–iii		
2985, 2988, 2991	38	B.C1-iii 1/4u		
2986, 2989–90, 2993–3002	34	B.C1-i 1/4u		
2987, 2992	36	B.C1-ii 1/4u		
4674–9, 4682–5	97	D-imit.C1-i 1u	1A; 2A	1a–c
4686–98	98	D-imit.C1-ii 1u	1A–3A	1a–4a
4699–701	99	D-imit.C2-i 1u	3A; B	5a
4702	102	D-imit.C2-iv 1u	2A	1a
4703–5	100	D-imit.C2-ii 1u	1B	1b